FROM COLONY TO WORLD POWER

A History of the United States

ALLAMA IQBAL LIBRARY
20285

FROM COLONY TO WORLD POWER

A History of the United States

BY WILLIAM A. HAMM



Drawings by David and Lolita Granahan

D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY BOSTON

COPYRIGHT 1953 *by D. C. Heath and Company*
Also copyright 1947 and 1950

NO PART OF THE MATERIAL COVERED BY THIS COPYRIGHT MAY BE REPRODUCED IN ANY FORM WITHOUT WRITTEN PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

OFFICES

BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO
SAN FRANCISCO ATLANTA
DALLAS LONDON

Printed in the United States of America (513)

JAMMU & KASHMIR UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
No. 20285
Date 24.11.56
SRINAGAR

CIRCULATED BY

972
F982F Sad

ALLAMA IQBAL LIBRARY
20285

PREFACE

In preparing *From Colony to World Power*, a new and completely revised edition of *The American People*, the author has had the benefit of many helpful suggestions from teachers who have had classroom experience with the text. He is also indebted to those who have prepared city and state syllabi in American history and American problems. The author, however, has had to make his own decisions on the selection and arrangement of material and on the emphasis given to various topics. Although the text does not adhere closely to any specific syllabus, it does reflect in substance the major ideas and trends suggested by recently published courses of study. The text is sufficiently comprehensive so that teachers can easily adapt it to courses in American history or problems with a different emphasis and organization.

The general aims which influenced the writing of *From Colony to World Power* remain the same as those outlined in the preface to *The American People*. "To help pupils understand the ideals, traditions, and institutions which have shaped American development and to stimulate them to think honestly about the problems of modern American life have been the guiding principles in the preparation of this history. In presenting an adequate and scholarly narrative of the factual background of American history, a sincere effort has been made to develop a thorough comprehension of the significance of that background, so that the past may become meaningful and the present more clearly understood. Emphasis has been placed upon the social and economic phases of American history, upon the more recent past and upon the connection between past events and present problems. The details of wars have been passed over quickly, but not the social, economic, and political causes and consequences of wars. Political campaigns have been briefly mentioned, but considerable space has been devoted to the evolution of our political traditions and institutions. The inclusion of an unusual amount of economics and sociology is justified because at all periods of history social and economic forces have furnished the setting for political problems."

From Colony to World Power devotes several pages to the crowded events of recent years on the assumption that the issues and problems raised by these developments will continue to be vitally important in the life of the students. To provide space for the adequate treatment of

the recent past and to keep the text within a reasonable size, some topics which received extended treatment in *The American People* have been dealt with briefly or omitted. Unit V now has two additional chapters which contain material that was treated elsewhere in *The American People*. The topical treatment of specialized problems which characterized the chapters in Unit VI of *The American People* has been abandoned. For the most part the chapters in this unit now follow one another in chronological sequence – a change suggested by many users of *The American People*. The treatment of the foreign problems of the twentieth century in a separate and extensive unit has been retained, however, because teachers have found it very helpful and because the foreign policy of the United States influences not only world affairs, but also our domestic policies.

The illustrative materials – pictures, maps, cartoons, charts, and diagrams – have been carefully selected. They were especially chosen for *From Colony to World Power* and are an integral part of the text. They give the pupil an opportunity to catch something of the spirit, romance, and adventure of our development as a powerful nation. The subdivisions within each chapter and the paragraph captions have a twofold purpose: (1) to help the pupil focus his attention when he first reads the text and (2) to help him to review the material he has once studied. At the end of each chapter there is a list of "Words and Phrases," and "Questions for Understanding the Text." These are primarily intended to direct the attention of the pupil to "minimum essentials" to guide him in the day by day study of the text and to help him in determining the portions of the text he needs to reread for review. A word of caution may be necessary concerning the "Questions for Further Study and Discussion." The teacher may not have sufficient time to use all of them. Some are difficult; some are controversial and cannot be answered with finality by reference to any book; many require the reading of more detailed accounts. These questions are intended to suggest new points of view, to awaken the critical faculty, and to stimulate intellectual curiosity, discussion, and further research. A workbook based on the text is available.

The author hopes that teachers will find the present text a teachable instrument which they can easily adapt to their own purposes. He hopes that the boys and girls who use it will find it interesting and stimulating, and that, in some small way, it may inspire them to become better citizens of their country, eager to maintain its traditions and willing to co-operate with others in finding solutions to our present and future problems.

William A. Hamm
Assistant Superintendent, Assigned to High School Division
Formerly Chairman, Social Studies Department
Walton High School, New York City

NOTE ON SUPPLEMENTARY READING

THE PURPOSE of the suggested readings which follow each chapter is to assist the teacher in helping the pupils overcome the very obvious limitations of a history textbook. Since the amount of collateral or supplementary reading will depend to a very large extent upon the library facilities of each school and class, most of the suggested readings have been purposely confined to a minimum list of books. This frequently cited minimum list, together with the way in which it is referred to in the chapter bibliographies, is as follows:

BAILEY, THOMAS A. *A Diplomatic History of the American People.* (4th ed.) New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950; referred to as Bailey.

BASSETT, JOHN S. *A Short History of the United States, 1492–1929.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929; referred to as Bassett.

BEARD, CHARLES A. and BEARD, MARY R. *The Rise of American Civilization,* 2 vols. (Also a one volume college edition, 1934). New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933; referred to as Beard and Beard.

BEMIS, SAMUEL F. *A Diplomatic History of the United States.* (3rd ed.) New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1950; referred to as Bemis.

CARMAN, HARRY J. *Social and Economic History of the United States,* Vol. I, From Handicraft to Factory, 1500–1820; Vol. II, The Rise of Industrialism, 1820–1875. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1930, 1934; referred to as Carman.

COMMAGER, HENRY S., editor. *Documents of American History.* (5th ed.) New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949; referred to as Commager.

FAULKNER, HAROLD U. *American Economic History.* (6th ed.) New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949; referred to as Faulkner.

HACKER, LOUIS M. and KENDRICK, B. B. *The United States since 1865.* (4th ed.) New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949; referred to as Hacker and Kendrick.

HART, A. B. and CURTIS, J. G., editors. *American History Told by Contemporaries,* 5 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930; referred to as Hart.

MACDONALD, WILLIAM, editor. *Documentary Source Book of American History, 1806–1926.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926; referred to as MacDonald.

SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR M. *The Rise of Modern America, 1865–1951.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951; referred to as Schlesinger.

References are also often made to the volumes of the following series:

HART, A. B., editor. "The American Nation" series, 27 vols. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1904–1908; referred to by author, title, and (A.N.S.).

JOHNSON, ALLEN, editor. "The Chronicles of America" series, 56 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918–1921; referred to by author, title, and (Y.C.S.).

SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR M. and FOX, DIXON RYAN, editors. "History of American Life" series, 12 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944; referred to by author, title, and (A.L.S.).

GABRIEL, R. H., editor. "The Pageant of America" series, 15 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925–1929; referred to by author, title, and (Pageant).

PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. Several volumes of Readings selected by the Department of American Studies, Amherst College. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1949–1953; referred to as Amherst Readings and by title.

References are occasionally made, by author and title, to books which deal with some one phase of American history. Since nearly all these volumes contain extensive bibliographies, the teacher and pupil who desire to pursue a topic thoroughly will be able to find extensive references to the material they desire. Teachers and pupils who wish to explore the fields of fiction and biography will find the following publications very useful: *Historical Fiction and Other Reading References for classes in Junior and Senior High Schools* by Hannah Logasa; and *Bibliography of American Biography, Selected and Annotated for Secondary Schools* by Florence and Howard E. Wilson. Teachers will appreciate Bulletin No. 26 of the National Council for the Social Studies, *Guide to Reading for Social Studies Teachers*, by Edwin R. Carr.

In recent years excellent pamphlets, dealing with topics of live current interest and well adapted to the capacities of high school pupils, have been published by various organizations. Some of these organizations are as follows: American Association for the United Nations, 45 East 65th Street, New York City; Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York City; Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City; United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York City; World Citizens Association, 86 East Randolph Street, Chicago.

The federal government publishes a large number of pamphlets, articles, and reports which are of great value to the history teacher. A list of these publications and their prices can be obtained by writing to the Superintendent of Public Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Of special value to teacher and pupil in keeping abreast of current developments and current literature are *The American Observer*, Washington, D. C.; *Scholastic* (both especially adapted to high school students); *The New York Times Book Review;* and *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.*

The teacher who is a member of the National Council for the Social Studies has in *Social Education* and its other publications an indispensable mine of information on new books, new materials, and new methods.

CONTENTS

I

OUR COLONIAL HERITAGE

CHAPTER		PAGE
1	*Europe Moves West*	3
2	*Economic Activity in the Colonies*	11
3	*Social Conditions among the Colonies*	25
4	*Political Development of the Colonies*	38
5	*Colonial Resistance to the British Imperial System*	49
6	*The War for Independence*	65

II

WELDING THE UNION

7	*The Critical Period*	81
8	*The Establishment of a Stronger Government*	94
9	*The Federal Government*	108

III

THE RISE OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY

10	*The New Nation*	135
11	*Disentangling the United States from Europe*	151
12	*The Triumph of Jefferson*	162
13	*The War of 1812*	182
14	*A Nation Free to Work Out Its Own Destiny*	196

IV

NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM

15	*The Sections*	217
16	*The Tariff, the Bank, and Internal Improvements*	239
17	*Democracy and Politics of the Jacksonian Era*	257

CHAPTER PAGE

18 *Social Aspects of the Growing Democracy* 268
19 *Expansion and Slavery* 287
20 *The Lull before the Storm* 307
21 *The Storm Breaks* 315
22 *The War of the Confederate States for Independence* 331
23 *The "Crime of Reconstruction"* 354

V

CHANGING AMERICA

24 *The Closing of the Frontier* 369
25 *The Machine and Industrial Expansion* 384
26 *The Modern Corporation and Big Business* 402
27 *The Rise of Organized Labor* 416
28 *Social and Intellectual Changes* 435

VI

THE UNITED STATES SEEKS A SOLUTION OF DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

29 *Domestic Adjustment to Economic Change* 469
30 *Politics, Politicians, and Campaigns, 1865–1900* 480
31 *The Agrarian Crusade, 1865–1900* 493
32 *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement, 1900–1913* 511
33 *Woodrow Wilson and the New Freedom* 525
34 *Normalcy, Deceptive Prosperity, and Collapse, 1921–1932* 542
35 *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* 559
36 *Immigration* 600
37 *The Conservation of Our Natural and Human Resources* 609
38 *Searching for Ways to Improve Democracy* 626

VII

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

39 *A Century of Isolation* 645
40 *The Spanish-American War and the Panama Canal* 653
41 *The Retreat from Dollar Diplomacy* 667
42 *Inter-American Co-operation* 687

CHAPTER PAGE

43 *America's Interest in the Pacific* 699
44 *World War One, 1914–1918* 715
45 *The Search for Peace, 1919–1939* 737
46 *World War Two, 1939–1945* 758

VIII
POSTWAR ADJUSTMENTS

47 *President Truman and the Fair Deal* 799
48 *The "Cold War"* 823

APPENDIX
Declaration of Independence 850
Constitution of the United States 852
INDEX 864

MAPS, CHARTS, AND DIAGRAMS

MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES AND VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY 5
COLONIES UNDER ROYAL CONTROL 43
EUROPEAN CLAIMS IN NORTH AMERICA, 1710 50
EXTENT OF ENGLISH COLONIES, 1763 52
THE SARATOGA CAMPAIGN, 1777 68
PRINCIPAL THRUSTS AND BATTLES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR 71
WESTERN LANDS WHEN CLAIMED BY STATES 83
WESTERN LANDS AFTER STATES GAVE UP CLAIMS 83
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN 1789 AND TODAY 128
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION — 1790, 1840 136
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1800 164
THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE 175
TRAVEL ROUTES IN 1833 219
THE UNITED STATES IN 1850 224
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1828 235
INDIAN LOCATIONS IN 1833 253
THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE, 1820 272
THE MAINE BOUNDARY, 1782–1842 288
TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES, 1783–1853 297

PAGE

THE FIRST ATTACKS ON SLAVERY 298

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, 1850 308

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT, 1854 316

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1860 323

STATES OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH IN 1863 332

COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH IN 1861 334

PRINCIPAL THRUSTS IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES 339

WESTWARD ADVANCE OF THE CENTER OF POPULATION, 1790–1900 381

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES 385

SHIFT OF WORKERS FROM AGRICULTURAL TO NONAGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS, 1820–1940 436

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1896 508

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1912 523

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1932 556

MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES 610

NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS OF THE UNITED STATES 611

FEDERAL IRRIGATION PROJECTS 612

EXTENT OF SOIL EROSION IN THE UNITED STATES 613

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY 618

CARIBBEAN AMERICA 676

AIR LINES OF SOUTH AMERICA IN 1941 696

THE COST OF WORLD WAR I TO THE UNITED STATES AND FOUR OF THE ALLIES 726

AMERICAN OPERATIONS ON THE WESTERN FRONT IN WORLD WAR I 728

TERRITORIAL CHANGES IN EUROPE, 1918–1923 732

TERRITORY HELD BY THE ROME-BERLIN AXIS, 1942 769

ALLIED THRUSTS ON THE EUROPEAN FRONT 773

ALLIED THRUSTS IN THE PACIFIC 777

THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER 790

UNIT ONE

I

OUR COLONIAL HERITAGE

CHAPTERS

1 *Europe Moves West*
2 *Economic Activity in the Colonies*
3 *Social Conditions among the Colonies*
4 *Political Development of the Colonies*
5 *Colonial Resistance to the British Imperial System*
6 *The War for Independence*



Mural by Edward Laning

Gutenberg displays a page from his famous Bible (Mainz, 1456). Five hundred years ago, in the fifteenth century, a way of printing with moveable type was discovered by Johannes Gutenberg. This discovery resulted in an increase in books and pamphlets. The popularizing of such lost knowledge as Greek science and literature and Ptolemy's maps aroused a new curiosity about the earth, which prompted men to set forth to explore new lands. These explorations led to the spread of European culture to the New World.

CHAPTER ONE

Europe Moves West

EUROPEANS FIRST LEARN OF AMERICA

Europe on the move. The discovery of a "new world" in 1492 by Christopher Columbus was but an incident in a great European *commercial revolution.* From the relatively small area of western Europe, wherein men had been accustomed for centuries to supply their own needs, ships and caravans went forth to the borders of the known world and beyond in an endeavor to find more things to eat, to wear, and to use.

The great expansion of trade in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries followed in the wake of the Crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Largely because people changed their old habits of staying in one place for a lifetime and began the habit of "going places," the four centuries between the beginning of the Crusades (1095) and the voyage of Columbus (1492) mark the transition from medieval to modern times.

Expansion of trade in the Mediterranean. Those who made a business of "going places" did so because they could earn money by buying goods in one place and selling them in another. This trade between distant places, so common and important today, was something of a novelty in western Europe five hundred years ago. At that time the volume of trade was expanding rapidly — particularly between Asia and Europe by way of the Mediterranean Sea. To the merchants of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa went the largest share of the profits, for these Italian cities controlled the Mediterranean and the overland routes to the East.

A route around Africa. Merchants in other parts of western Europe, in order to break the trade monopoly of the Italians, searched for other routes to the rich markets of India and China. The Portuguese were the first to break the Italian monopoly by their discovery of an all-water route to India around the south of Africa. Sailing under the Portuguese flag in 1486–87, Bartholomew Diaz first rounded the Cape of Good Hope; in 1497–99 Vasco da Gama completed a voyage from Portugal to India and back with a cargo of spices and other goods worth sixty times the cost of his expedition. (See map on page 5.)

Columbus finds a New World. The efforts of Columbus to find an all-water route to the East by sailing west are well known. His accidental discovery of land in the Western Hemisphere started a remarkable

series of discoveries and explorations. Europe gradually became acquainted with the nature and extent of North and South America and the near-by islands.

Toward this New World in the West, Europeans turned their faces. On the Atlantic, trading ships henceforth increased in numbers, while the importance of the Mediterranean trade declined. This change was part of the Commercial Revolution.

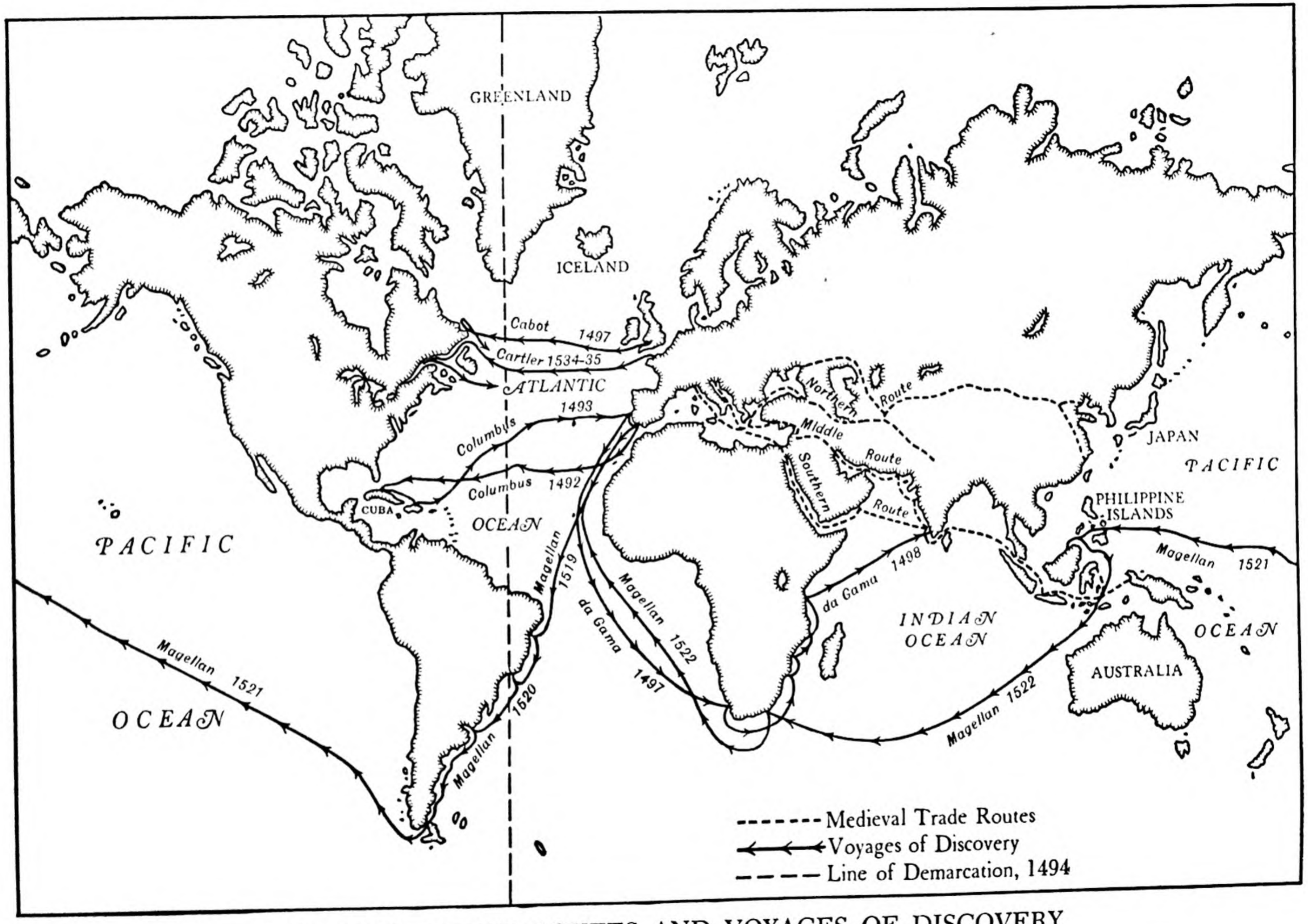
EUROPEANS COME TO LIVE IN THE NEW WORLD

The first settlement. To Europeans the New World was chiefly significant as a source of wealth. Gold and silver from Mexico and Peru and fish from Newfoundland lured countless ships across the Atlantic. More influential on later history, however, was the fact that Europeans not only visited the New World but also came to live in it. The first settlement of Europeans was established on the island of Haiti by some members of Columbus's expedition of 1492. For four and a half centuries since then, Europeans have continued to cross the Atlantic in order to set up homes on this side. The story of the transplanting of European people and culture to the Western Hemisphere is the basis of American history.

The people who established the first European settlements in America came from many different nations — and for a great variety of reasons. The Spanish had a head start on the rest and so were able to cover the greatest area. They settled in colonies from Florida and California to the Argentine, absorbing the native population and forming an empire that made Spain for more than a hundred years the wealthiest and most powerful nation of its time. Portugal colonized Brazil. The French settled in Canada and controlled the Mississippi Valley. Small settlements were made by the Dutch along the Hudson and by the Finns and Swedish along the Delaware. But the most numerous of the newcomers to North America were the English. The English colonies early absorbed the Dutch, the Finns, and the Swedes, and eventually embraced the French as well.

Why we are chiefly interested in the English settlements. The great empire of the Spanish in South America, Central America, Mexico, Florida, and the West Indies was tremendously important. But it has had less influence upon the United States than have the English settlements.

Every schoolboy and schoolgirl in the United States knows that this country was formed more than a century and a half ago out of thirteen English colonies scattered along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Georgia. How Captain John Smith and others established Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607; how the Pilgrims came to Plymouth in 1620 and the Puritans to Boston in 1630; how Lord Baltimore made Maryland a haven for Catholics; how William Penn made Pennsylvania a home for Quakers;



MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES AND VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

and how James Oglethorpe made Georgia a refuge for debtors — all are stories that are too well known to need repetition.

From trading posts to royal provinces. Although English colonization began in the efforts of commercial companies to make money by trading with the Indians, the settlers soon turned to agriculture and found in the products of the soil both the means of their own subsistence and a surplus that enabled them to carry on trade with Europe. As the population and wealth of the colonies increased, they became more self-sufficient and less dependent upon the trading companies and proprietors who had sponsored them. At the same time, however, they became more dependent upon the British government. As time wore on, most of the commercial companies and the proprietors lost their American grants. The colonies they had established were taken over by the king and were ruled as royal provinces.

The increase in colonial population. Unlike the French colonies to the north and the Spanish to the south, the English settlements along the Atlantic seacoast of North America increased rapidly in population. Growth resulted from a high birth rate among the colonists and the continual stream of immigration from Europe. Although many persons migrated from Europe to America in order to find more religious and political freedom, far larger numbers came in the hope of bettering their economic condition.

"Land free . . . labor scarce." The population of England in the seventeenth century was about five million. The country could scarcely be called overpopulated, though many contemporary writers seemed to think that it was, for they spoke of idle and mischievous crowds and of the unemployed that flocked to the cities, and they complained of taxes to take care of the poor. The real causes of distress among the masses seem to have been not overpopulation but an uneven distribution of wealth, and the economic disturbances which usually accompany such important changes as England was experiencing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Whatever the causes, writers of pamphlets and books and those who drafted petitions to the king for charters repeatedly pointed out the advantage of the colonies as the place to take care of the "swarms of idle persons," rid England of its beggars, reduce the cost of maintaining prisons and jails, and lessen the poor tax. The same writers who told how advantageous colonization would be to England also described the richness and bounty of the New World. John Winthrop, who became one of the leaders of the migration to the New World, wrote: "All towns complain of the burthen of their poore . . . and yet suffer a whole continent . . . to lie waste without any improvement." A coin of 1647 bears this inscription: "In Virginia land free and labor scarce; in England land scarce and labor plenty." Thus the lure of free land and the hope of economic betterment were used to attract to the New World the landless, the poor, and the unfortunate.



From Linschoten's *Voyage to the East Indies*, 1596

The market at Goa, capital of the Portuguese colony of Goa in India, was a bustling place. The "riches of the Indies" stimulated exploration.



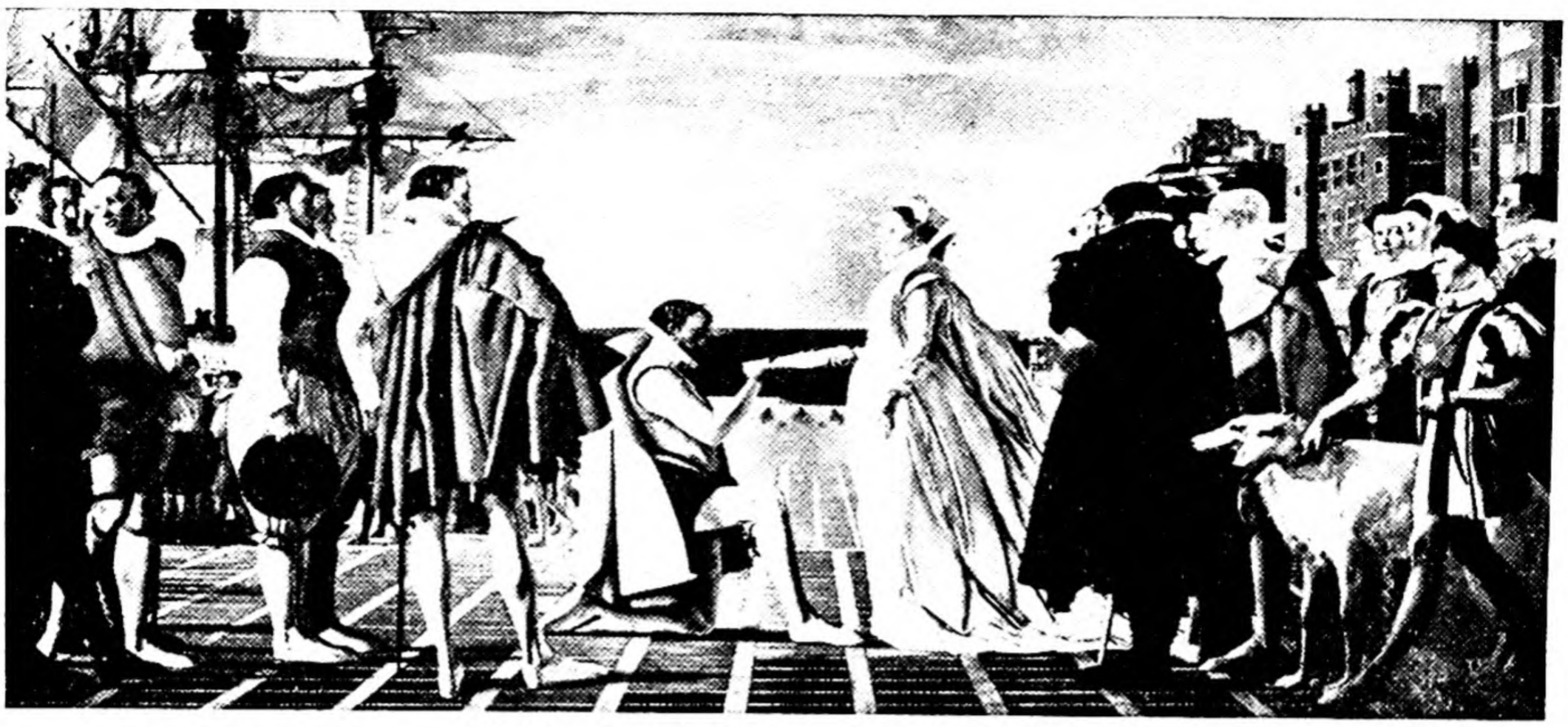
October 12, 1492 by Pietro Gabrini. Courtesy Chicago Natural History Museum

The landing of Columbus in the West Indies is one of the great events in the history of the world. His westward voyaging opened up new continents.



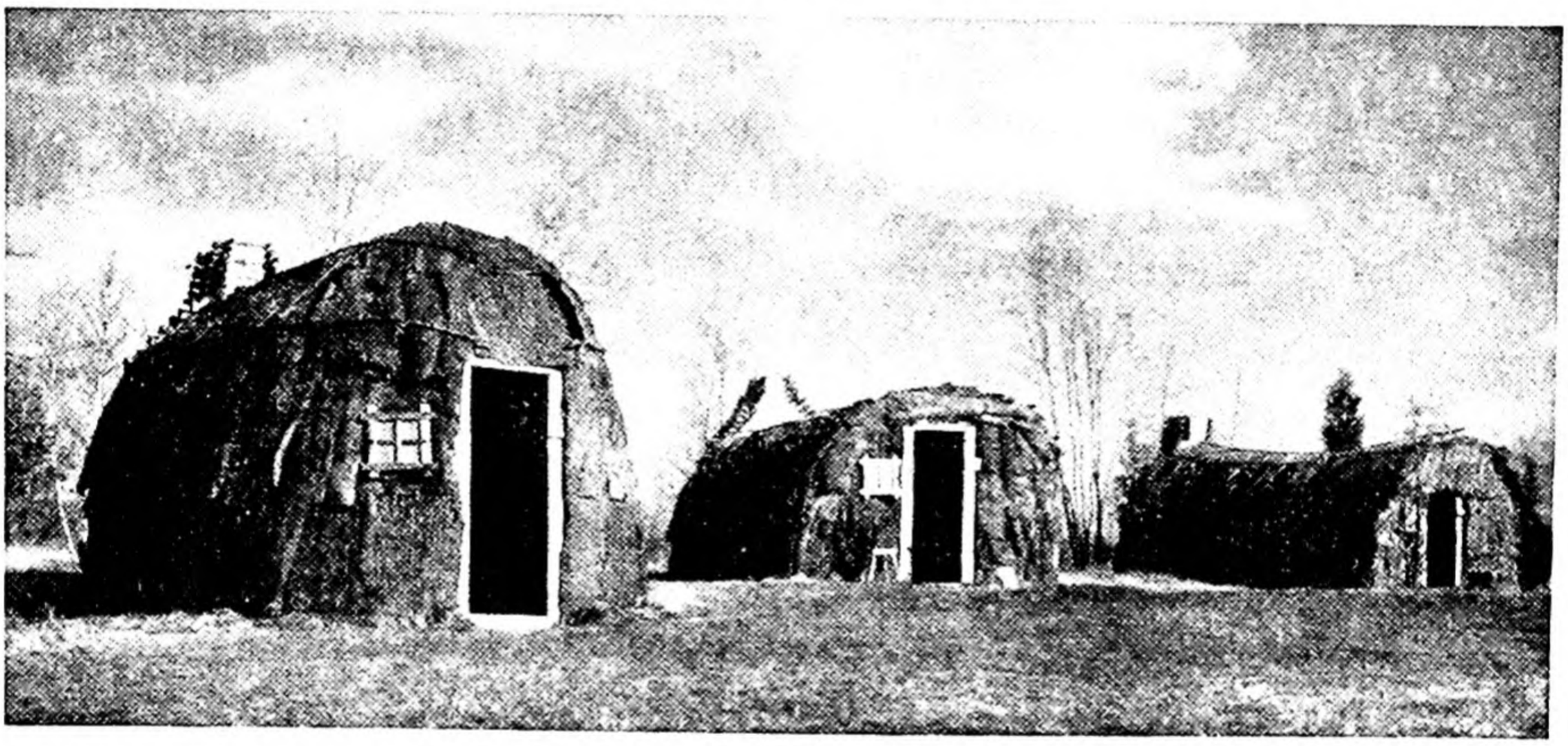
From De Bry, *India Occid.*, 1595

Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque, the Spanish explorers, meet in Panama and make an agreement for the conquest and equal partition of Peru.



Painting by A. K. Lawrence. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art

Sir Walter Raleigh, courtier, explorer, adventurer, is handed his orders by Queen Elizabeth before sailing on a voyage to the New World.



Courtesy The Pioneer Village, Salem, Massachusetts

Some of the first English settlers lived in wigwams like these. Bark was placed over a frame of branches, and the cracks were filled in with mud.



Courtesy F. E. Fanger, Mexico City

The Spaniards, who sent hundreds of missionaries to the New World to convert the Indians, built this beautiful cathedral in Mexico City in 1573.

THE EXPANSION OF THE FRONTIER IS THE "MOST AMERICAN THING IN ALL AMERICA"

The New World as an outpost of Europe. The islands of the Caribbean, the eastern coast of North America, and the southern parts of South America offered to European enterprise a field of wonderful richness. It was the first American frontier — really an outpost of Europe. Harbors abounded; navigable rivers sometimes opened the very heart of the continents. Here was timber, fertile soil, and rich natural resources waiting to be exploited. When the American Revolution began, the occupation and development of this frontier had been going on for nearly three centuries. About two and a quarter million English colonists occupied the lands east of the Appalachian Mountains. And yet the settlement of this region was not complete. One hundred fifty miles west of Philadelphia all trace of the white man's presence disappeared. In only a few places had settlement moved beyond the first highlands. The expansion of the frontier from the Atlantic coast line, across the Alleghenies, the great fertile valley of the Mississippi, then the Rockies to the Pacific is the central theme of American history — the "most American thing in all America" (pages 223, 225, 381–382).

The effect of the frontier. The frontier and the conditions of frontier life molded the character of the settlers and influenced the political and social institutions and ideals that developed in the New World. The frontier fostered the growth of a rugged and hardy individualism, a spirit of self-reliance, independence, and free enterprise, an abiding faith in material progress, and the constant hope of better things to come.

Words and Phrases

Commercial Revolution, Crusades, frontier, New World, royal provinces, self-sufficient colonies

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What was the Commercial Revolution?
2. For what was Columbus seeking in 1492?
3. What parts of the New World were explored by the Spanish, the French, the English? Why do we study most thoroughly about the English?
4. What is meant by the statement that the establishment of colonies was a commercial enterprise?
5. What political, religious, and economic motives explain why people migrated from the Old World to the New?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. "The first American frontier was really an outpost of Europe." Explain.
2. Compare colonial activities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with colonial activities of England and France of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

3. It has been suggested that migration toward the frontier offered a means of escape for those who were reluctant to endure the more difficult struggle for existence in older and well-established communities. Discuss.
4. Investigate and report on the following topics: (a) the evidence to support the discovery of America by the Norsemen; (b) the influence of the travels of Marco Polo; (c) the effect on Venetian trade of the rise to power of the Ottoman Turks; (d) the civilization of the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas; (e) the exploits of Cortés, Coronado, Cartier.
5. Investigate and report on the work of Prince Henry the Navigator; the voyages of Diaz and Magellan; the Papal Line of Demarcation.
6. Contrast as to (a) location, (b) purpose, (c) methods, and (d) results the colonial settlements of the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English.
7. What is the importance of the defeat of the Spanish Armada by England in 1588?

Suggested Reading

EUROPEAN BACKGROUND: Beard and Beard, I, Chap. I; Bemis, pp. 3–14; Cheyney, *European Background of American History* (A.N.S.), pp. 22–40; Hart, I, 28–34; Wissler, *Adventures in the Wilderness* (Pageant), Chaps. I–V; Commager, No. 2 – Line of Demarcation (1493), No. 3 – Treaty of Tordesillas.

EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY: Bourne, *Spain in America* (A.N.S.), pp. 84–103; Cheyney, *European Background of American History* (A.N.S.), pp. 41–78; Commager and Nevins, *The Heritage of America*, pp. 3–22; Faulkner, pp. 28–41; Hart, I, 69–88; Morison, S. E., *Admiral of the Ocean Sea;* Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man* (A.L.S.); Wissler, *Adventures in the Wilderness* (Pageant), Chap. VIII; Commager, Nos. 1, 4 – Grants to Columbus and John Cabot.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS: Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government* (A.N.S.), pp. 74–100, 162–201; Andrews, *Fathers of New England* (Y.C.S.), pp. 72–87; Beard and Beard, I, Chap. II; Bourne, *Spain in America* (A.N.S.), pp. 190–252, 302–319; Carman, I, 29–41, 45–60; Cheyney, *European Background of American History* (A.N.S.), pp. 123–167; Goodwin, *Dutch and English on the Hudson* (Y.C.S.), pp. 32–50; Hart, I, 89–200; Inman and Castañeda, *History of Latin America for Schools;* Munro, *Crusaders of New France* (Y.C.S.), pp. 32–59; Tyler, *England in America* (A.N.S.), pp. 6–21, 60–117; Webster and Hussey, *History of Latin America;* Wertenbaker, *The First Americans* (A.L.S.); Wissler, *Adventures in the Wilderness* (Pageant), Chaps. XI–XVIII.

PHYSICAL SETTING: Bassett, pp. 1–23; Dodd, *The Old South,* Chap. I; Farrand, *Basis of American History* (A.N.S.), pp. 3–69; Faulkner, pp. 1–28; Huntington, *The New Continent* (Y.C.S.), Chaps. II–IV; Semple, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions,* pp. 1–51; Smith, *North America.*

CHAPTER TWO

Economic Activity in the Colonies

THE COLONISTS NEEDED LABORERS TO DEVELOP RICH RESOURCES

Crude farming methods. The outstanding forces conditioning economic activity during the colonial period (1607–1776) were (1) the abundance of land and natural resources and (2) the scarcity of labor. Ninety-seven out of a hundred of the English colonists obtained a living from the land. It was a rude kind of farming. The tools of the farmer were the plow and the harrow, the axe, the spade, the hoe, the fork, and the flail — crude, homemade implements. Not every farmer could afford horses; hand labor or oxen were used for much of the heavy work. Land was so cheap that it was not necessary to use great care in its cultivation.

The colonial population. 1. Large families. The population of the colonies in 1690 was a little more than two hundred thousand; in 1760 not much more than one and a half million. The first United States census of 1790 revealed a total population of nearly four million. The bulk of the population at the time of the American Revolution consisted of second- and third-generation Americans. The infant death rate was high, but families were large — eight, ten, and twelve children being rather common. Men and women married early and reared large families, for children were of value in the hard work of the farm and home.

2. Indentured servants. Many farmers and planters, anxious for laborers, were willing to pay the cost of the voyage of the immigrants who would agree to work for them for a period of years. The laborers who accepted these terms were known as "indentured servants." The terms of indenture varied, but were generally harsh. When the period of service was over, the indentured laborer became free. Sometimes he received a grant of land and became an independent farmer.

3. Debtors and criminals. The prisons of England were also a source of immigrants to the New World. For numerous offenders, transportation to America was frequently offered as a substitute for a term of years in an English jail. Many were political and religious offenders; some were debtors; some were jailed for petty offenses; some were hardened criminals. These "criminals," like the voluntary immigrants, were assigned to masters for a term of years, usually seven, and then given their liberty.

4. Negro slavery. Very important was the spread of another form

of forced migration and forced labor — Negro slavery. The Spanish had first used Negro captives from Africa on the sugar plantations of the West Indies in the sixteenth century. Later the practice spread to the English sugar, tobacco, and rice plantations on the mainland. Although Negro slaves were first introduced in Virginia in 1619, they did not become so important a source of labor supply as white indentured servants until after 1700.

Although Negro slavery existed in all of the English colonies, in 1763 the five southernmost colonies contained about three hundred thousand of the total four hundred thousand slaves. Cheap Negro labor tended to drive white laborers from the plantations of the South. As indentured servants gained their freedom and as new immigrants arrived from Europe, they avoided the plantation regions of the Southern coastal plain and settled in the Appalachian highlands to the west or in the Northern colonies.

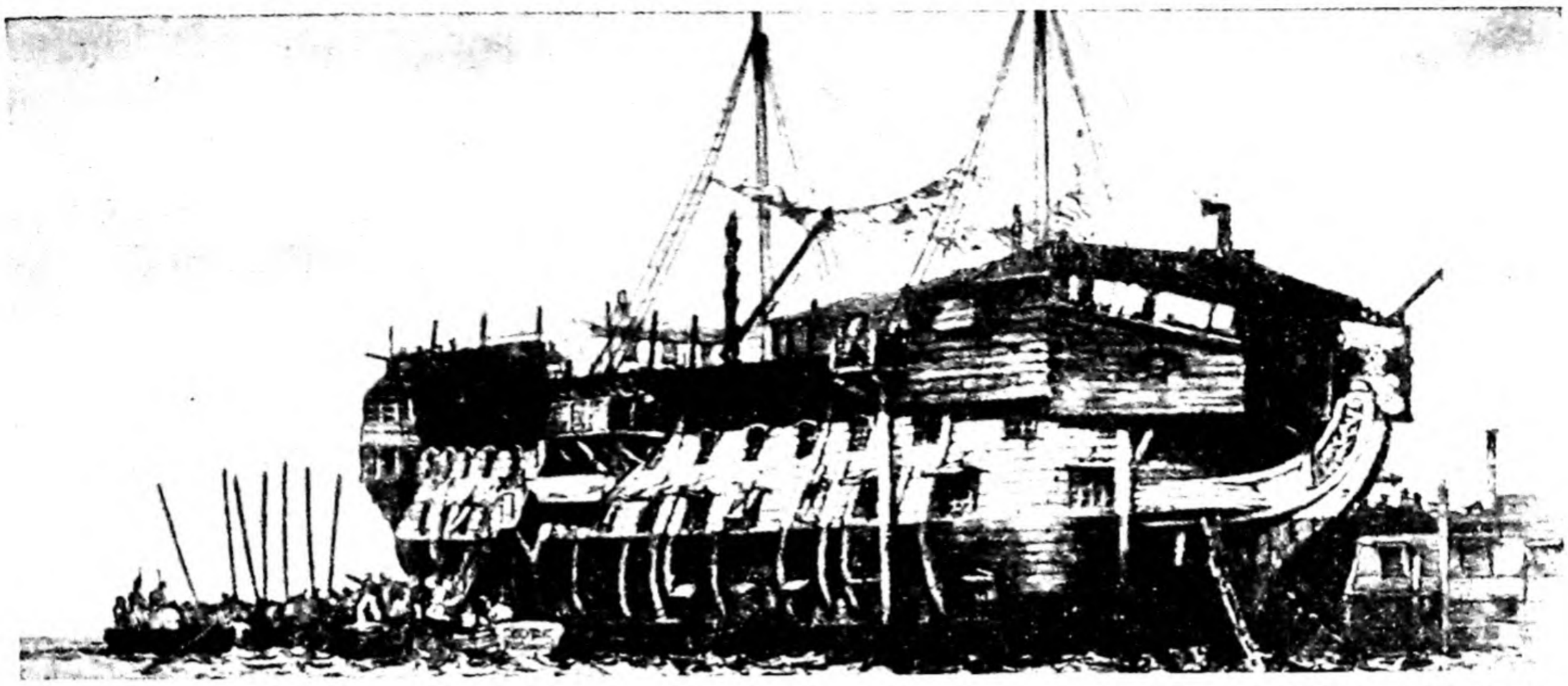
THE UNIT OF LANDHOLDING IN THE COLONIES WAS THE SMALL FARM

Colonial modification of the English land system. In England and throughout Europe, those who tilled the soil were usually tenants, paying rents to a lord or large landholder. Attempts to establish this manorial, or feudal, system of landholding in the English colonies were unsuccessful. Land was cheap and plentiful, and the colonists saw no reason why they should pay rent to a landlord.

1. Freeholders in New England. In the New England colonies the settlers became the absolute owners of their farms, that is, they were "freeholders," to use the common legal term. Thomas Hutchinson observed that for every tenant there were fifty freeholders. At one time the Massachusetts legislature gave each town a tract of land six miles square. The town meeting distributed the land to settlers as they moved in, usually giving each farmer a plot for his home as well as land for cultivation. The town frequently retained pasture land which all the settlers were allowed to use in common. The same procedure was, for the most part, followed in Rhode Island and Connecticut.

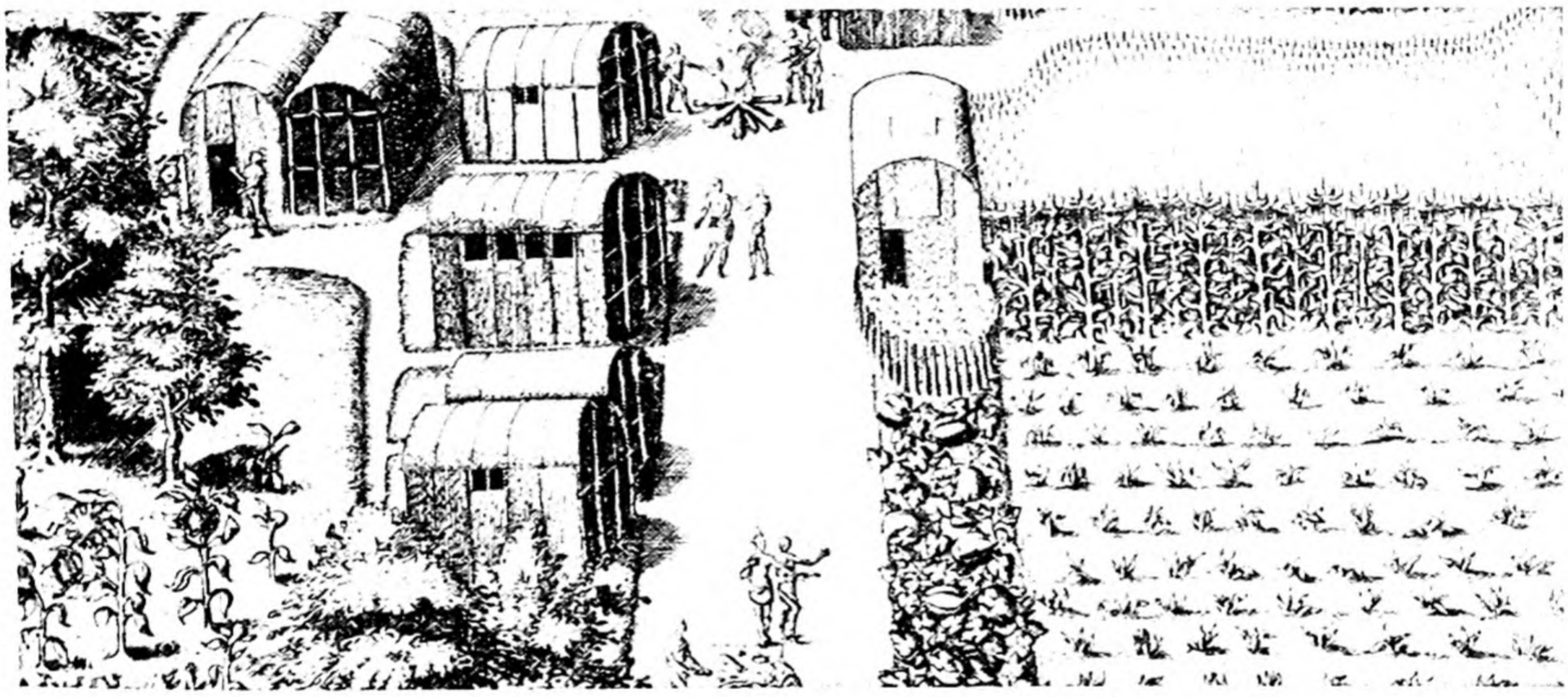
2. The patroon system in New York. In New York the Dutch offered large tracts of land on either side of the Hudson to those who would bring over fifty families. In this way, large estates resembling feudal manors were established. The tenants on these manorial estates paid rents to the owner of the estate, who was called a "patroon." This system did not spread to any great extent; and, as the colonial period wore on, many farmers in New York, like those in New England, obtained absolute title to their land.

3. Land grants of proprietors and quitrents. In the proprietary colonies, the lords proprietors attracted settlers by offering large parcels of



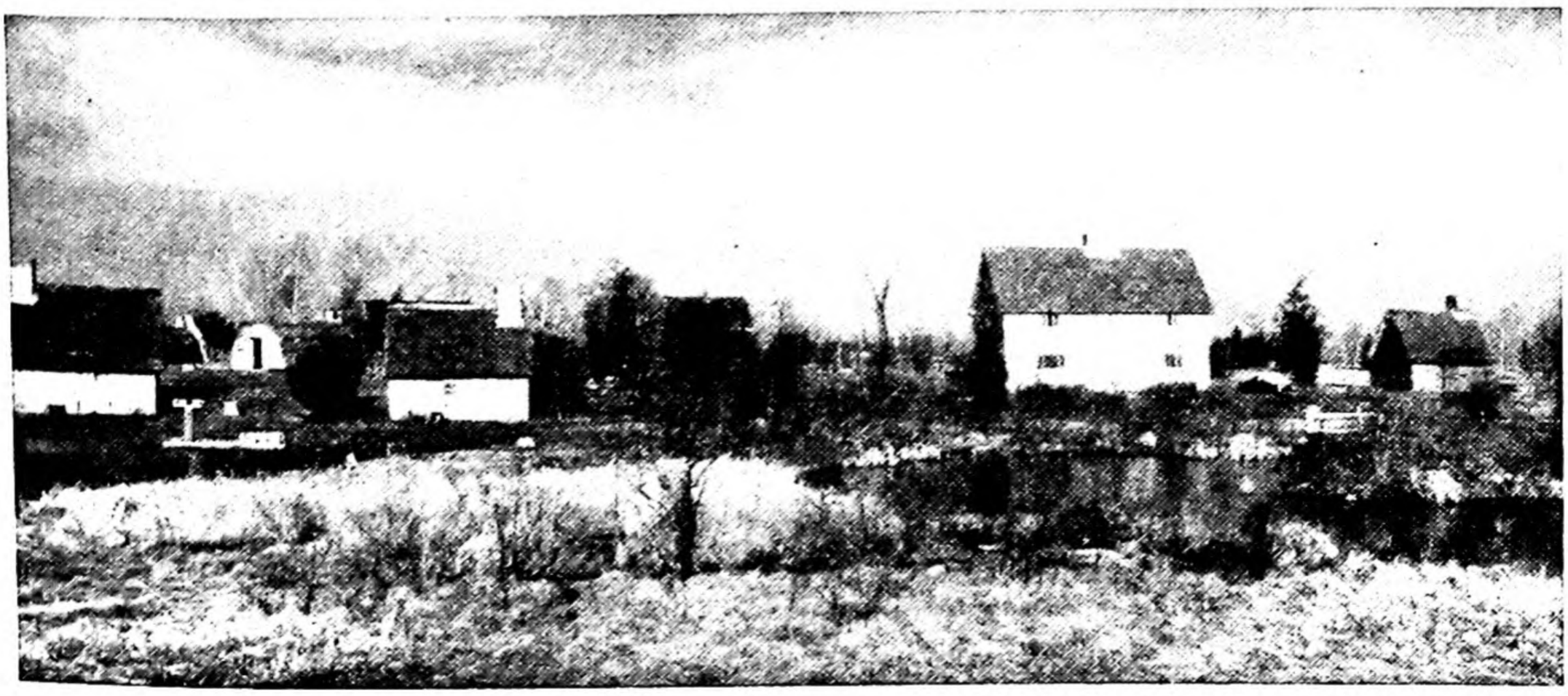
Courtesy *Travel Magazine*

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Great Britain transported thousands of criminals to penal colonies overseas in this kind of prison ship.



Courtesy William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

This typical Indian village of colonial times in the southeastern part of the United States consisted of a cluster of huts and cultivated plots of ground.



Courtesy Paul J. Weber, Architectural Photographer, Boston

The Pioneer Village at Salem, Massachusetts, is a reconstruction of the types of dwellings, the setting, and the layout of a typical colonial village in New England.

land. Thus, Penn offered 500 acres to the heads of families; Baltimore offered 1,000 acres to those who brought over five settlers; and the Carterets and Berkeleys offered 150 acres to each family settling in New Jersey. Those who received land grants in this way usually had to pay to the grantor a small annual fee called a "quitrent." Except for the Penns, Baltimores, and a few other large landholding families, quitrents did not yield a large revenue. The settlers tried to evade payment, and attempts by manor lords to collect the rents sometimes provoked violence. With the American Revolution, individual ownership took the place of the quitrent system. America was becoming a nation of small landowners.

4. Land speculation. In all the colonies, especially during the eighteenth century, as population increased and land along the seacoast became valuable, speculators were busy acquiring titles to large tracts of land in the interior.

THE COLONISTS MADE A LIVING FROM THEIR FARMS, MANUFACTURES, FISHERIES, FORESTS, AND COMMERCE

The products of colonial farms. The colonist found in the New World many plants, trees, and berries with which he was acquainted. From Europe were imported the seeds of the staple European crops and fruits, most of which grew well in the American soil and climate. From Europe also were imported livestock — cattle, sheep, hogs, horses, oxen — for these animals either were not found in America or the Indians had not learned to domesticate them. The Indians taught the early settlers to cultivate a native American plant — maize or Indian corn — that became the chief source of food supply for man and cattle and has continued to this day as our most important agricultural crop. The Indians also taught the early colonists how to grow and use tobacco, which became the great staple of Virginia and Maryland during the colonial period.

Differing types of farms. Planters, small farmers, and pioneers on the frontier differed widely in their methods of farming and in the crops they grew. The planter operated a farm of large acreage with the help of slave labor, growing some one crop for sale. In Virginia and Maryland the main crop was tobacco; in South Carolina and Georgia, it was rice or indigo; and in the West Indies, sugar.

Mixed farming was the usual type in the Middle Colonies and in New England. Many farms in the Middle Colonies were large and produced a quantity of wheat, oats, and barley for sale. Indeed, so much grain was exported from the Middle Colonies that they are sometimes referred to as the "Bread Colonies." Most New England farms were small, producing very little beyond the farm family's needs.

No clear geographical line separated the three types of farmers. In

New England, New York, and Pennsylvania there were some large farms worked by slaves, resembling the plantations of the South. Plantations chiefly prevailed in the older Tidewater South; even there, however, the small farms exceeded the plantations in number, although not in wealth. In the Middle Colonies were both small farms like those of New England and large farms like the plantations of the South.

Economic activities on the frontier. The pioneers who moved inland lived away from the market and produced their own food. What little surplus they had for distant markets had to be in a form easy to transport. A part of their grain was converted into whiskey, easily carried to market. Whiskey, furs, and skins were the chief products. These were borne from the frontier to the coast by trains of pack horses.

Manufacturing in the colonies. In colonial times many articles now produced in factories and mills were made in the home. The farmer was a Jack-of-all-trades. He made and mended his tools, made his own hinges, and sometimes made his own nails. The housewife made a number of articles, ranging from simple items like candles and soap to things demanding finer workmanship, such as cloth and lace.

Despite the prevalence of home industries, the colonists depended very largely for their manufactured goods upon imports — chiefly from England. One reason why the colonists did not try to manufacture all their own products was that skilled workers were scarce. Moreover, the chief ambition of every colonist was to own land. However, there developed — especially in the eighteenth century — a number of shop industries which produced a variety of articles requiring special skill. In all the colonies there were iron forges, blacksmith shops, grist mills, sawmills, distilleries, tanneries; and, at a later time, most of the colonies also had shoe shops and dye shops. These shop industries were small in size; the owner usually employed one or two indentured servants and a few apprentices who worked for their "keep." Production in these small colonial shops was mostly for the local market.

Colonial encouragement and regulation of industry. The colonial legislatures gave assistance to manufacturing by means of bounties, premiums, land grants, tariffs, monopolies, patents, and exemption from taxation. They also enacted regulatory laws, attempting to establish standards of quality and to fix wages and prices. In 1662, for example, Virginia fixed the price of hides and shoes by law, and Rhode Island fixed the price of lumber. Inspectors were directed to see that bricks and ship construction conformed to certain standards. Colonial legislatures also licensed peddlers and regulated the traffic in tobacco and rum.

Colonial merchants. After the commercial companies had lost their charters, and thus their control of trade in the colonies they had founded, individual merchants built up a steady business in the goods the colonists produced. While the early trading companies expected the wealth

of America to be gold, gems, and spices, the merchants found it in trade in products of a less showy kind — furs, fish, tobacco, rice, flour.

New England turns to the sea. The New England soil yielded a reluctant harvest, but it was not long before the New Englanders learned that at their doors was a harvest of fish more valuable than "the best mines of the king of Spain." The cod and the mackerel provided New England with a product that could be readily sold abroad, just as the sugar cane and the tobacco plant did for the West Indies and Virginia. So important was the cod that the Massachusetts legislature decided to "hang a representation of a codfish in the room where the House sits, as a memorial of the importance of the codfishery to the welfare of this Commonwealth."

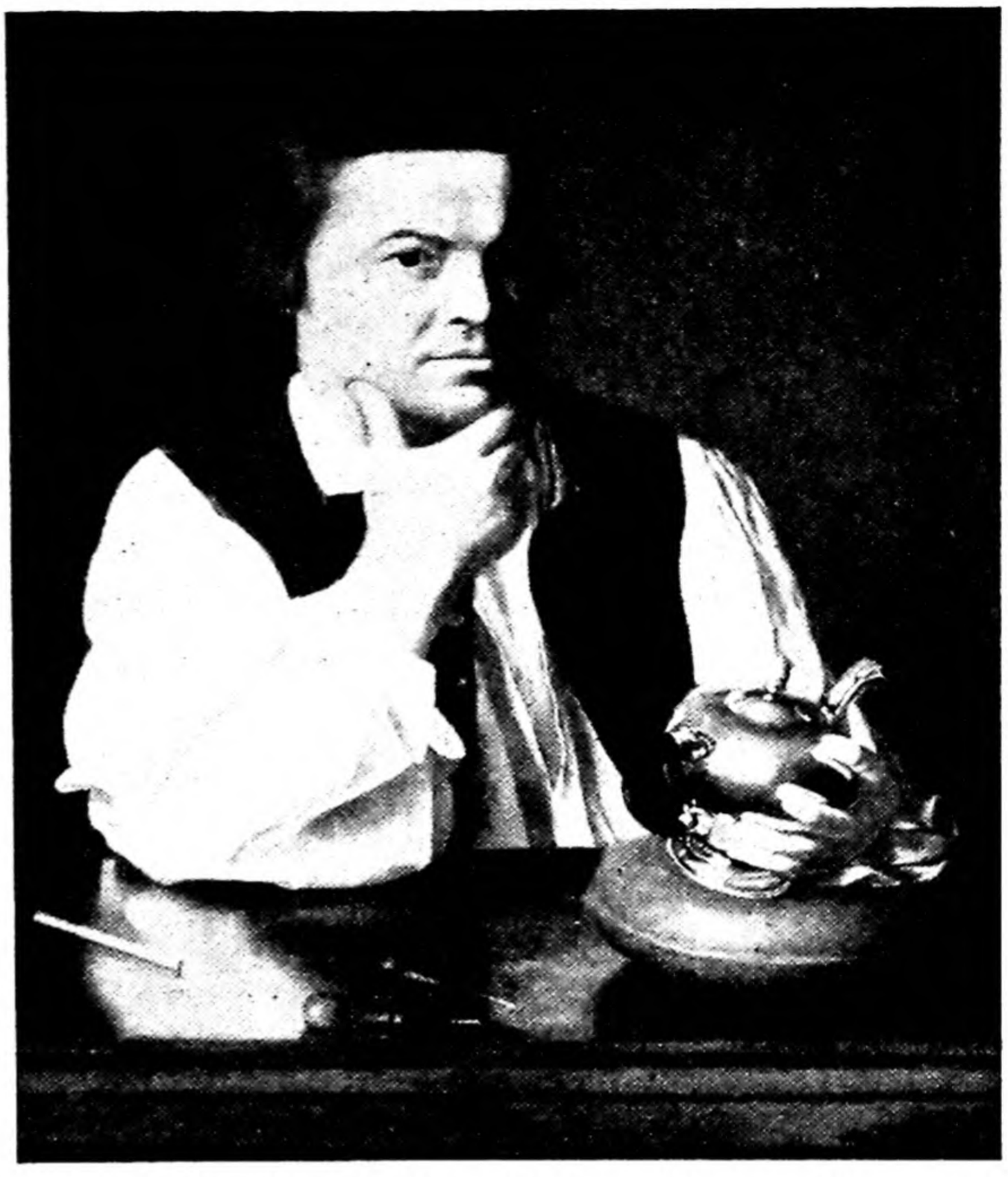
The whaling industry was another important source of wealth for the New Englanders. At first, whaling was carried on only in small boats which harpooned whales near the coast; but in the eighteenth century, large whaling vessels were built equipped to extract the oil on shipboard. Whalers from Nantucket and New Bedford set out on long and dangerous voyages to the Arctic and South Atlantic in search of the sea monsters. One of the most important whale products was sperm oil, used for making candles. Refined sperm oil was used for lamps.

Closely allied to the fishing and whaling industries, and indeed making them possible, was the shipbuilding industry. From Nova Scotia to Long Island, forests of oak spread down to the coast ready for the ship carpenter to make into as sturdy ships as sailed. The colonial merchant fleets of New England became the carriers of goods from one colony to another, for the bulk of intercolonial commerce, as well as the commerce of all the colonies with England and Europe, was by water.

Colonial trade routes. Throughout the colonial period, the largest and most profitable trade was between the mainland colonies and those of the West Indies. From the plantation colonies the merchants secured sugar, tobacco, cocoa, rice, and dyestuffs; from the colonies where small farms prevailed, they obtained wheat, cattle, fish, furs, and rice. Some naval stores, as masts, came from the Northern colonies; while others, like pitch, tar, and turpentine, came mostly from the Carolinas.

One of the most profitable ventures in colonial commerce was to take a cargo of such mainland products as furs, fish, naval stores, lumber, hides, flour, rum, and tobacco to Portugal, Spain, the Azores, or Africa. There a second cargo was secured, either of manufactured goods from Europe or slaves from Africa. This was carried to the West Indies. Here, a third cargo of sugar, molasses, spices, dyestuffs, and slaves was secured for sale in the colonies of the mainland. Another profitable voyage was to take mainland products to the West Indies, exchanging them there for sugar for England, and returning from England with manufactures needed in the mainland colonies.

This famous painting shows Paul Revere holding a silver teapot. Before him lie tools for engraving a coat of arms. Paul Revere is famous to every American for his patriotic ride through "every Middlesex village and farm," but it is not so well known that he was a skilled craftsman and one of the best American silversmiths of his day.



Painting by John Singleton Copley. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Elias Hasket Derby, of Salem, Massachusetts (1739–99), was the most notable member of one of the most distinguished families in America's seafaring history. Just as it was he who led the way in equipping the dreaded Salem privateers during the Revolution, he was among the first to send his ships to the distant places of the earth in search of new markets. Elias Derby, and men like him, made New England ships famous throughout the world.



Courtesy Peabody Museum of Salem

Obstacles to the development of colonial manufacture and commerce. There were three great obstacles to colonial manufacture, trade, and commerce: (a) difficulty of inland transportation, (b) lack of capital, and (c) English interference with colonial enterprise.

Lack of inland transportation facilities. Today the United States has such a splendid highway system that it is difficult to realize the almost complete dependence of the early colonists upon rivers, footpaths, and trails for pack horses. In time, rough wagon roads were cut through the forests to join the spreading network of settlements, but they were not hard-surfaced, nor graded, nor bridged, and in wet weather they were impassable. Gradually in the older settlements toll bridges were built over the small streams and toll ferries established over the larger ones. A traveler could not proceed far inland, however, before such signs of progress ceased. Roads shaded off into narrow lanes through the woods and into Indian trails, and in the end the wagon would have to be abandoned for the saddle horse.

A postal service was established between Boston, New York, and Philadelphia in 1691, but mails were carried infrequently, and sometimes not at all. In the middle of the eighteenth century, post roads and postal service improved considerably and fairly regular mail routes were established.

In 1718 a Boston newspaper announced that a stagecoach would carry passengers from Boston to Rhode Island. The first regular stagecoach service between New York and Philadelphia began in 1732. The journey between the two cities required three days. By the time of the Revolution most of the larger cities were connected by stagecoach and wagon lines.

Lack of money and credit. Throughout the colonial period there was a lack of capital, of uniform currency, and of opportunity to secure credit. There are several reasons why this was so. The English colonies, unlike the Spanish, were without gold or silver mines; hence there was only one way in which to obtain specie, or "hard" money, — the colonies had to sell more goods abroad than they imported. But the balance of trade between the colonies and Europe was unfavorable; that is, the value of the goods they imported exceeded the value of the goods they exported. So, in order to pay their debts to European merchants and bankers, the colonies had to ship out what gold or silver came their way.

To overcome the handicap of a shortage of money and credit, the colonists made use of an extensive system of barter. They also used such articles as wampum, hides, corn, cattle, tobacco, and wheat for money. The great difficulty in using commodities as currency is that they have no fixed value. Prices changed from time to time, and worse still, the fluctuations in the value of one article did not bear any relationship to

the fluctuations in the value of other commodities. The coins that did circulate also fluctuated in value from one colony to another.

Inflation through paper money. Conditions were not helped when the colonies adopted the practice of issuing paper money. When a colony did this, it declared that its government would sometime, somehow redeem the many thousands of pounds' worth of notes or bills of credit it issued. Although there was always uncertainty that this paper money would ever be redeemed at its face value, it had to be accepted in payment of debts and was known as "legal tender." Massachusetts first used this device in 1690, but it was resorted to at one time or another by all the colonies except North Carolina.

The issuance of paper money became a convenient way for the colonies to meet government expenses. So much was issued that the value of the bills fell and in consequence the prices of goods rose. In other words, there was a period of "inflation." Creditors and moneylenders, businessmen and merchants complained of the shrinkage in their wealth, while wage earners grumbled at high prices. Sincere efforts were made by some of the colonies to bring about payment of the note issues and to check inflation. On the other hand, debtors and small farmers liked the cheap currency, for they benefited by high prices and found depreciated paper money an easy way to pay their debts.

Parliamentary interference with inflation. In 1751 Parliament forbade New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island to issue paper money, except in the case of emergency, and in 1764 this prohibition was extended to all the colonies. While this law tended to check the use of paper currency in the colonies, it nonetheless was an additional cause of annoyance to the colonists.

THE PRACTICES OF MERCANTILISM PROMOTE FRICTION BETWEEN THE COLONIES AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY

The mercantile theory of trade. The conflict of economic interests between the colonists and England grew out of an idea of trade known as "mercantilism." Mercantilism was based on the beliefs (1) that it was the duty of the state to promote the economic well-being of its citizens, not simply by providing essential services, such as courts and roads, but by the direct encouragement and regulation of industry; and (2) that a nation would become wealthy if it had a large supply of the precious metals, gold and silver.

The idea of favorable balance of trade. There were two ways by which a nation, without gold or silver mines, could secure a large supply of precious metals: first, acquire colonies which contained the metals, as Spain had been able to do; second, maintain a "favorable" balance of trade by exporting goods of greater value than those that were

imported. Thus, if England shipped two million pounds' worth of merchandise to the colonies, while she imported from the colonies goods worth only one million pounds, England would have a favorable balance of trade amounting to one million pounds. Consequently, the colonies would have to ship gold to England to pay the balance, or go in debt to English creditors. The favorable balance of trade which England had with the colonies drained them of specie, or "hard" money, and forced them to issue paper money.

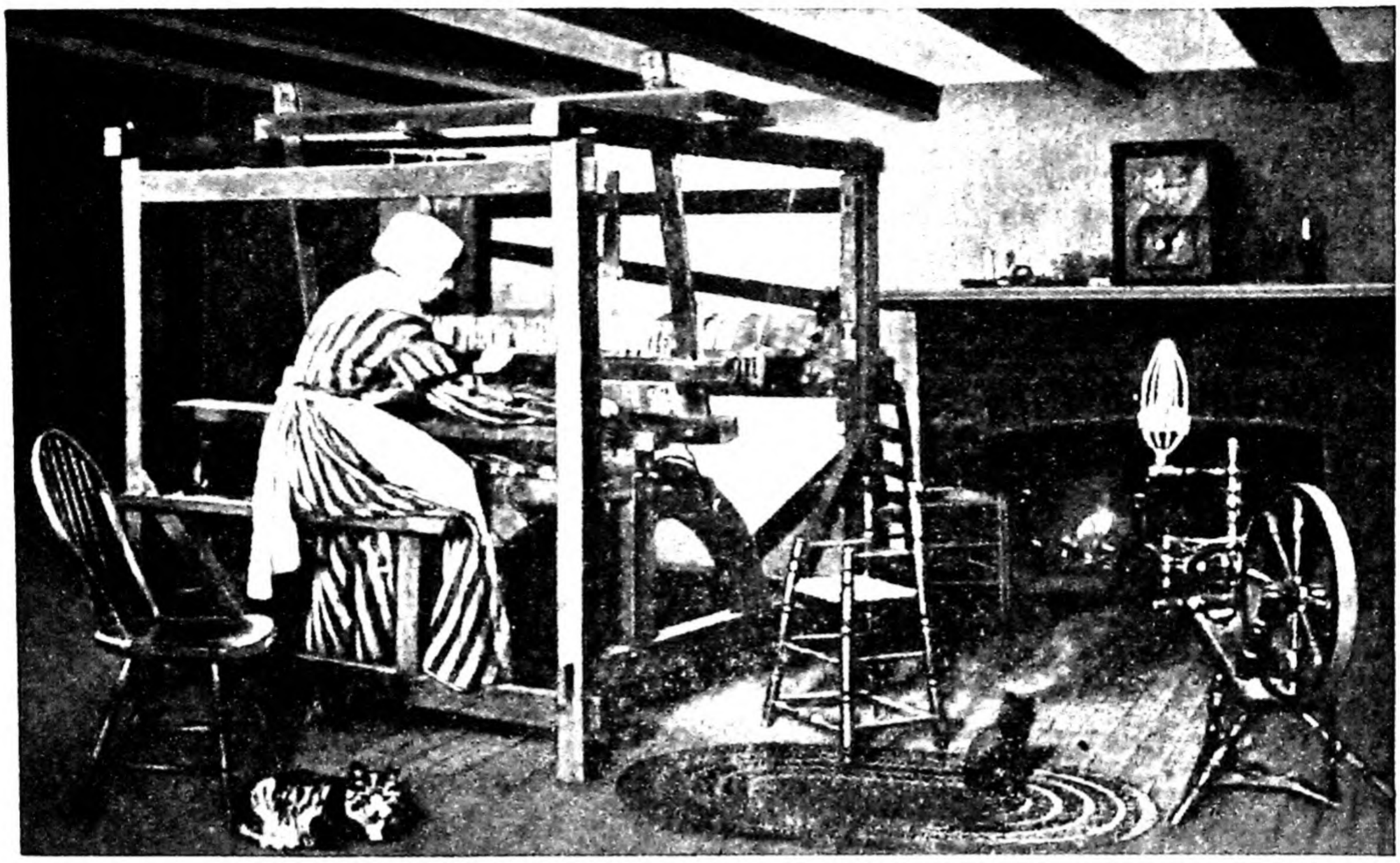
Methods of securing a favorable balance of trade. To secure a favorable trade balance, nations tried various methods. (1) Imports were discouraged by heavy taxes, and in some instances forbidden altogether. (2) On the other hand, exports were encouraged by stimulating the production of foodstuffs, raw materials, and manufactured products. This was done by the grant of bounties, subsidies, patents, and monopolies; by offering inducements to skilled laborers to migrate to the country; and by establishing standards of quality. (3) Native shipping was encouraged, so that freight charges for the transportation of goods would go to citizens rather than to foreign shipowners. (4) A strong navy was provided to protect the merchant marine.

Colonies came within the circle of the mercantile system, for they might either supply gold and silver to the mother country or else supply foodstuffs or raw materials. Besides, they furnished a market for the goods of the mother country.

Mercantilism and "economic" war. The whole mercantile system involved a close regulation of agriculture, manufacture, trade, and industry by the government. Since the system was practiced by the leading nations, it meant that they were constantly engaged in an economic war with one another. In carrying out mercantilistic ideas, statesmen in London generally thought of the economic welfare of the British Empire as a whole, but always with the idea that the economic interests of the mother country were more important than those of her colonial possessions. But as the colonies grew in number, wealth, and power, they resented being treated as the "tail to the economic kite."

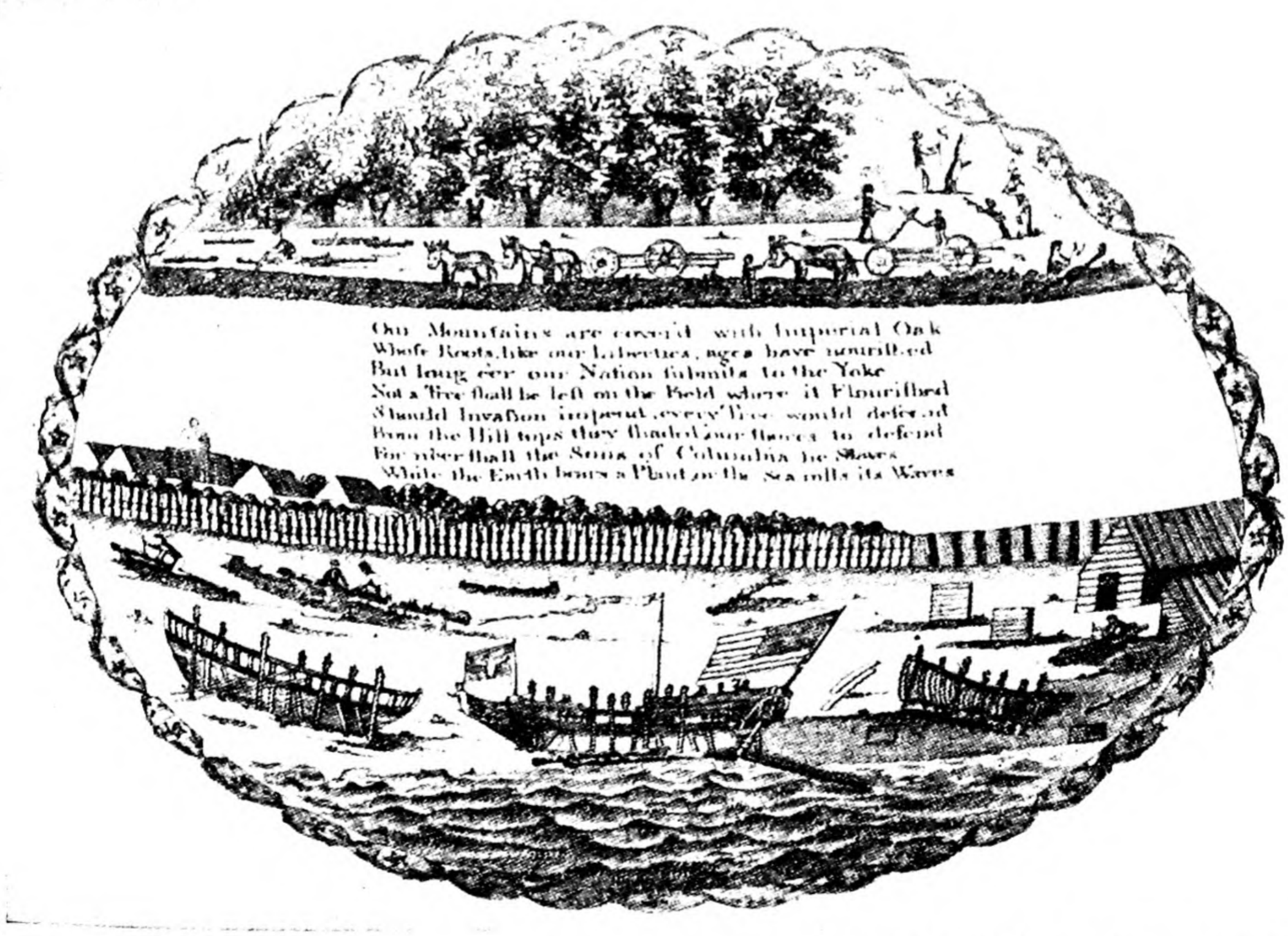
The British Navigation Acts. The laws passed by the British Parliament regulating colonial trade and commerce are known as the Acts of Trade and Navigation, or more simply as the Navigation Acts. They treated commerce between the homeland and the colonies as the special privilege of British citizens. The intention of the lawmakers was not so much to interfere with the prosperity of the colonies as it was to build up British commerce and manufacturing. Among other things, these laws provided that only English-owned (including colonial) ships could transport colonial products to any part of the British Empire. The purpose of this law was twofold — to assist the British shipping industry by giving it a monopoly and to prevent the money for freight charges from going to a rival nation. For the colonies, it had the good

Acc. no:. 20285



Copyright 1906 by Draper Corporation, Hopedale, Massachusetts

Spinning yarn and weaving it into woolen cloth for the needs of the family were home industries until the early years of the nineteenth century. Much of the furniture was also homemade.



Courtesy Peabody Museum of Salem

Shipbuilding was one of the great industries of New England. Colonial seamen and merchants were a match for their rivals in England. This shipbuilding scene is from a punch bowl given to the East India Marine Society in 1801.

effect of stimulating the shipbuilding industry, and the bad effect of forcing the colonies to pay higher freight costs than would prevail if Dutch and French ships competed with English ships. In spite of protests against these laws by the colonists, the policy of regulation continued.

Enumerated articles. The Navigation Act of 1660 specified certain "enumerated" articles which could be exported to England only. In 1661 this list of enumerated articles included sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, ginger, and dyestuffs; in 1706 rice, molasses, and naval stores were added; in 1722 copper ore and beaver skins were included; and in 1764 the list was again extended. England's purposes were to secure raw materials; to give an advantage to her merchants as middlemen; and to increase her revenue, for colonial goods were subject to taxation when brought into England. It was a disadvantage to the colonies to be obliged to ship the enumerated articles only to England when they might find a better market in some foreign country. Colonial protests were vigorous, and evasion of the laws was common. Upon the protest of the rice planters in 1730, and the sugar growers in 1732, rice and sugar were removed from the enumerated list.

The Sugar and Molasses Act. To benefit the British sugar growers of the West Indies and protect them from competition from sugar growers in the French and Dutch West Indies, Parliament in 1733 passed the Sugar and Molasses Act. It provided that the colonies would have to pay a tax on all sugar and molasses imported from the French and Dutch West Indies. The New England colonists resented this act very much, for they had developed a profitable trade with the French and Dutch West Indies, where they exchanged their provisions for sugar and molasses to be converted into rum. With the money obtained from the export of rum they bought English manufactured products.

During the debate in Parliament the New England colonists pointed out that any interference with the sugar trade would ruin their exports and make it impossible for them to buy English manufactured goods. But the British West Indies planters had a powerful lobby, and the law was passed. It did not, however, accomplish the purpose intended, for the English government was unable to enforce it, and the colonial merchants resorted to smuggling. Continued open defiance of the law tended to develop a disrespect for the authority of Parliament.

Parliamentary restrictions on colonial manufacture. Parliament also undertook to restrict colonial manufactures whenever these competed with British manufactures. Like the British West Indies planters who demanded the Sugar Act, English manufacturers sometimes rushed to Parliament, complaining that the manufacturers in the colonies were destroying their market and demanding that something be done about it. At various times Parliament passed laws curbing or forbidding certain kinds of manufacturing in the colonies. For instance, the Hat Act of

1732 declared that no American-made hats could be exported from one colony to another or to Europe. The Iron Act of 1750 imposed heavy fines for the erection of rolling mills and steel furnaces in the colonies; at the same time, the law encouraged the production of bar iron and pig iron by permitting these products to be admitted to England without the payment of any duty.

Parliamentary help to colonial industry. In enacting these laws restricting colonial trade, commerce, and manufacturing, Parliament had no ill will toward the colonies but was simply reflecting the economic philosophy of the time. In some respects these restrictions on colonial economic activity were balanced by certain advantages. The British Navy tried to clear the seas of pirates and West Indian buccaneers, who were the greatest difficulty the colonial merchant had to meet. Colonial tobacco paid a lower tariff than foreign tobacco, as did colonial indigo, hemp, lumber, iron, and some other commodities. Bounties were offered to the colonists for the production of naval stores and indigo. No laws restrained the freedom of the colonies to send grain, lumber, meat, fish, rum, and whale oil wherever they pleased.

Irritation caused by Parliamentary interference. The colonists were inclined to ignore the good in the British policy and to emphasize the bad. The fact remains, nevertheless, that the practice of mercantilism by England irritated the colonists and led them to talk of their "natural right" to engage in honest enterprise, and to be free to develop the economic resources of their country. For a long time, however, English laws were poorly enforced in the colonies. When England, in the dozen years following the end of her successful war with France (1763–75), endeavored to work out a firmer policy of imperial control, and when American economy had reached the point where the interests of the colonists were in sharp conflict with the interests of Englishmen, the issues between mother country and colony became more clearly defined.

Words and Phrases

apprentice, bills of credit, enumerated articles, favorable balance of trade, indentured servant, inflation, land speculation, legal tender, manorial system, mercantilism, naval stores, Navigation Acts, paper money, patroon, quitrent, Sugar and Molasses Act, Tidewater

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. Of what significance was the West Indian trade to the colonists and to England?
2. What were the chief industries of the New England colonies? the Middle Colonies? the Southern colonies?
3. What was the purpose of the English Acts of Trade and Navigation? How did they help or hurt colonial industry and commerce?
4. Why did England encourage colonial production of pig iron but oppose colonial production of finished iron products?

5. What is meant by the statement that laws interfering with trade and industry meant much more to the colonist than any abstract discussion of the principles of representation?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. How did geographic conditions affect colonial economic life?
2. Look up the subject, "favorable balance of trade," in a text on economics. Prepare a brief argument for or against the proposition: Nations should seek to maintain a favorable balance of trade. Investigate and report on the question whether the United States today seeks to maintain a favorable balance of trade.
3. Should governments attempt to control trade and industry? Compare present-day legislation concerning business and labor with colonial laws both as to extent and fundamental purposes.
4. Investigate and report on the patroon system in New York, and the system of "quitrents" in the various colonies.

Suggested Reading

COLONIAL LAND ORGANIZATIONS: Adams, *Provincial Society* (A.L.S.), pp. 1–55, 194–221; Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government* (A.N.S.), pp. 288–313; Bassett, pp. 134–137; Beard and Beard, I, 103–118, 125–139; Carman, I, 62–103, 122–168; Faulkner, pp. 63–69; Hart, I, 175–178, II, 244–255; Commager, No. 14 – Charter of Freedom and Exemptions to Patroons.

LABOR, COMMERCE, AND INDUSTRY: Adams, *Provincial Society* (A.L.S.), pp. 85–112, 222–257; Bassett, pp. 137–142; Dodd, *The Old South*, pp. 36–52; Faulkner, pp. 69–74, 79–94; Gabriel, *Toilers of Land and Sea* (Pageant), Chaps. II–VI; Keir, *Epic of Industry* (Pageant), Chaps. I, II; Keir, *March of Commerce* (Pageant), Chap. I; Commager, No. 26 – Earliest Protest against Slavery.

BRITISH–COLONIAL FRICTION: Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government* (A.N.S.), pp. 3–21; Bassett, pp. 143–145, 157–158; Carman, I, 193–211; Commager, Nos. 23, 27, 30 – Acts of 1660, 1696, 1733 regulating American commerce; MacDonald, No. 19 – Navigation Act, 1663.

CHAPTER THREE

Social Conditions among the Colonies

VARIOUS NATIONALITIES MINGLE IN THE COLONIES, BUT THE ENGLISH PREDOMINATE

The transplanting of English institutions. The colonization of America meant the spread into a savage land of European modes of living, languages, ideals of life. In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies it meant a mingling with the natives, forming sometimes, as in Mexico and Brazil, a settlement practically native in appearance. In the English colonies, however, this was not the case, for wherever the English settled, they crowded the red men back into the interior. As a result, English civilization, as it spread into the American wilderness, remained predominantly English. The English language, law, customs, institutions, and ideals, modified by a new environment and influenced by other European peoples, were the foundations upon which the life and culture of the people of the United States were based.

America as a nation of immigrants. The United States has been called a "melting pot," a term used to describe the fact that the people of different nations and races have found a haven in the United States, and have become one in purpose and ideals with those who preceded them. This mingling of races began even in colonial times, for there were many non-English elements in the colonial population.

The Scotch-Irish. The term "Scotch-Irish" refers to the descendants of those people who settled in the northern part of Ireland (Ulster) in the seventeenth century. Some of them were English but the larger number came from Scotland. Nearly all of them were of the Presbyterian faith. Discouraged by restrictive laws, the Scotch-Irish early in the eighteenth century began to migrate in large numbers to the English colonies in America. Coming after colonization had been going on for nearly a century, they were attracted to the frontier by cheap land. In Virginia and the Carolinas, Scotch-Irish pioneers were among the first to settle in the foothills of the eastern Appalachians. They soon became known for their democratic frontier spirit, which acted as a check upon the aristocratic spirit that was beginning to flourish in the coastal settlements.

The Germans. The disastrous Thirty Years' War (1618–48), which brought ruin to the thrifty peasants of central Europe, was one of the chief reasons why so many Germans migrated to America during the colonial period. Lured by the attractive advertising of Penn's agents in Europe, the largest number settled in Pennsylvania. About one third of Pennsylvania's population at the time of the Revolution was German. Thousands of Germans also went to New York and to the frontier sections of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas.

The French, Swiss, Dutch, and others. When the French Huguenots (Protestants) lost out in their struggle to secure control of France, thousands of them became exiles in the New World. They settled chiefly in South Carolina and in the seacoast towns of the Northern colonies. From the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland many settlers came to Pennsylvania and to North Carolina. Welsh, Scotch Presbyterians, and Irish Catholics also came in large numbers, many of them seeking religious freedom in the Middle and Southern colonies. Jews were present in nearly every seacoast city, although English law denied them the right of legal residence in any British possession. There were Swedes and Dutch who founded New Sweden and New Netherland.

These non-English groups made up probably more than a third of the total population of the colonies. Although they were absorbed by the English, their presence is a factor in explaining the American Revolution, for it was much easier for them to revolt than it was for those of English descent.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS DEVELOP AMONG THE COLONISTS

Social classes. The merchant, the banker, the sea captain, the lawyer, the landed proprietor, and the planter constituted a colonial aristocracy — of wealth, position, and influence. Closely identified with them in social position were the governing officials, both those elected by the colonists and those appointed by the king. Pastors of the various churches also held a position of influence, especially in New England.

Scattered throughout the coastal settlements were numbers of small farmers, small tradesmen, and a few mechanics. These occupied an inferior position both socially and politically. Still lower in the social scale were the indentured servants, and, of course, the slaves. Roughly, then, there were three social classes: (a) the aristocracy — merchants, planters, clergymen, landed proprietors, government officials, lawyers, bankers; (b) the great middle class — small farmers, artisans; (c) a servile group — indentured servants and slaves.

The effect of the frontier on class distinction. Back of the coastal regions was the great hinterland occupied by small farmers. This was too recently developed at the time of the Revolution for great social distinctions to have appeared. Here, as always in frontier communities,

there was a greater social equality because a greater economic equality prevailed. As the hinterland that was once a frontier became fully settled, social classes appeared. A newer frontier farther to the west was meanwhile moving through similar stages of development.

Colonial homes. The houses of the colonists reflected the class differences. The early settlers had to be content with a one-room log cabin with a large stone fireplace, whose wood fire cooked the meals and furnished warmth. This type of home continued to be the usual type of frontier cabin for more than two hundred years. As time passed, the more prosperous families built clapboard frame houses. The furniture was homemade but substantial. Candles and the open fire supplied light.

The merchants in the cities, the well-to-do farmers, and the Southern planters had substantial houses with imported furnishings from England — upholstered chairs, floor coverings, and fine linen. The beautiful homes of Washington at Mount Vernon, of the Byrd family at Westover, and of Jefferson at Monticello are examples of the homes of the well to do. But even these better homes had open fireplaces.

COLONIAL AMUSEMENTS WERE SIMPLE

Social life. Endurance and self-reliance were traits that frontier conditions in the New World stamped deep into Americans, characteristics that the westward-moving frontier tended to renew in each generation. Life, except for the few who achieved wealth, was hard and serious. For adults and even for children there was little time for amusement or recreation. Simple games of childhood, many of which are still played, absorbed much of the limited leisure. Adult recreation took the form of change of occupation rather than of sporting contests or entertainment. Hunting was both recreation and a source of livelihood. The loneliness of the frontier was relieved by the house-raising, husking, or harvesting bee. The town meeting and the county fair offered opportunities once a year for social intercourse and gaiety.

Colonial amusements. Dancing was one of the most common and most enjoyed of the colonial amusements. This was true even in New England, although church leaders there frowned on music and dancing. In the homes of the wealthy Southern planters elaborate balls were frequent; music and dancing were the common home entertainments. Horse racing was a favorite sport in the Southern colonies, and to some extent in the Middle and New England colonies. Fox hunting and cock fighting were also popular in the South, while colonists in the North indulged at times in bear baiting. Gambling, drinking, and smoking were the chief colonial "vices," thundered against by the clergy, especially in New England. Public lotteries, to raise funds to start a new industry or help some community damaged by fire or flood, were common.

The colonial theater. The smallness of the villages in the North and the isolation of the plantations in the South delayed the development of the theater. "Play-acting" was condemned by the leaders of religious thought. Connecticut laws, for example, denied actors entrance into the colony. Strolling players from England found their warmest welcome in the Middle and Southern colonies. The earliest theaters were opened in Williamsburg, Virginia; Charleston, South Carolina; and New York City in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, but it was not until the middle of the century that the theater became an established form of recreation and entertainment.

THE COLONIES SLOWLY DEVELOP INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS

Books. Books were not common in the early colonial period, nor for that matter in the later period. The Bible, or the Book of Common Prayer, and an almanac were all that the average farmer possessed. As a rule only ministers and a few of the more cultured merchants and planters took the trouble to import and read books. A collection of fifty or one hundred volumes was large. In the South private collections of books were somewhat larger than in the North. Such home libraries usually contained the Bible, some Latin authors, sermons, and books on religious life.

Books written by the colonists — accounts of the early settlements, descriptions of explorations, and the geography of the country — were usually published in England. One of the first colonial printing presses was set up in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1639; it was not until somewhat later that all of the colonies could boast of printing presses. Most of the earliest books published in America dealt with religious subjects. Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards are among the most important of the early colonial writers.

Colonial libraries. In the eighteenth century the number of books published and the size of private collections increased as the colonists began to acquire wealth. This is evidenced by advertisements of new books in colonial newspapers and by the growing number of booksellers' shops. In 1732 Benjamin Franklin and his associates in Philadelphia opened a reading room for one hour on Wednesdays and two hours on Saturdays for the use of "any civil gentleman to peruse the books of the library." Those who subscribed to its support could take books home with them. Similar subscription libraries were opened in the chief colonial cities, and eventually public libraries were established. By the time of the Revolution several cities had lending libraries supported by public funds; the distinction of having the first is claimed by Charleston, South Carolina. The libraries, in addition to books on religion and theology, also included the writings of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Locke, and Swift. After 1763 advertisements in the newspapers in-



From *Handbook of Mount Vernon*, The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union

This view of Mount Vernon in 1840, showing some of the adjoining buildings, is less well known than the east view with its columned porch facing the Potomac.



Courtesy Dr. Wyndham B. Blanton and Metropolitan Museum of Art

In the Middle and Southern colonies fox hunting was a popular sport among the well to do.



Courtesy State Street Trust Company

In this painting of New Bedford in 1808 the artist shows some well-known citizens — the best-dressed man and the owner of the only carriage in the town.

formed the colonists that the works of Rousseau and other French writers upon the philosophy of government were on sale in the shops.

The first colonial newspapers. Colonial newspapers had not been established in the seventeenth century. Sea captains occasionally brought copies of London newspapers to the port towns, which they left upon tables in the inns. In 1704 a weekly newspaper of four small pages called the *News-Letter* began to appear in Boston. It was not long before others followed. The *American Weekly Mercury* appeared in Philadelphia in 1719. It was on the *New England Courant,* one of the three Boston news sheets, that Benjamin Franklin served his brother as an apprentice. Franklin later founded the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in Philadelphia and, with the help of a partner, the *South Carolina Gazette* in Charleston. Any one of these early newspapers would usually be owned, printed, and edited by the same person. They contained very little news. Except for local events, the news was taken from other newspapers, often six months old. Most of the paper was devoted to essays copied from English papers and magazines. Poor and dull as they were, the colonial newspapers had considerable influence.

Zenger's trial. The newspapers were subject to a fairly rigorous censorship. The publication of criticisms of the government frequently placed the owner and editor of a newspaper in danger of arrest. In 1723 Franklin's brother was acquitted of the charge of libel in Boston. A more celebrated victory for a free press was won (1734) by a German immigrant, John Peter Zenger, publisher of the *New York Weekly Journal.* Zenger published articles criticizing an action of the governor of New York, claiming that it showed arbitrary power and tyranny. As a result he was arrested and put on trial for libel. The Chief Justice, recently appointed by the governor, tried to secure Zenger's conviction by claiming that he had the right to rule on the libelous character of the articles, and that all the jury had to decide was whether or not the articles had been published.

The case attracted wide attention. Zenger's lawyer, Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, in a strong plea to the jury, protested against the attempt to keep the jury from deciding whether the articles were libelous. Hamilton declared that it was "not the cause of a poor printer alone, nor of New York alone," but of "every free man on the main street of America." He urged the jury to defend the liberty "to which Nature and the laws of our country have given us the Right — the liberty of exposing and opposing arbitrary power (in these parts of the World at least) by speaking and writing the truth." The jury acquitted Zenger, and thus helped to establish the extremely important principle that the press has the right to discuss public questions freely and to criticize officials for their actions.

Growing importance of colonial newspapers. In the years following the Zenger trial, newspapers grew in numbers and importance.

Forty-three newspapers (including three in German) had been established by 1765. They published more news, showed more interest in colonial public affairs and, as the Revolution approached, became important instruments in developing public opinion. After 1750 the American papers, influenced by Franklin, copied less and less from English journals and fostered a distinctive American literature.

Almanacs. One form of publication that enjoyed a wide distribution was the almanac, a curious combination of facts about history and astronomy, observations on the weather, and agricultural advice. It became the custom of some of the newspapers to publish an almanac yearly. Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*, with its witty sayings and proverbs, and Nathaniel Ames's *Astronomical Diary and Almanac* were highly prized everywhere.

Colonial schools. Throughout the colonial period there were no public schools as we understand the term today, but this does not mean that the colonists were not interested in education and did not make provision for it. It simply means that the idea of state-supported schools for all children had not yet taken root. The conditions of frontier life and the isolation of families made it exceedingly difficult to establish schools; and thus, among the pioneers on the fringe of expanding settlements, schools were rarely found. In the plantation colonies the townsmen organized private schools, but the planters usually employed tutors for their children. In the New England and Middle Colonies, as conditions improved and as towns developed, the people joined together in organizing small private schools for their children. Usually the teacher was a housewife and the school was held in her home. In 1647 the Massachusetts legislature prescribed that every town of fifty families should maintain an elementary school and that towns of a hundred families should maintain a Latin grammar school. This law has sometimes been referred to as the beginning of our present public school system. However, many towns for a long time failed to carry out this requirement. These New England town schools were "public" but not "free," except to those too poor to pay their share. Part of the expense of these schools was paid out of taxation.

Instruction in colonial schools was not graded, each pupil studying at his own pace and reciting individually to the teacher. In general, there were three types, or "grades," of schools. The so-called "dame" school, which was taught by one of the women of the neighborhood, had as its aim the teaching of reading and counting. More advanced was the English school, or the "School of the Three R'S," in which the aim was to teach the pupil to read, to write, and to "do arithmetic." Next came the Latin grammar school, which prepared boys for college and taught chiefly Latin, Greek, mathematics, and religion.

Colleges. Colleges were established in several of the colonies. The first was Harvard, authorized by the legislature of Massachusetts in

1636 and later endowed by John Harvard, a minister of Charlestown, Massachusetts. Since the purpose of this and other colleges was to train young men for the ministry, most of the colleges were closely identified with some one of the religious denominations. Harvard remained the only college for more than half a century, for it was not till 1693 that the College of William and Mary was established at Williamsburg, Virginia. The third college was chartered by Connecticut in 1701 and was named Yale after Elihu Yale, who endowed it. The College of New Jersey (Princeton) was founded in 1746 and was Presbyterian; King's College (Columbia), 1754, was Anglican; the College of Rhode Island (Brown), 1764, was Baptist; Queen's College (Rutgers), 1766, was Dutch Reformed; Dartmouth, 1769, was established to train missionaries to convert the Indians. In 1751 Benjamin Franklin was influential in founding the Philadelphia Academy, an institution practically of college level, which subsequently became the University of Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia Academy, alone among the colleges, was not primarily interested in training young men for the ministry. Its curriculum was varied and gave attention to English, the sciences, geography, government, and history.

Science and medicine in colonial days. The colonists generally followed the signs of the moon in planting their crops, read horoscopes, and looked upon eclipses and comets as signs of coming floods and fires. Hundreds of superstitions were held by most of the people.

Colonial medicine was no better, probably no worse, than that practiced in most English country districts. It had not progressed beyond the "kitchen physic" of old housewives and the surgery of the barbers. Even as late as 1799 George Washington, during his last illness, was drained of two quarts of blood by leeches. There were signs, however, that a change in attitude toward medical science and, indeed, toward all scientific knowledge, had begun. About 1750, physicians in Philadelphia and New York began to take their apprentices into laboratories, where human bodies were dissected. In 1765 a medical school, the first in America, was established in Philadelphia. Meanwhile, largely through the influence of Benjamin Franklin, the Assembly of Pennsylvania had established a general hospital.

The "many-sided" Franklin was America's pioneer scientist and philosopher, in many respects far ahead of his age. He made some of his greatest discoveries between 1746 and 1752, when by experiment he demonstrated the nature of electricity and lightning. Throughout his career he maintained his interest in the sciences. In 1743 he founded the first learned society, the American Philosophical Society.

Franklin could write in 1743: "The first drudgery of settling new colonies is pretty well over, and there are many in every colony in circumstances which set them at ease to cultivate the fine arts and improve the common stock of knowledge." As early as 1737 a writer in the *Virginia*

Leonard Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore and the first governor of Maryland, is shown buying land from the Indians. Maryland, founded in 1634, welcomed both Catholics and Protestants. The Maryland Toleration Act of 1649 is a landmark in the development of religious toleration.

Painting by C. Y. Turner



This eighteenth century painting shows a Pennsylvania Dutch woman working on a quilt characteristic of the region. During the colonial period, women made most of the household necessities at home.

Courtesy Downtown Galleries, New York City. Painting owned by Mr. and Mrs. Harpo Marx



The Parson Capen House in Topsfield, Massachusetts, is one type of early colonial architecture. Note the second story overhang and the central chimney, which has several flues, each one leading from a fireplace.

Courtesy The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Inc.



Gazette made the prophetic observation: "The world is now daily increasing in experimental knowledge, and let no man flatter the age with pretending that we are arrived at a perfection of discoveries."

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION SLOWLY DEVELOPS

Presence of various religious groups. There was a variety of religious groups in colonial America. The New Englanders were mainly Puritans, but as time passed the term "Puritan" gradually gave way to the term "Congregationalist," because it was the custom of each "congregation" to select its own pastor and to determine its own form of worship. The Scotch-Irish were mainly Presbyterian; the Dutch were members of the Dutch Reformed Church; there were Quakers in Pennsylvania, and a large number of Germans who belonged to a variety of sects. Although most of the colonists were Protestants, there were Roman Catholics in Maryland and other colonies, and a relatively small number of Jews.

Union of church and state. In both New England and the South there was a union of church and state; that is, the church was supported by the state, membership in the church was required for voting or holding office, and attendance at church was compulsory. In New England, except in Rhode Island, so close was the union of church and state and so influential the clergy, especially in the seventeenth century, that the term "theocracy" has frequently been used to describe the domination of the clergy in spiritual, political, and educational matters.

The influence of religious leaders in Massachusetts is illustrated by the unfortunate outbreak of the witchcraft persecutions at Salem toward the close of the seventeenth century (1690–92). More than one hundred fifty persons were jailed for witchcraft, and a score of these put to death. The witchcraft persecutions produced a reaction; they are in a sense, the high-water mark of the political influence of the clergy.

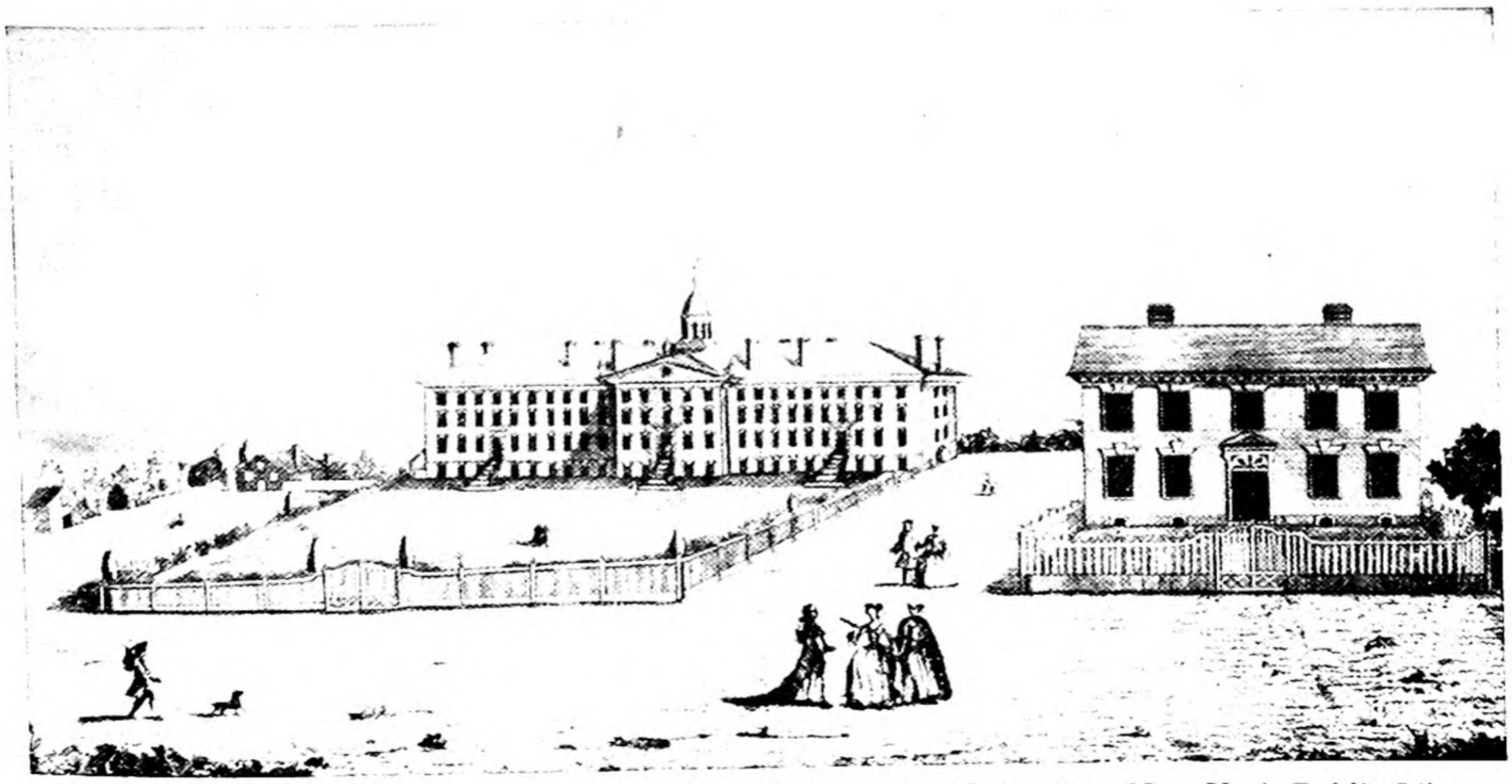
Religious tolerance. At first there was very little religious tolerance in the colonies. The lack of tolerance was especially noticeable in Massachusetts, from which Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were expelled because of their religious views. In the Middle Colonies there were so many varieties of religious belief that no one of them secured the dominant position in the life of the people that Congregationalism did in New England or Anglicanism in the South. By the time of the Revolution, however, some religious organization was established by law in all the colonies except Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. That is to say, one denomination was given official preference, received special favors, and was partly supported by public funds.

During the eighteenth century, as the economic interests of the colonists broadened and as the number of religious sects multiplied, there slowly developed a spirit of religious tolerance. The Maryland Tolera-



Painting by Stanley M. Arthurs. Courtesy of the artist

The Swedes landed in Delaware in 1638 under the leadership of Peter Minuit. The New Sweden Company sent this expedition to plant a colony on the coast of North America for trading purposes.



Courtesy Phelps Stokes Collection, New York Public Library

This old print of Princeton University shows the northwest prospect of Nassau Hall, with a front view of the president's house. Princeton University was established in 1746.

tion Act of 1649, the liberal ideas of Roger Williams and William Penn and the fact that they were actually followed in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, were important factors in the development of the American ideals of religious tolerance and the separation of church and state.

The legal separation of church and state. In the eighteenth century the idea gradually developed that individuals should have freedom of conscience. This development was due to several factors, among them being the individualism fostered by frontier conditions, and the emphasis upon reason and science which characterized European thought. During the American Revolution and soon thereafter, the Anglican Church was disestablished throughout the South. The most notable of the actions by which this was accomplished was the *Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom,* sponsored by Thomas Jefferson. This statute provided that "no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship place or ministry whatsoever; nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters religious." This spirit is, of course, embodied in the first amendment to the federal Constitution, which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

In New England, state churches continued to exist even after the adoption of the Constitution, which prohibited the federal government from establishing a religion, but did not restrict the states. The struggle to disestablish the church did not succeed in New Hampshire until 1817, in Connecticut until 1818, and in Massachusetts until 1833.

The separation of church and state did not mean complete religious freedom. For some time after the adoption of the federal Constitution several states continued to insist upon a religious test for officeholding. New Jersey, North Carolina, and South Carolina required that the officeholder be a Protestant; in Delaware he had to believe in the Trinity; and even in Pennsylvania he had to believe that the Scriptures were divinely inspired. As the nineteenth century advanced, these religious tests were abolished, so that today, except in North Carolina, where "no one who shall deny the being of God" can hold office, no state imposes any such restrictions.

In spite of the legal equality of all religious groups, there have been occasional outbreaks of religious intolerance, for it is one thing to have achieved religious tolerance in law, and yet another to have this ideal control the minds and hearts and actions of men.

Words and Phrases

almanac, class distinctions, disestablishment, freedom of the press, hinterland, melting pot, *Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom*, Zenger's trial

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What nationality groups other than the English were to be found in the original thirteen colonies?
2. Compare colonial and modern amusements and recreations.
3. What were the opportunities for school and college education in colonial America in the eighteenth century?
4. What were the chief religious denominations in the American colonies?
5. What forces fostered the growth of religious liberty in the colonies?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. What culture there was in seventeenth-century America was not created by the colonists but was brought with them from the Old World, and it changed slowly under the influence of the wilderness frontier. How did conditions of frontier life influence the development of culture in America?
2. Make a special investigation and report on the subject of religious toleration in Maryland, Massachusetts, Virginia, and Pennsylvania.
3. Report on the influence of Franklin on (a) colonial newspapers and magazines and (b) on colonial scientific and intellectual development.
4. Prepare an exhibit to show the chief forms of colonial dress, art, and architecture.
5. Prepare a list of the more important colonial writers and their works.

Suggested Reading

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS: Adams, *Provincial Society* (A.L.S.), pp. 56–112, 139–166; Andrews, *Colonial Folkways* (Y.C.S.), pp. 70–177; Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government* (A.N.S.), pp. 288–314; Bassett, pp. 145–152; Beard and Beard, I, 122–145; Carman, I, 104–112; Dodd, *The Old South*, pp. 89–117, 136–161; Commager and Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America*, pp. 47–89; Greene, *Provincial America* (A.N.S.), pp. 275–276; Hart, II, 276–312; Jameson, J. F., *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*, pp. 74–110.

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT: Adams, *Provincial Society* (A.L.S.), pp. 113–138, 258–292; Bassett, pp. 153–155; Beard and Beard, I, 145–188; Carman, I, 116–120; Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, pp. 25–49, 79–102; Hart, II, 255–276; Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, I, 27–131; Commager, Nos. 19, 20 – Massachusetts School Laws; Amherst Readings, *Puritanism in Early America.*

CHAPTER FOUR

Political Development of the Colonies

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND WERE STRUGGLING TO LIMIT THE AUTHORITY OF THE KING

Absolute government in Europe. When the settlement of America began, many European countries were governed by absolute rulers. The people had no right to question the king's authority or to criticize the wisdom of his acts. In England the kings had been deprived of many of the powers the monarchs of the Continent enjoyed. There was a Parliament, consisting of a House of Lords and a House of Commons, which had the power to pass laws and to levy taxes. The king still had the power to choose his own ministers, collect some taxes, and suspend laws. Before the end of the eighteenth century, Parliament had deprived him of these and nearly all other powers.

Charters of liberties. One of the most cherished documents in the growth of English political institutions is the famous Magna Carta — or Great Charter — granted by King John in 1215 to the nobles who had rebelled against his exercise of arbitrary power. The Great Charter was a promise on the king's part that he would not do certain things — levy extraordinary taxes without the consent of the nobles, or punish or condemn anyone except by the judgment of his peers (equals). In the course of several centuries, other English kings either indicated their approval of the Great Charter or issued other charters.

The companies or lords proprietors who undertook the settlement of America were granted charters outlining their powers and privileges. These charters guaranteed to settlers all the "rights and liberties" of Englishmen. These "rights and liberties" are to be found in the charters issued by English kings through the centuries, and especially in the great body of common law developed by English judges.

The English common law. The term "English common law" is used to describe those legal principles which judges used in deciding controversies — principles derived from the customs of the people rather than from statutes or written laws. The English common law was transplanted to America and became the basis of our legal, political, and economic institutions. Among its basic principles are (a) the protection of private property against individuals and the state; (b) trial by jury;

(c) prohibition of arrest or search without a warrant; and (d) the right to a writ of "habeas corpus," a protection against unjust imprisonment.

The "Puritan" revolution in England. These rights were not always recognized or granted by the government of England in the seventeenth century (nor, indeed, are they always recognized and granted by modern governments). The seventeenth century witnessed a long struggle on the part of the Stuart kings of England to limit these rights and on the part of the people to hold fast to them. The conflict ended in 1688, when Parliament ousted King James II and chose William and Mary as sovereigns. The new sovereigns were compelled to agree in 1689 to the famous Bill of Rights, which ranks with the Magna Carta in importance. It guaranteed freedom of speech, press, assembly, trial by jury, habeas corpus, and other rights. More important, it established the principle of Parliamentary supremacy, and the idea that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

ENGLISH POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ARE TRANSPLANTED TO THE NEW WORLD AND ADAPTED TO NEW CONDITIONS

These events occurred in England during the seventeenth century when the colonies were beginning their political experiences in the New World. Many colonists were political refugees, bringing with them a radical philosophy of government and of popular rights. All the English colonists either had themselves taken part in winning freedom or had inherited the traditions of such victories. John Adams, long after the American Revolution, wrote: "The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people. . . . Its causes should be . . . sought in the history of the country from the first plantation in America."

Self-government in the colonies. The desire for self-government was strongly held by the English colonists. It was revealed again and again; for example, in 1620 when the Pilgrims, with a grant of land but without a charter, met on the *Mayflower* to draft a compact of government:

> We do solemnly and mutually covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic . . . ; and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws . . . and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet . . . for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. . . .

Somewhat later (1639) the emigrants from Massachusetts who settled in the Connecticut Valley assumed control of their own affairs and drew up the famous "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut," sometimes called "the first written constitution known to history that created a government." This action of the settlers in Connecticut illustrates one of the most important political characteristics of colonial New England,



Painting by Albert Herter in the State Capitol, Madison, Wisconsin

King John signs the Magna Carta, 1215. The Great Charter was the first of many famous "liberty" documents which restricted the authority of English kings. The Bill of Rights of 1689 and the Declaration of Independence of 1776 are more complete statements of the basic ideas of the Great Charter.



Courtesy Connecticut State Library, Hartford

The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut were drawn up and signed in 1639. The Fundamental Orders set up a central independent government for the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. Thomas Hooker of Hartford was largely responsible for the democratic ideals of this "first written constitution."

for through the town or township the colonists assumed the management of local affairs. A congregation in the wilderness had to provide for defense and the common welfare without outside help.

The town meeting. In New England the town became the unit of local self-government, for the church organization, the small farms, and the short, unnavigable rivers tended to keep the people in compact settlements. The town meeting elected the officers of the town and the delegates to the general assembly (or court) of the colony. Only a small percentage of the population (the "freemen," who were owners of property and members of an approved church) enjoyed full and equal rights in the town meeting, although in time many towns extended equal rights to others. Thomas Jefferson once referred to the town meeting as the "best school of political liberty the world ever saw." The town meeting is an example of "pure," or "direct," democracy.

County government in the Southern colonies. The Southern plantations were too scattered for the close associations and group activities of the New England town. A church parish of a few plantations often extended over an entire county. The county became the unit of local government in the Southern colonies. The county officers (sheriff, commander of the militia, and the justices) were usually appointed by the governor. The only function of the voter (the adult white freeholder) was to select two deputies to the colonial assembly.

The inequalities of wealth and social position between the large planters and the small farmers, together with the scattering of the population over a wide area, prevented the growth of self-government. The planters kept control of both local and colonial government.

Town and county government in the Middle Colonies. In the Middle Colonies the parish was generally little more than a convenient geographic division known as a "township." The powers of local government were divided between the township and the county. New Englanders settled in parts of Long Island and northern New Jersey, carrying with them the town and the town meeting. Thus there grew up a mixed system of local government, a cross between the New England town government and the Southern county system.

Examples of general, or "over-all," government in the colonies. The transplanting of English institutions went further than local government. In every colony the settlers soon obtained a voice in the general or "over-all" government.

1. Virginia. In 1619 the Virginia Company decided to allow its colonists to co-operate with the company's governor and council in making laws. Governor Yeardley invited each settlement to choose representatives, or "burgesses" as he called them, to a little parliament. On July 30, 1619, the Virginia House of Burgesses, the first assembly in the New World, met in the church in Jamestown, together with the governor and his council. The consent of the governor in Virginia and the company

in England was necessary before acts passed by the Virginia assembly became law. When Virginia became a royal colony, the king claimed the power of vetoing the acts of the governor and the assembly. In time, the governor and the council came to sit separately from the burgesses. The result was a two-house legislature, in which the council was the upper house.

2. Massachusetts Bay. In Massachusetts Bay Colony the charter gave the officers and directors of the company the power to govern the colony. In time, however, every well-behaved Puritan colonist came to be treated as a member of the company, whether he had subscribed to pay the cost of the enterprise or not. Because the citizens of the towns remote from Boston found it inconvenient to attend the meetings of the company, deputies were sent to represent them. In less than twenty years, government by a commercial company was replaced by a democratic type of government with annual elections of the governor and a representative assembly. For a few years the governor and his councilors sat, as in Virginia, with the deputies. Later the council and the deputies adopted the practice of meeting as separate houses.

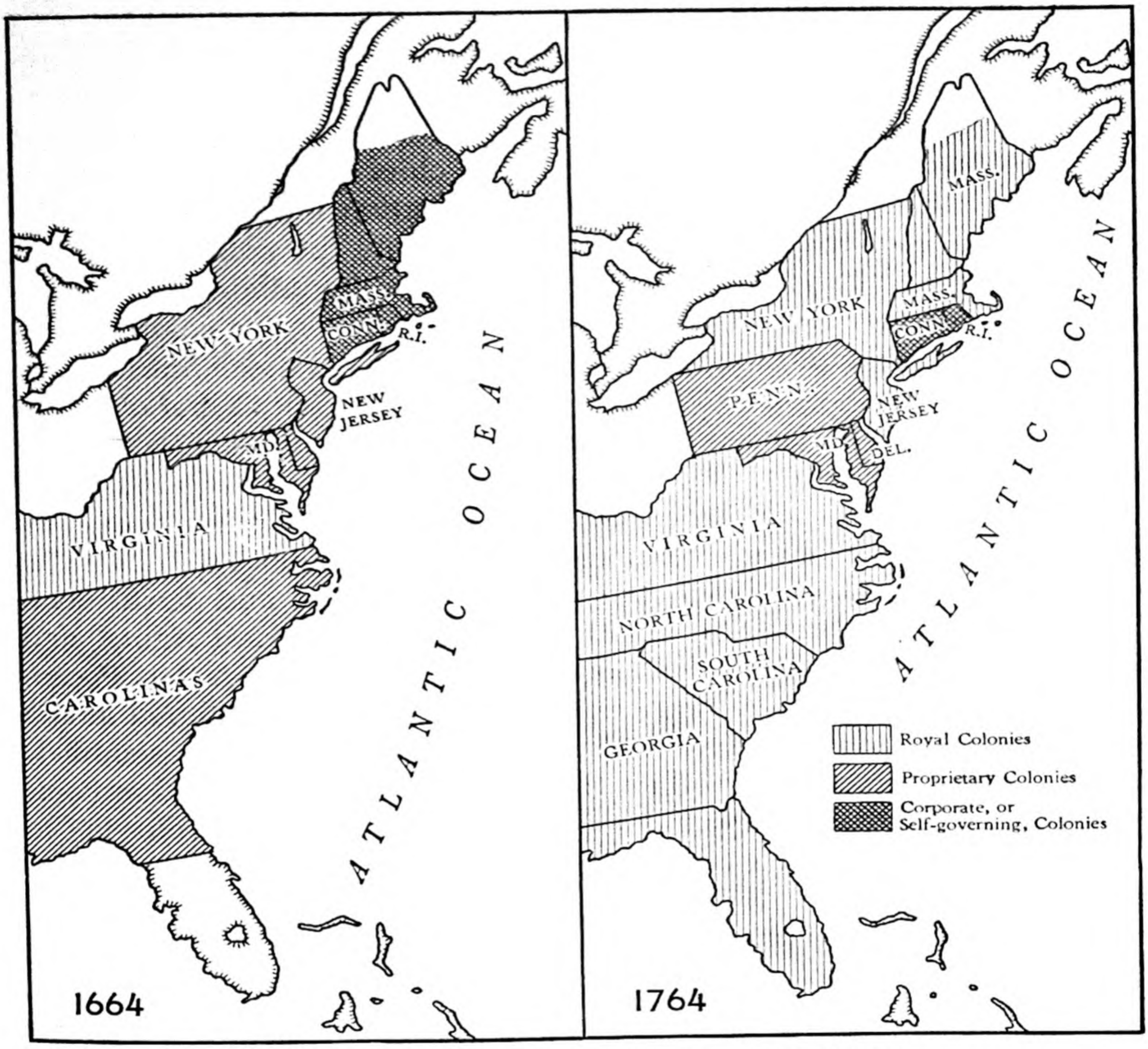
3. Maryland. Lord Baltimore's charter declared that the assent of the colonists to the laws which he proclaimed should be obtained, and that they be not contrary to the laws of England. In effect, this forced the proprietor to call an assembly in Maryland, and gave the king the veto power. In 1635 the first assembly met. These practices of Virginia, Massachusetts, and Maryland were typical of all the thirteen colonies. While they differed in many respects, yet in broad outline the colonial governments had many common elements, most of which endured when the colonies revolted and set up state governments.

Types of colonies. Although no colony was founded by the king, there was a tendency for the colonies to come under royal control. By the time of the American Revolution there were three different types of colonies — royal colonies; corporate, or self-governing, colonies (Rhode Island and Connecticut); and proprietary colonies (Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland). The chief difference was the way in which the governor of the colony was chosen. In the royal colonies, the governor was appointed by the king; in the proprietary colonies, he was appointed by the proprietor; and in the self-governing colonies, he was elected by the people. (See map, page 43.)

Powers of the legislature. In each of the thirteen colonies the settlers soon had a representative assembly. This body had power to make laws affecting the colony, to levy taxes, and to appropriate money; it could also petition the English government; and it very often quarreled with the royal governor or the agents of the crown.

Citizenship and suffrage. Laws passed by the assemblies defined the duties and privileges of citizens. The Puritan colonies made it a civic duty of the voter to be present at town meetings, to accept office

to which he might be elected, and to take his turn as night watch and guard. As in England, voters had to be landholders. They were also required, in the 1600's, to be members in good standing of an approved church. Only about one man in four or five was able to vote.



COLONIES UNDER ROYAL CONTROL

Political struggles. The colonial governments were from the first dominated by the wealthier families of the seaboard. In general, colonial laws favored the interests of this aristocratic officeholding group rather than those of the small farmer, the artisan, and the frontier settlers. There were many political struggles between the older and the frontier settlements, the established church and dissenting groups, debtor and creditor, small farmer and large landholder.

Not only were the colonial governments undemocratic in their narrow qualifications for voting and holding office, but the method of representation in the assemblies was unfair. Many frontier regions were without representation. Protests were frequent that the colonial legislatures ignored frontier interests and taxed Western settlers for the

benefit of the older sections. Within the colonies there was a struggle for greater democracy simultaneously with the quarrel with England. One effect of the American Revolution was to correct some of the inequalities that existed within the colonies (pages 74–75).

Relations between the colonies and England. In general the king had the authority to supervise colonial affairs and to approve or disapprove the laws of the colonial assemblies. But until the end of the seventeenth century neither the king nor Parliament showed much interest in the *internal* affairs of the colonies. The chief laws of Parliament affecting the colonies were the trade or navigation laws, regulating the *external* trade of the colonies. For a long time the colonists did not challenge the right of Parliament to handle foreign affairs, to regulate trade and commerce, and to collect customs duties. The colonists also accepted the principle that the laws of the colonial assemblies should not conflict with those of Parliament, and they did not at first object to the principle of royal review and veto. But when the laws of Parliament displeased the colonists, they protested against them or evaded them.

As the period of the Revolution drew near, the disputes between England and the colonies became more frequent and more serious. The colonists began to challenge the authority of king and Parliament. There was much discussion about the colonists' "natural rights" and their rights as Englishmen. Colonial leaders first denied that Parliament or the king had any authority to legislate on the *internal* affairs of the colonies or to interfere with the laws of the colonial assemblies. They finally claimed that neither the king nor Parliament had any authority to regulate *external* affairs unless the colonies had a voice in the making of the laws. (Study the charges in the Declaration of Independence.)

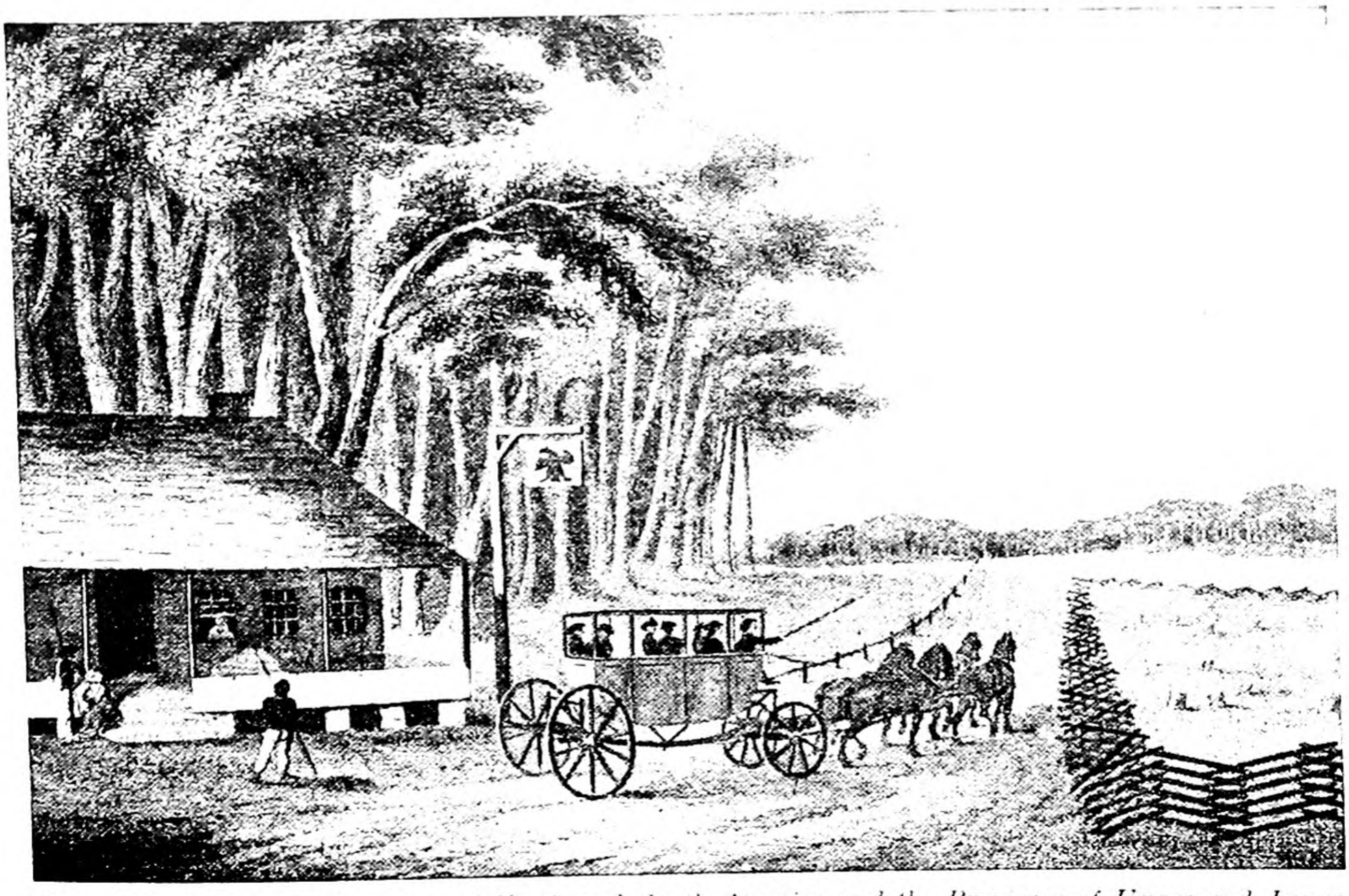
The power of the purse. The colonial assemblies frequently used the power of the purse to secure assent to laws they desired. The colonial assemblies voted taxes for all purposes, including the governor's salary. If the governor refused his assent to colonial laws, the assembly retaliated by withholding all or part of his salary. Many a royal governor yielded to the assembly when it threatened to hold up the payment of salaries.

Colonial representatives in England. The English government frequently sent special agents to investigate conditions in the colonies. The colonies occasionally sent agents ("representatives" or "ambassadors") to England. By 1763 each colony kept an agent continuously in England. Benjamin Franklin was one of the most famous; he went to London in 1757 as the representative of Pennsylvania, and remained in the service almost until the Revolution. In 1765, at the time of the agitation over the Stamp Act, Franklin, when questioned in the House of Commons, declared that the colonists would not change their minds about parliamentary taxation "unless compelled by force of arms."



Courtesy Eastman Teaching Films, Inc.

On May 29, 1765, Patrick Henry urged the Virginia House of Burgesses to condemn the Stamp Act. In one of his famous speeches he claimed that only colonial legislatures could tax the colonies. When he was interrupted with shouts of "Treason," Henry concluded, "If this be treason, make the most of it."



From *Travels through the States of North and South America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, by Isaac Weld

The Eagle Hotel, seventeen miles from Philadelphia on the Lancaster Pike, catered to weary stagecoach travelers. Difficulties of travel tended to deepen sectional differences.

The tradition of "separatism." One of the most striking things about the colonies was the measure of local home rule which they enjoyed. In England the government was highly centralized in Parliament and finally in the cabinet. In the colonies it was localized in the colonial assemblies and in the local county and town governments. The thirteen colonies each settled their own problems in their own way. This suited the geographic and economic differences among the colonies. When the time came for political union, one of the major difficulties was to reconcile the claims and interests of the thirteen different governments long accustomed to exercise independent powers.

In 1763 there was no union among the colonies. Established as separate units, they had developed different economic interests. Besides, the difficulties of travel and communication had kept the people of the different colonies apart and fostered a spirit of separatism. However, many common traditions existed among the colonists. They spoke, for the most part, the same language; they inherited from England similar customs and ideals in law, government, and religion. They all feared common dangers — the French, the Indians, and the primeval forest.

Economic dependence on England. Throughout most of the colonial period the colonies were in closer touch with the mother country than with one another. There were numerous obstacles to travel. Roads were few and bridges scarce. Wagon roads were often impassable. It was easier to cross the ocean to England than to travel by land from Massachusetts to Georgia. Since the bulk of colonial trade was with England, the colonists felt more dependent on England than on one another. But as population increased and means of travel improved, many leaders began to point out that the best economic interests of the colonists would be served by co-operation and union.

The Albany Congress, 1754, and Franklin's "Plan of Union." In the middle of the eighteenth century the approach of the great conflict between England and France for the mastery of the continent led to the most important attempt to unite the colonies. Many colonial leaders were urging the union of the colonies, at least for matters of defense, treatment of the Indians, and finances.

In 1754 the colonial governors called a conference at Albany to form an alliance with the Iroquois Indians and to plan for united military action against the French. The alliance with the Indians of the Six Nations was speedily concluded. The Congress then adopted a plan for a general confederation proposed by Benjamin Franklin. When this plan was referred to the colonial assemblies for ratification, their provincial outlook and fear of burdensome taxation caused them to reject it, and it was never sent to England for approval. Franklin wrote: "It is not likely, in my opinion, that any of them will act upon it so far as to agree

to it, or to propose any amendments to it. Everybody cries, a union is absolutely necessary, but when they come to the manner and form of union, their weak noddles are perfectly distracted."

Forces tending to divide and to unite the colonies. The defeat of the French removed one of the chief reasons for colonial union. Boundary disputes, separate tariffs, lack of common currency, and religious differences divided the colonies. Intercolonial migration, business connections, and highways of communication tended to draw them into special groups rather than one large unit. The New England colonies were a group by themselves of common origin, similar ways of living, and, with the exception of Rhode Island, of common religion. Geography drew together the inhabitants of Long Island, New York City, Albany, and eastern New Jersey. The Delaware River fixed in a community of interests the people of western New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania; Chesapeake Bay and near-by river valleys grouped Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. The plantation colonies in South Carolina and Georgia had a closer association with the West Indies than with the Northern colonies. The groups had only the bonds of English origin and of loose business association to unite them.

Political traditions of colonial origin. These difficulties clearly foreshadowed the enormous problems that would have to be solved before a union could be effected. A union of the colonies finally did emerge, and the nature of that union clearly reflected the influence of colonial experience (page 101). The political traditions of the colonies, in their major outlines, became the foundation for the government of the Union: a written constitution, the two-house legislature, the veto power of the governor, independent courts, the control of the purse by the people's representatives, the idea of the separation of governmental powers, and the establishment of a system of checks and balances to prevent political tyranny and the whims and fancy of the moment from swinging the power of the government too far in any direction. The virtues and defects, the strength and the weaknesses, of our American government are deeply rooted in the colonial past.

Words and Phrases

absolutism, Albany Congress, artisan, Bill of Rights, Charters of Liberties, common law, Fundamental Orders, House of Burgesses, power of the purse, Puritan Revolution, separatism, town meeting

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. In what respects was the colonial period one of experimentation with democracy? What were the chief democratic features of colonial government? What colonial practices were not democratic according to twentieth-century standards?
2. How did colonial legislatures attempt to restrict royal or parliamentary interference?

3. Explain the three main types of government in the English colonies. Describe the relations between England and the colonies in the early eighteenth century.
4. Make a list of the features of colonial government which had an enduring influence on American government.
5. What was the purpose of the Albany Congress, 1754? What did it accomplish?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Prepare a report on Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia.
2. "In the development of American political ideas and social practices the influence of the popular assembly in the eighteenth century is the most potent single factor underlying our American system of government. It cannot be shown that the Mayflower Compact, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, or any of the so-called 'liberty' documents of the seventeenth century had any influences on later events." (This is a statement by Professor Andrews in *The Colonial Period of American History*, Vol. II, p. 143. Yale University Press.) Discuss the extent to which you agree or disagree with this opinion. (Consult Commager's *Documents*, Nos. 11, 12, 15, 16, 24, 25, 29.) Prepare a list of the "political ideas and social practices" which grew out of the popular assembly.
3. Prepare a special report on the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Penn's Plan of Union, the New England Confederation, the Albany Plan of Union (consult Commager's *Documents*, Nos. 16, 18, 28, 31), and the work of Edmund Andros as governor of the Dominion of New England.
4. Investigate and report on the methods of voting for members of the colonial legislatures in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Suggested Reading

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government* (A.N.S.), pp. 22–73; Beard and Beard, I, 109–118; Hart, I, 218–225; Ogg, *Builders of the Republic* (Pageant), Chap. I; Tyler, *England in America* (A.N.S.), pp. 210–228; Van Tyne, *The American Revolution* (A.N.S.), pp. 3–24; Commager, Nos. 12, 15, 16, 24, 29 – Early Colonial Charters.

CHAPTER FIVE

Colonial Resistance to the British Imperial System

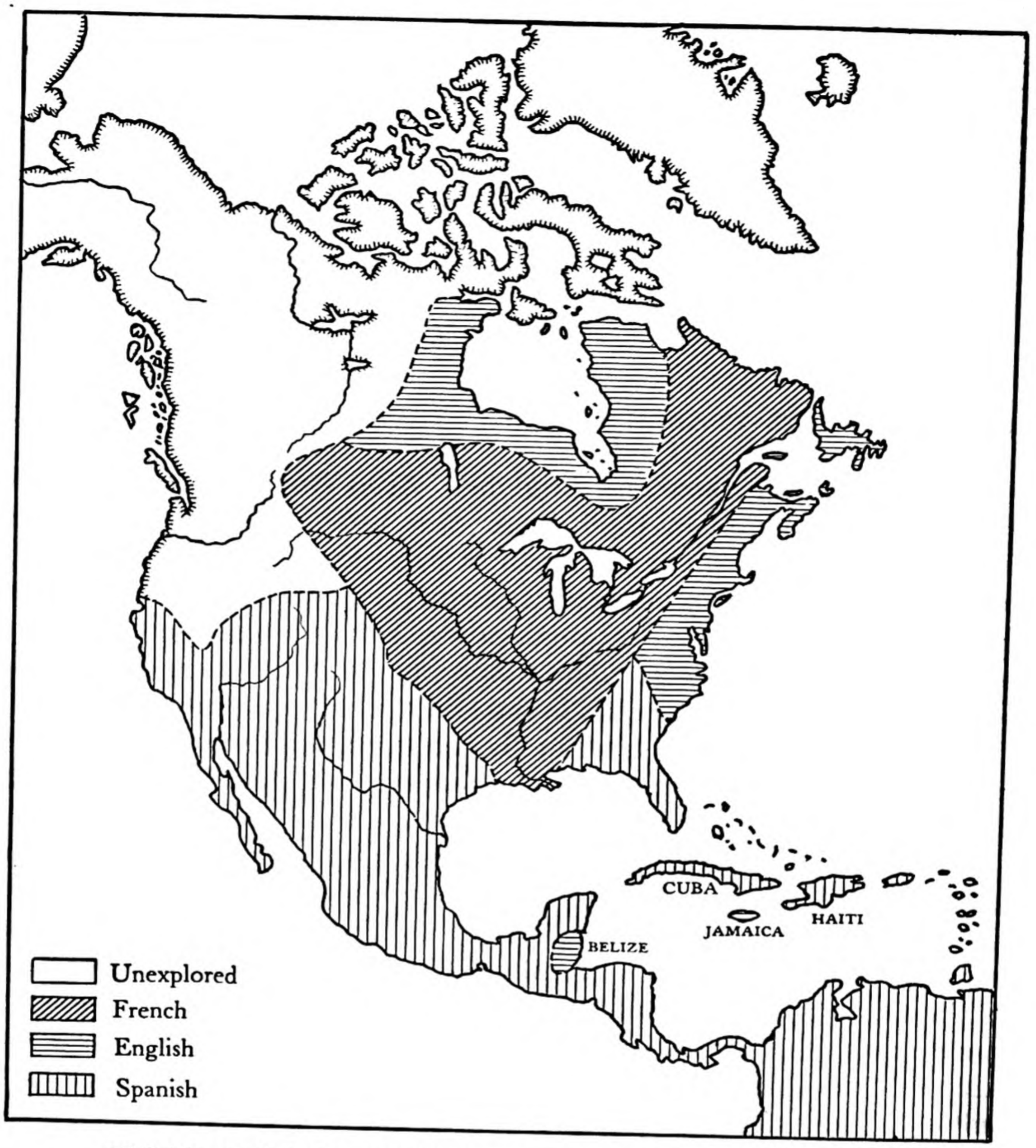
ENGLAND DEFEATS FRANCE IN THE "STRUGGLE FOR A CONTINENT"

The rivalry of France and England. After England's defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, Spain was unable to prevent English colonization of the coast north of Florida. Sweden and Holland were eliminated in the seventeenth century. So in the eighteenth century France was the only European power left to challenge English supremacy in North America. The numerous wars in which France and England were engaged as rivals in the Old World in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were usually accompanied by wars in the New World between the French and Indians on one side and the English colonists on the other. (See map, page 50.)

The French colonies in North America. The French settlements were scattered westward along the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes, and then southward along the Mississippi. French occupation and settlement of the New World was quite different from that of the English. The French, coming as missionaries and fur traders, scattered their settlements over vast areas. Their primary concern was trade and quick profits, not the establishment of permanent French homes and communities. They were friendly toward all of the Indians except the Iroquois, and Indians continued to live in and near the French settlements. The English, on the other hand, were interested in clearing the forest, driving out the Indians, and establishing permanent settlements.

The French and Indian War. The French and Indian War, the final conflict between these two colonial rivals, began in 1754 as a struggle between the French and the English for the upper Ohio Valley. In 1749 the French had laid formal claim to the region of the Ohio. But French expansion came at a time when frontiersmen from the English colonies were pushing their settlements westward, and when speculative land companies were expecting large profits from selling these lands to English settlers. Late in 1753 Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent the youthful George Washington to warn the French in western Pennsylvania to retire from the Ohio Valley. The French did not retire but instead built additional forts to defend their positions.

In 1755 a regiment of British regulars under General Braddock failed



EUROPEAN CLAIMS IN NORTH AMERICA, 1710

miserably in an attempt to force the French to withdraw. Braddock's defeat marked the beginning of a life-and-death struggle on land and sea between England and France. The war against France was prosecuted with vigor, not only in America but also in Europe and in India. In Europe other nations were involved, and it was known as the Seven Years' War. Finally, in 1759, Generals Wolfe and Amherst closed in upon and captured the centers of French power in America — Quebec and Montreal on the St. Lawrence River. Defeated on all fronts in Europe, America, and India, France was compelled to make peace.

The Treaty of Paris, 1763. The war closed in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris. By this treaty England acquired a vast and far-flung empire. Not only did England increase her foothold in India but she also ac-

quired all North America east of the Mississippi. Spain had been an ally of France and was obliged to give Florida to England; France compensated Spain by ceding to her New Orleans and the territory west of the Mississippi called Louisiana.

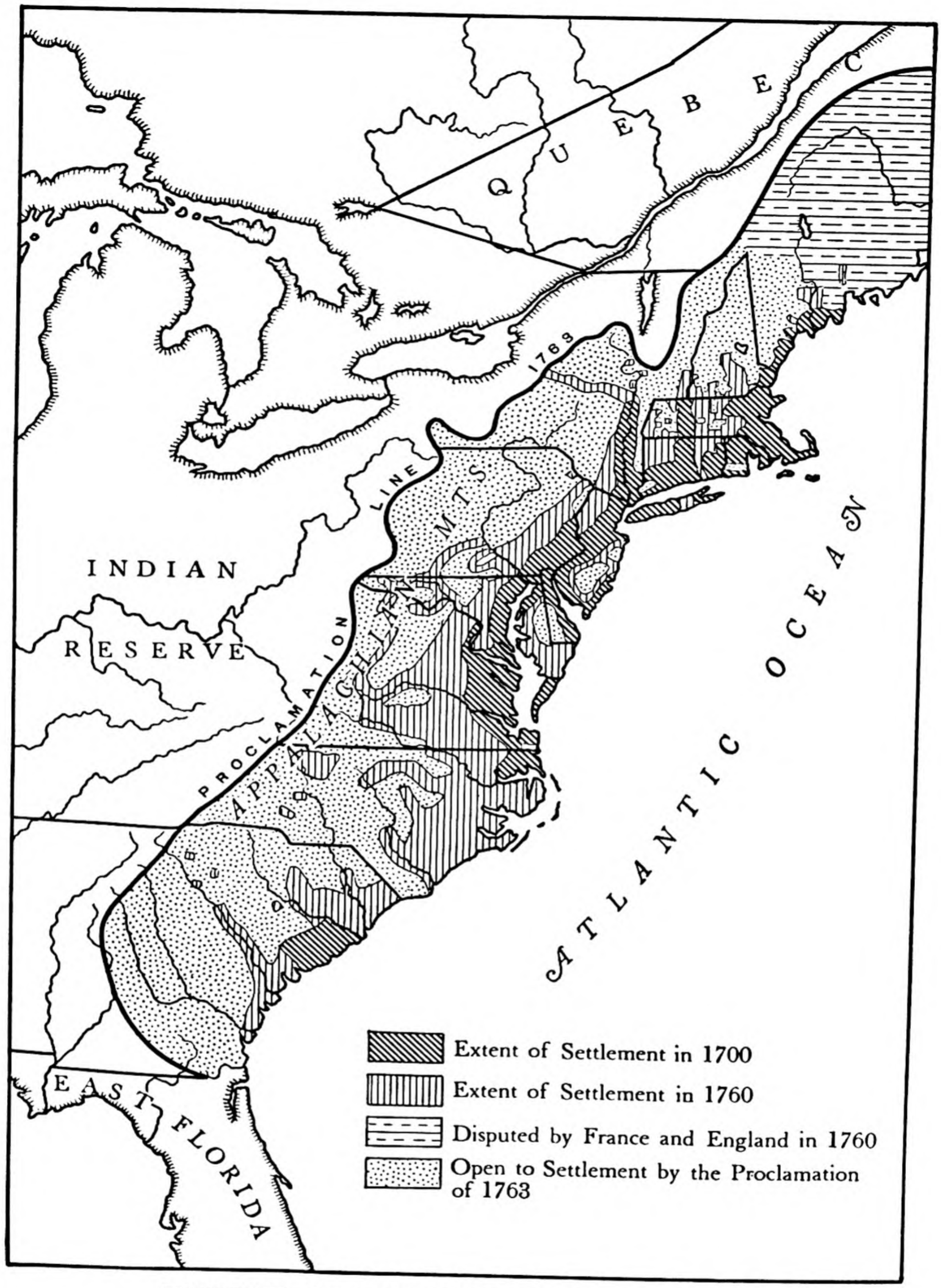
ENGLAND FACES THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNING HER EMPIRE

Effect of the war on England's attitude toward the colonies. The attitude of the colonies during the French and Indian War made England realize that there were serious defects in her system of imperial control and administration. England was disappointed in the hope that the colonies would raise an adequate number of soldiers for the American phase of the struggle. Even more exasperating to the mother country than the failure to supply men, provisions, and money was the wartime trade between the colonists and the enemy.

England's colonial policy had centered around the establishment of royal colonies, the appointment of governors and other officials (some of whom never left England), the revision of some acts of colonial assemblies, the assertion of the right of judicial review of colonial acts, and the imposition of trade laws, which the colonists were in the habit of ignoring. In 1763 English statesmen determined to strengthen the bonds of imperial control. Resistance to this new and more vigorous British policy was the immediate occasion of the War for Independence.

Elements in the problem of empire. Among the chief problems demanding special attention by English statesmen after 1763 were these: (1) Defense, for new frontiers had to be guarded in North America and India. (2) A system of taxation to meet the costs of empire. The French and Indian War had increased the English debt by £70,000,000 (making a total debt of nearly £140,000,000). Keeping an army of 10,000 men in America for purposes of defense would cost about £300,000 annually. The English felt that a large portion of this cost should be paid by the colonists, who enjoyed the protection of the British troops. (3) Enforcement of the trade laws, which if disobeyed any longer might lead to a general disregard of the interests of the mother country. Indeed, smuggling had become respectable in the colonies long before 1763. (4) Training and appointment of a group of honest, intelligent colonial officials and administrators who could be trusted to serve the purposes of empire. (5) Convincing the colonists that the policies adopted were not for the benefit of politicians at home but were intended to promote the best interests of the empire as a whole.

Hard times unfavorable to new proposals. Unfortunately Britain tightened her grip on the colonies just as wartime prosperity began to fade and hard times set in. Merchants, planters, and farmers lost money as prices crumbled. Business everywhere faced grave difficulties, and large numbers of laborers were discharged. Not only among the well



EXTENT OF ENGLISH COLONIES, 1763

to do but among the masses of people there was widespread discontent and unrest. In the midst of the depression, in an effort to stop smuggling and compel obedience to her trade laws, England began the practice of search and seizure. This threw colonial merchants into an uproar. In such an atmosphere it was easy to find fault with any government program, however wise.

In the decade following the close of the French and Indian War the leaders of the British government made an earnest effort to meet the complex problems of governing the vast empire. They did this by having Parliament enact a number of laws, many of which bore very directly upon the colonies in North America. The details of these laws need not concern us here. Their importance in history lies in the fact that the colonists regarded them as oppressive, resisted them, and finally went to war with the mother country because of them.

The Grenville program. The first series of Parliamentary acts affecting the colonies was sponsored by George Grenville, chancellor of the exchequer, during the years 1763–65. Among these were (a) the Proclamation of 1763, which forbade settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains; (b) a Tariff Act, requiring the colonists to pay taxes on many kinds of goods which they imported; (c) a Quartering Act, compelling the colonies to provide living quarters for British soldiers; and (d) the Stamp Act (1765), requiring the purchase of revenue stamps to be used on newspapers, almanacs, wills, deeds, and playing cards.

The Stamp Act Congress. The colonists protested vigorously against these laws, disobeyed them, and retaliated by refusing to buy English goods that were taxed. Representatives of nine colonies met in New York City for the express purpose of planning united resistance to the Stamp Act (the Stamp Act Congress, 1765). Urged by British merchants suffering from the drop in colonial trade, Parliament soon repealed the Stamp Act and modified the tariff duties and the Quartering Act. For a time active colonial resistance disappeared. The first efforts of Parliament to assume fuller control over the empire and to provide for necessary military defense and revenue thus largely failed.

The Townshend Acts. Efforts similar to Grenville's were renewed in 1767 under a new chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend. The tariff law was extended to include many more articles and, in order to aid in its enforcement, customs officers were authorized to search the homes of colonists without specific search warrants, and to try offenders without jury. Once again the colonies flamed with protests, pamphlets, meetings. The boycott of English goods was renewed, and mobs attacked customs commissioners, while pamphleteers and orators vigorously told the people that the laws were unjust.

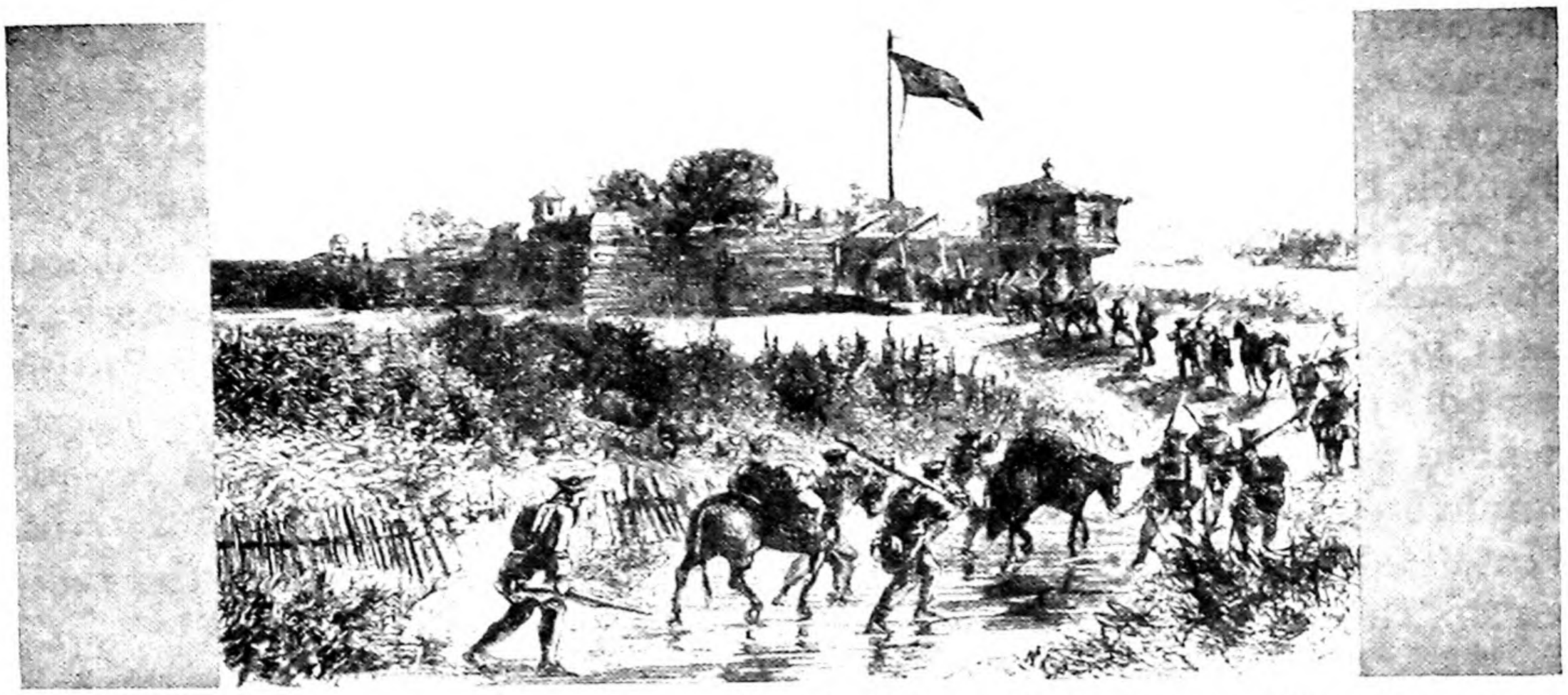
Continued resistance by radicals. In 1770 Parliament did away with most of the Townshend duties. This and the return of business prosperity during 1770–73 tended to reconcile colonial merchants to the policy of the mother country. However, a small but active group of radicals kept up agitation against any and all Parliamentary interference in colonial affairs. They organized *committees of correspondence* in several of the colonies in order to keep one another informed

on objectionable actions of British officials and for the general purpose of strengthening the spirit of resistance. The radicals openly approved smuggling as a means of evading British customs laws. They even condoned such violent acts of resistance as the burning of the British revenue boat *Gaspée* near Providence (1772) and the destruction at Boston of £18,000 worth of tea upon which they refused to pay the tax (the "Boston Tea Party" of 1773).

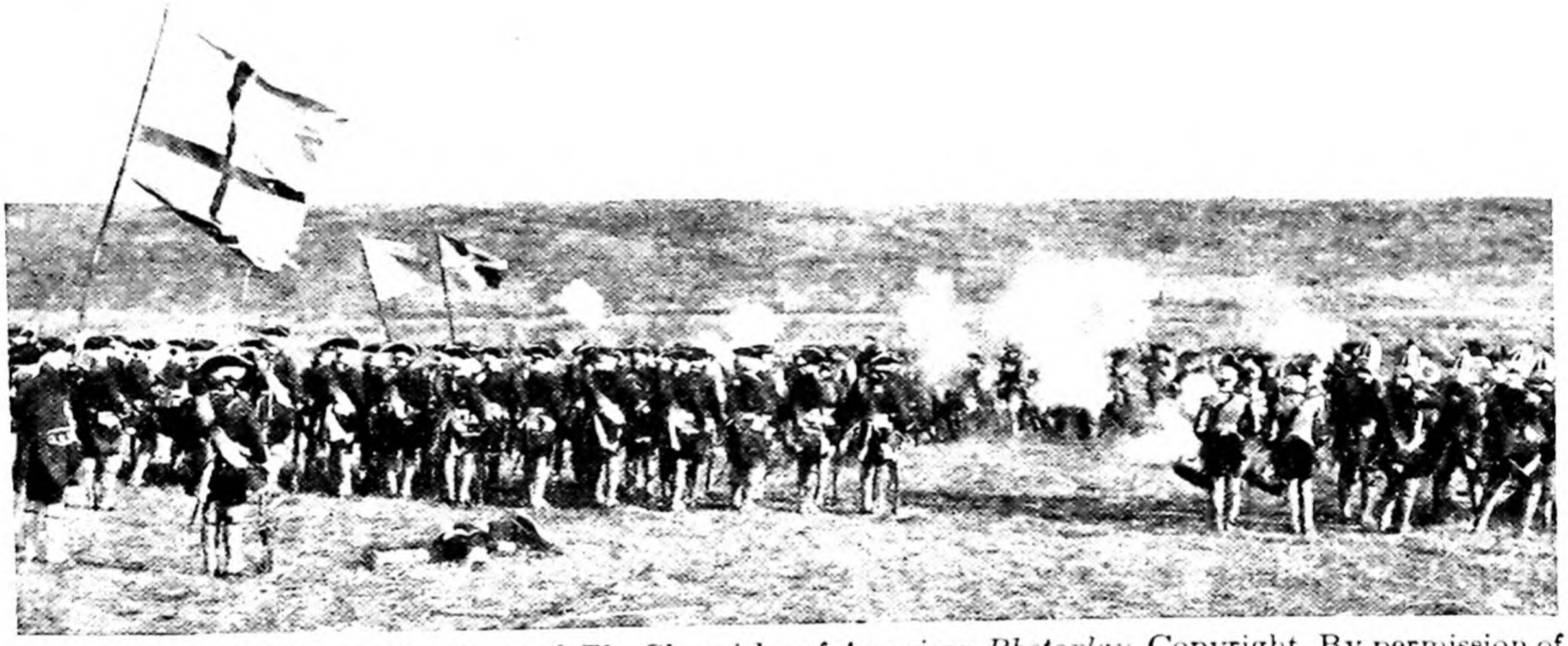
A case of misunderstanding, conflict of interests, principles, and emotions. The differences between England and her colonies that grew into such sizable proportions between 1763 and 1773 cannot be wholly explained by the events just described. Certainly these differences did not grow out of long-continued ill will. Rather, they were due largely to *misunderstanding* — the failure of each side to see the other's point of view. Englishmen in London never questioned the right of king and Parliament to rule over Englishmen everywhere. For the most part they honestly believed that the Grenville and Townshend laws were for the best interest of the empire as a whole. That the colonists should pay taxes to help pay the costs of British military protection seemed only fair. On the other hand, the colonists had lived so long apart from England and had become so used to governing themselves through local and colonial governments that they could see no reason for submitting to laws enacted three thousand miles away.

To be sure, something more than mere misunderstanding was involved. To a certain extent there was a *clash of interest* — real as well as imagined. The colonists believed that to submit to Parliament's laws meant money out of their pockets. And British taxpayers thought that their burden would be less if it were shared. British fur traders profited from the Proclamation of 1763, while American frontiersmen and land speculators suffered from it. Also, to a certain extent, the controversy may be explained by *differences in principle*. A strong principle of the English ruling class in the eighteenth century was the political supremacy of Parliament over all English citizens. But the right of local self-government was an equally strong principle with the colonists. Finally, the importance of *emotional factors* must be recognized. People on each side came to dislike those on the other side, not because they coolly thought out the issues and problems involved, but because their pride and resentment had been aroused.

Divided opinion on both sides. As the rift widened in the years 1763–73 responsible leaders on both sides of the Atlantic would have prevented it if they had known how. In England the dominant group, including King George III, regarded the colonial opposition as coming from a radical minority and believed that strict handling would bring them into line. A minority, including Edmund Burke and Lord Chatham (William Pitt), held that the colonists' viewpoint should be respected and that the mother country should make every effort toward

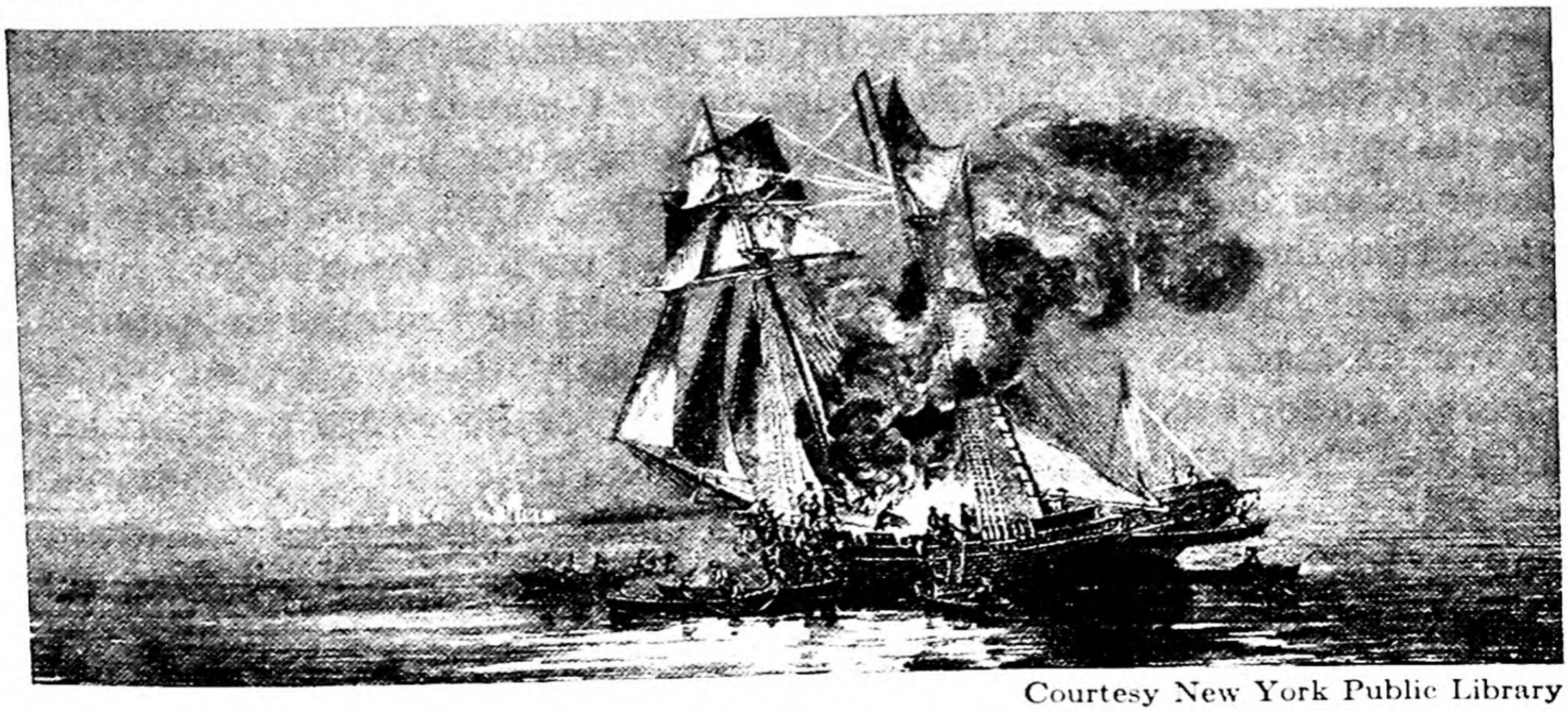


During the French and Indian War the English in 1758 captured Fort Duquesne from the French.



From "Wolfe and Montcalm," one of *The Chronicles of American Photoplay*. Copyright. By permission of Yale University Press

On the Plains of Abraham, near Quebec, General Wolfe defeated General Montcalm in 1759 in the decisive engagement of the French and Indian War.



Courtesy New York Public Library

When the British investigated the burning of the revenue cutter *Gaspée*, the colonists refused to tell who participated and the investigation failed.

peaceful conciliation. Opinion in the colonies was similarly divided between the conservatives, who would have conceded the justice of some of Parliament's demands, and the radicals (such as James Otis, Patrick Henry, and Samuel Adams), who urged stiff resistance.

The events of 1772–74 strengthened the king's party in England and the radicals in America, thus widening the breach. For the American acts of violence against British property and in defiance of British authority (notably the *Gaspée* affair and the Boston Tea Party) convinced a majority in Parliament that stern discipline should be administered. In 1774, when such discipline was attempted by the "Intolerable Acts," many Americans went over to the side of the radicals. Thus the hope of conciliation was doomed.

The "Intolerable Acts." How Parliament aimed to discipline the colonies was outlined in a series of four laws, dubbed by the colonists the "Intolerable Acts." Two of these affected all the colonies and two singled out Massachusetts for special punishment. (1) One law provided that British officers in America accused by colonists could be tried in England. (2) Another extended the old Quartering Act to force colonists to open their homes to soldiers in case existing barracks were not adequate. (3) A third act reorganized the government of Massachusetts, bringing it more directly under royal control and forbidding town meetings. (4) The fourth closed the harbor at Boston to all trade until payment was made for the tea that had been destroyed. A fifth law, the Quebec Act, while not intended as a measure of force, was grouped by the colonists along with the others as an Intolerable Act. It added the territory northwest of the Ohio to the province of Quebec, placed the provincial government more directly under the king, and granted full religious freedom to Quebec's Catholics. All three provisions were resented by the colonists.

Resistance to "punishment." The authors of these forceful measures expected that the colonists would readily submit if "a resolute part" were taken. They soon learned that submission was not within the plans of the radicals. British troops under General Gage, sent to Boston to put down opposition, found themselves unsafe outside the cover of the fleet and the forts. By October, 1774, General Gage advised that these laws should be suspended until a force large enough to conquer the whole of New England could be brought to America. It would take, he said, not less than twenty thousand men. King George understood the situation correctly, for he wrote to his prime minister: "The die is cast; the colonists must either submit or triumph."

The demand for an intercolonial congress. The punishment meted out to Massachusetts created a new bond of sympathy among the colonies. Neighboring towns kept Boston supplied with provisions. From cities as far away as Charleston, South Carolina, and Wilmington, North Carolina, rice and other supplies were sent. In Philadelphia,

the first day of June, 1774, the day the Boston Port Act went into effect, was observed with flags at half-mast and church bells muffled. The Virginia House of Burgesses declared the day one "of fasting, humiliation, and prayer." From newspapers, town meetings, and colonial assemblies a call for an intercolonial congress went forth.

"Radicals" dominate the First Continental Congress. Early in September, 1774, fifty-six delegates from all the colonies except Georgia met at Philadelphia in the First Continental Congress.

The conservative delegates, led by Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania, wanted to formulate and adopt a plan of union similar to the plan of the Albany Congress twenty years before. The "radicals," led by Samuel and John Adams, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee, steered the Congress from Galloway's plan of union to a Declaration of Rights and Grievances and the formation of a Nonimportation Association. The Declaration of Rights and Grievances, which was addressed to the king, the British people, and the inhabitants of Canada, listed rights which the colonists claimed and named thirteen acts of Parliament violating these rights. The repeal of these acts would be necessary to restore harmony.

The Association. Recalling that the nonimportation agreements of the colonial merchants a few years before had driven English merchants to demand the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Congress adopted an "Association" not to import British goods after the first of December, 1774. Committees chosen by the voters in every county, city, and town were to observe and report every violation of the Association. Colonial committees of correspondence were to keep one another informed of the state of affairs. The Congress decided to meet again on the tenth of May, 1775, unless the grievances were redressed.

Enforcing the boycott. Assemblies or congresses in twelve colonies ratified the work of the Continental Congress. *Committees of observation and inspection* were rapidly organized in nearly every county or town of the twelve united colonies. The committeemen hunted out violators of the Association and, if they did not mend their ways, seized their property and sometimes tarred and feathered them. The effect of the Association was shown in American imports from Great Britain. In Philadelphia alone these fell from £625,632 in 1774, to £1,366 in 1775. In the twelve colonies taken together, the decline amounted to 93 per cent.

English alarm over colonial resistance. By January, 1775, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain realized how serious the loss of American trade would be. Meetings in scores of English towns sent petitions to Parliament for the repeal of the acts which the Americans resisted. In January, 1775, London merchants petitioned Parliament for reconciliation with America. Chatham and Burke attempted to turn Parliament from the course which was leading straight to war.

ARMED RESISTANCE AT LEXINGTON AND CONCORD, APRIL 19, 1775, FORCES THE COLONISTS TO TAKE SIDES

Gage's decision to seize colonial supplies. In November, 1774, the committee of supplies appointed by the Massachusetts Assembly prepared to resist General Gage if he attempted to enforce the acts of Parliament. Stores of provisions and munitions for the use of the militia were accumulated at Worcester and Concord. Couriers were appointed whose duty it was to alarm the towns if the British took steps to seize the stores. Companies of militia were recruited, and officers were appointed to command and drill them. One quarter of the force was pledged to meet at a minute's notice. These were the "minutemen." General Gage, aware of all this activity, determined to seize the supplies which the Massachusetts committee was gathering.

Lexington. On the night of April 18, 1775, a large British force, about a thousand in number, set out to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock, the chief agitators, who were in hiding at Lexington, and to seize military supplies at Concord, eighteen miles northwest of Boston. The story of the midnight ride of Paul Revere and William Dawes to warn the countryside of Gage's movements is well known. At daybreak the British entered Lexington. Upon the open green in the center of the village fifty or sixty of the local militia were drawn up in line to prevent their passage. The British moved forward. Someone fired a shot, and a battle began. The little band of militiamen was quickly swept aside. Eight were killed and ten wounded.

Concord. The British reached Lexington too late to capture Hancock and Adams, but they marched on to Concord in time to destroy a small quantity of military stores which the people had not carried to places of hiding. When they undertook to return to Boston in the afternoon, the soldiers were fired at from every hill, stone wall, and house. The march turned into a disorderly flight. Nearly famished, the British troops stumbled into Charlestown at nightfall.

Colonial preparations for war. As swift couriers carried the news that the militia of Massachusetts had resisted the king's troops at Lexington and Concord, town and county committees of correspondence circulated pledges of support. The lists of signers and nonsigners drew the line sharply between patriots and loyalists. The committees of observation and inspection now became chiefly occupied with preparations for war. The same kind of public meetings which appointed the town and county committees appointed delegates to provincial congresses. These congresses assumed all the powers which governors, judges, and assemblies had possessed under the old regime. Royal authority in the colonies vanished as the royal officers took refuge with the British forces or hastened to resign and make their peace with their neighbors.



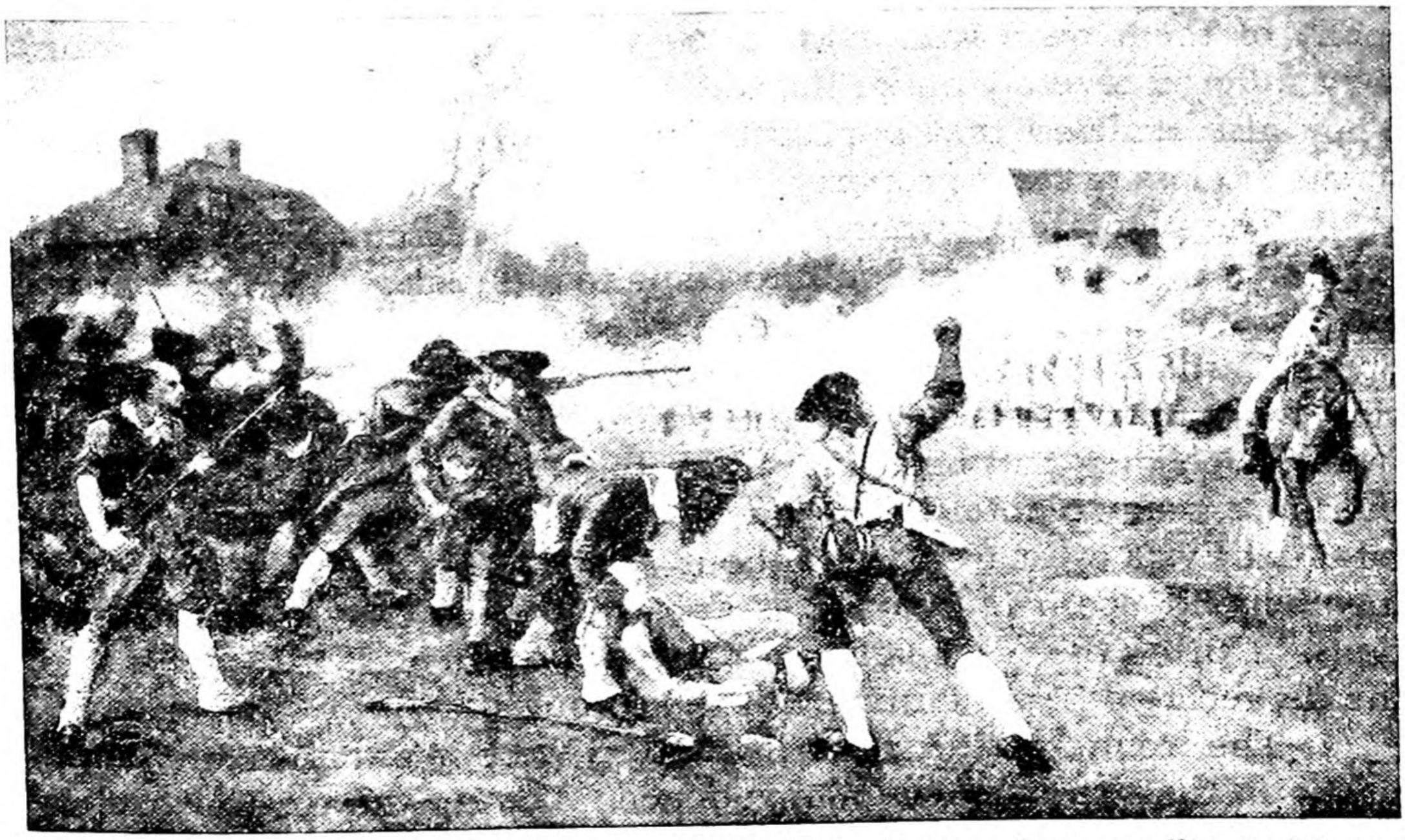
Painting by Reynolds



From a portrait

Left: As the charges in the Declaration of Independence are directed against George III, here shown in his coronation robes in 1760, he is frequently pilloried as the one person who caused the American Revolution.

Right: Edmund Burke (1729–97) supported the colonial cause. He opposed the policies of George III: "The question with me is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy."



The Battle of Lexington, by Sandham. Courtesy Lexington Historical Society

On Lexington Common on April 19, 1775, the first shots of the Revolutionary War were fired. Of the small band of sixty minutemen, eight were killed and ten wounded. The British suffered heavy losses as they returned to Boston.

Colonial patriots and loyalists. In general the privileged people in the colonies, who formed a kind of American aristocracy of officeholders and hereditary wealth, went over to the king's support. At first they were called "Tories" and later "loyalists." In a total population of about two and a half million, it is estimated that about a third were actively on the king's side, while large numbers were indifferent. Along some parts of the Atlantic coast the population was so evenly divided that the Revolution was in effect a civil war. In New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Georgia, modern research seems to indicate that the loyalists were clearly in the majority. But, generally speaking, the loyalists were unorganized. The "radicals," however, were organized and kept up a bombardment of effective propaganda. Gradually, more and more people supported them, or at least refrained from opposing the drift toward independence.

1. The underprivileged. Two groups of people were generally inclined to support the patriot cause: first, the people of the back country, occupying the settlements between the older established districts along the coast and the frontier; and second, the great majority of small tradesmen, small mechanics, and farmers. Overburdened with taxes and frequently in debt to merchants and landowners, these groups did not enjoy active participation in the colonial governments. They hoped that the Revolution would bring more political and economic freedom.

2. The wealthy merchants. For the merchants of the North, the decision to support the loyalists or the patriots was a difficult one. They feared lest independence would rob them of their trade or set up a radical order that would weaken their economic and social position. Yet many of them were won over to the cause of independence because they suffered severely under the trade restrictions imposed by England. They also realized that opposition to independence would probably mean the loss of their property, imprisonment, or exile.

3. The plantation owners. It was equally difficult for the wealthy planters of the tidewater South to come to a decision. Many remained loyal. On the other hand, large numbers, especially in Virginia and South Carolina, threw in their lot with the patriot cause. Their decision was partly influenced by the desire to occupy the western lands from which they had been barred by the Proclamation of 1763. Furthermore, many planters were indebted to English businessmen. Their total debt was estimated to be about £2,000,000. Many planters saw in independence a temporary escape from these burdensome obligations. During the war many planters paid off their British debts with the depreciated paper currency of the colonies.

4. The frontiersmen. Frontier settlers were unanimous and enthusiastic in their support of independence. During the quarter century preceding the Revolution, thousands of Scotch-Irish frontiersmen, with a considerable number of their English and German neighbors of cen-

tral Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina, passed through the mountain barrier which had long delayed settlement, and occupied the valleys of the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee rivers. James Harrod, James Robertson, John Sevier, and the great frontiersman, Daniel Boone, were among the leaders of the settlers to this southern frontier region. After the peace with France, 1763, land speculators saw their opportunity and secured grants of land beyond the mountains from the colonial authorities. The Proclamation of 1763, by which the royal government took over the supervision of the Indian country and land grants west of the mountains, interfered with land speculators, fur traders, and pioneers. In the Southwest, particularly, the Revolutionary War became a war for land and the freedom of westward migration.

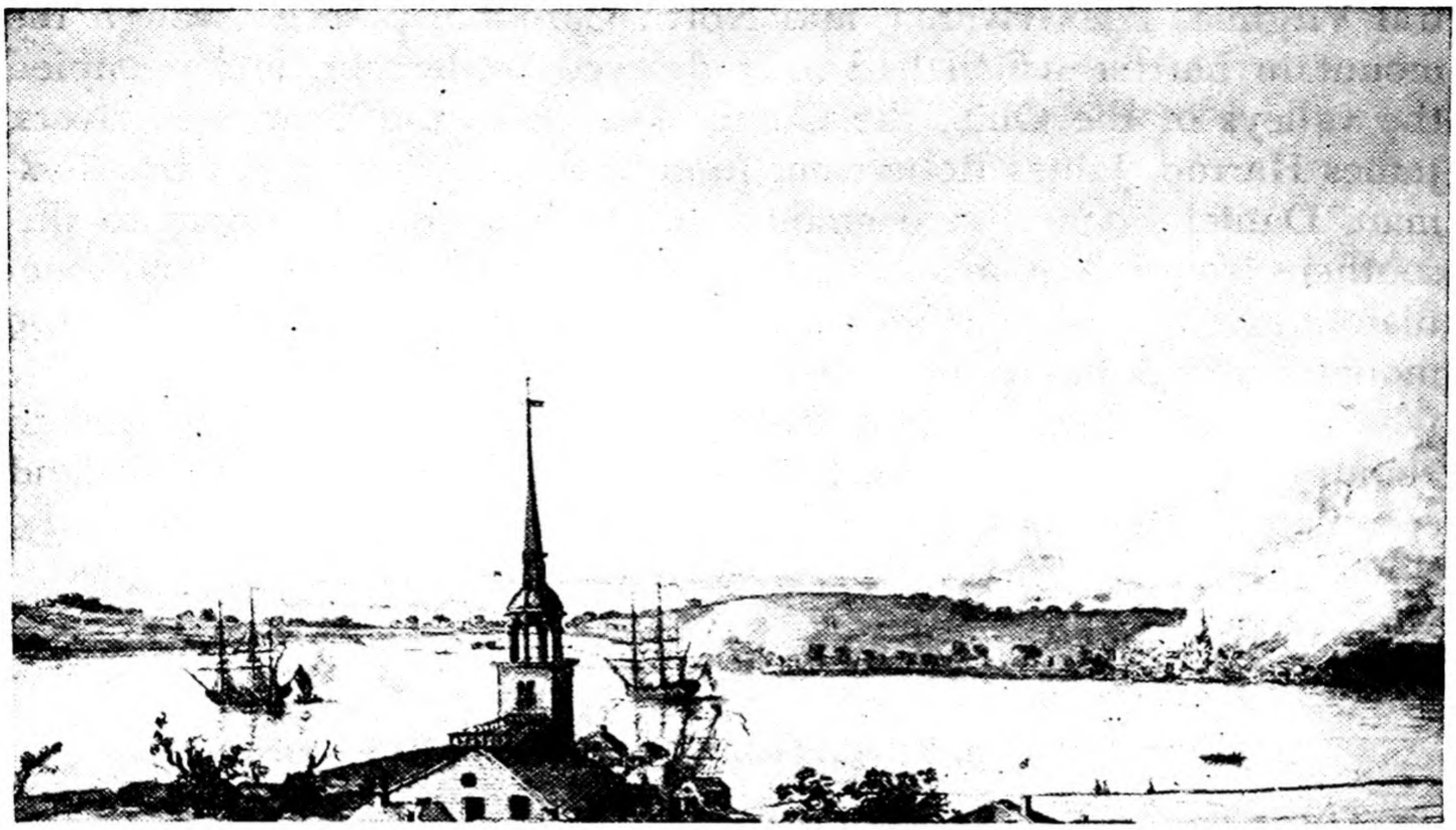
THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS TAKES CONTROL

The olive branch and the sword. The Second Continental Congress, which met in May, 1775, three weeks after Lexington and Concord, was confronted with a situation which it could not ignore — the people of Massachusetts were in arms against the king's troops. Many delegates, putting the olive branch foremost, urged Congress to try once more a loyal petition to the king. But to many others the time for negotiation had passed. To them it was high time to put the sword foremost — to send men and supplies to the camps about Boston. A few even urged that the colonies should declare for independence.

Congress adopted a middle course. Both the olive branch and the sword were held aloft. John Dickinson was directed to prepare a petition to the king (some called it the "olive-branch petition"). At the same time, Congress decided to do on a large scale what the provincial congresses and the town and county committees were doing within their smaller fields. The Congress readopted the "Association" of the First Congress, urged the several colonies to prepare for their defense, and organized a continental army. Upon the suggestion of John Adams, the Congress chose Colonel George Washington as commander in chief.

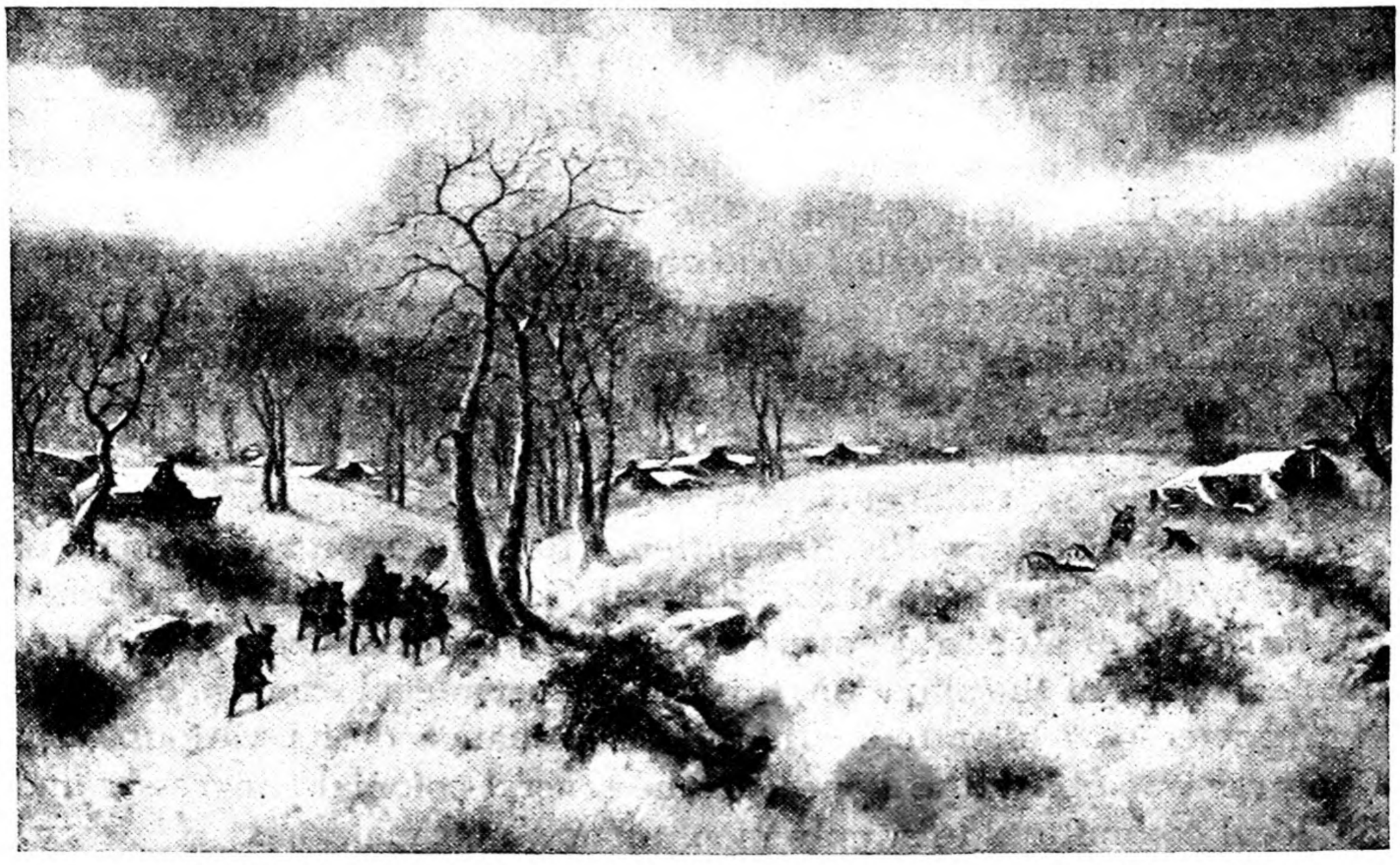
Government during the Revolution. Relying upon the support of public opinion, the Second Continental Congress gradually assumed the functions of a central government for all the colonies. Because of the necessities of the situation, this bold but nonlegal exercise of sovereign power was tolerated. In the performance of its various tasks Congress was obliged to appeal to the several colonial congresses and the local committees to supply men, money, and materials.

Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. Congress adopted as its own the army of New Englanders encamped in a semicircle around Boston. Since the nineteenth of April the militia of the various New England colonies — separate armies, in a sense — had been engaging the British regulars



Courtesy New York Public Library

During the night of June 16, 1775, the colonial militia seized Breed's Hill, near Bunker Hill, in Charlestown. The British dislodged them, but ultimately the British were forced to evacuate Boston. This picture of the battle and the burning of Charlestown was sketched by a British officer, who watched the battle from Beacon Hill in Boston.



During the winter of 1777–78 Washington's army suffered terribly at Valley Forge. Farmers refused to sell supplies to the starving and poorly clothed army in exchange for the depreciated Continental currency.

in skirmishes for positions of advantage. One of these contests, at Bunker Hill (or, more precisely, at Breed's Hill, east of Bunker Hill), became a battle of the first importance. The Americans abandoned the position which they occupied, but the loss of the British in wounded and killed greatly exceeded that of the colonial army.

The British evacuation of Boston. By March, 1776, Washington felt that the soldiers whom he had been drilling since July, 1775, were ready for action. He seized Dorchester Heights, which commanded Boston from the south, and threw up entrenchments. Howe, who had succeeded General Gage, decided to evacuate. On March 17 the entire army and the fleet sailed out of Boston Harbor for Halifax, to await reinforcements before attacking at a more vulnerable point.

Fighting in the South. Even before Washington drove Howe from Boston, British efforts to crush the revolt in the Southern colonies had failed. The patriots won a victory at Moore's Creek, near Charleston, in February, 1776, and in a palmetto log fort in Charleston Harbor a small garrison under Colonel William Moultrie successfully withstood the enemy's naval attack in one of the severest battles of the war. These victories saved the South from further invasion for two years.

Words and Phrases

"Association," boycott, committees of correspondence, First Continental Congress, French and Indian War, *Gaspée* Affair, Intolerable Acts, Nonimportation Agreement, Proclamation of 1763, Quartering Act, Quebec Act, Stamp Act, Treaty of Paris, 1763

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What were the reasons for the Proclamation of 1763? Why did the colonists object? Does it deserve to be regarded as the most important of all the Acts which contributed to the disruption of the empire?
2. Prepare brief arguments in defense and criticism of Grenville's program.
3. How did committees of correspondence and nonimportation agreements affect the problem of colonial union?
4. To what extent was the trouble between England and her colonies a "case of misunderstanding"?
5. What groups in the colonies supported and resisted the "radical" opposition to Parliament?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. What were the essential elements in the problem of imperial control? How was this problem affected by the French and Indian War?
2. To what extent, if at all, was the problem of the United States with regard to the Philippines similar to the problem which faced England in 1763?
3. Was resistance to the Stamp Act illegal, revolutionary? Give reasons.
4. "When the colonists asserted that Boston or New York could not be taxed except by their own representatives, the English replied that they were as

fully represented in Parliament as Manchester or Birmingham." (a) Why are the cities of Birmingham and Manchester used as illustrations in this sentence? (b) What differing theories of representation are suggested by this sentence? (c) Were the cases of the colonies and the city of Manchester exactly the same? Reasons.

5. Discuss the efficacy and wisdom of the colonial methods of organization and resistance to change English policy in 1774 and 1775. Compare with the methods used to secure the repeal of the Stamp Act.
6. Investigate and report on the activities of James Harrod, James Robertson, John Sevier, and Daniel Boone. Report also on the Watauga Association.
7. Consult Beard and Beard, *Rise of American Civilization,* Vol. I, pp. 189–203, for a brief summary of various interpretations of the causes and character of the American Revolution. State, with reasons, which of these interpretations seems the most valid; also give the reasons why you reject the other interpretations. Consult other accounts and report on the point of view presented concerning the causes of the American Revolution.

Suggested Reading

PROBLEM OF EMPIRE: Beard and Beard, I, 189–216; Becker, *Eve of the Revolution* (Y.C.S.), pp. 12–50; Carman, I, 193–227; Faulkner, pp. 113–131; Hart, II, 312–373; Miller, J. C., *Origins of the American Revolution;* Thwaites, *France in America* (A.N.S.), pp. 124–142; Van Tyne, *Causes of the War of Independence,* pp. 55–137; MacDonald, No. 30 – Treaty of Paris.

ENGLISH POLICY: Bassett, pp. 161–176; Becker, *Eve of the Revolution* (Y.C.S.), pp. 98–115; Carman, I, 227–242; Dodd, *The Old South,* pp. 162–182; Hart, II, 373–434; Ogg, *Builders of the Republic* (Pageant), Chap. II; Commager, Nos. 33, 35, 41, 42, 43, 49, 50 – British colonial legislation.

COLONIAL RESISTANCE: Bassett, pp. 161–169; Carman, I, 256–263; Hart, II, 373–378; Commager and Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America,* pp. 133–143; Greene, *The Revolutionary Generation* (A.L.S.); Howard, *Preliminaries of the American Revolution* (A.N.S.), pp. 140–173; Commager, Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52 – Resolutions illustrating the attitude of the colonies.

INTERCOLONIAL ORGANIZATION: Bassett, pp. 176–185; Greene, *The Revolutionary Generation* (A.L.S.); Hart, II, 434–454; Howard, *Preliminaries of the American Revolution* (A.N.S.), pp. 296–312; Commager, Nos. 18, 28, 31, 55 – Colonial plans for a union.

FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS: Beard and Beard, I, 228–232; Carman, I, 265–273; Hart, II, 434–441; Howard, *Preliminaries of the American Revolution* (A.N.S.), pp. 280–296; Van Tyne, *Causes of the War of Independence,* pp. 411–450; Commager, Nos. 53, 56, 57, 60 – Instructions to and Resolutions of the First Congress.

LEXINGTON AND CONCORD: Beard and Beard, I, 232–240; Becker, *Eve of the Revolution* (Y.C.S.), pp. 225–231; Carman, I, 273–275; Howard, *Preliminaries of the American Revolution* (A.N.S.), pp. 296–313; Van Tyne, *The American Revolution* (A.N.S.), pp. 25–36; Commager, Nos. 59, 61 – Battle of Lexington and Declaration of the Causes and Necessity for Taking Up Arms.

CHAPTER SIX

The War for Independence

"THESE UNITED COLONIES ARE, AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES"

Drifting toward independence. Throughout 1775 the majority of the members of Congress waited hopefully for the king's reply to the "olive-branch petition." But the king and his ministers ignored it. Instead, the king issued a proclamation calling the Americans "rebels" and warning all persons against giving them aid and comfort. Cast out of the empire, as it were, by king and Parliament, an increasing group of colonists began to think of separation from England as a permanent thing.

Thomas Paine's Common Sense. In January, 1776, just as the thoughts of Americans were turning toward independence, Thomas Paine, a young Englishman living in America, published a stirring pamphlet, *Common Sense,* which put into words the thoughts of those who insisted upon independence. Paine challenged the authority of kings:

> As to their hereditary descent, how absurd! We do not think of attempting to establish an hereditary poet. . . . O! ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth!

Actions speak louder than words. Paine's powerful pamphlet had an immediate effect on the drift toward independence. As the people read, talked, and reflected, the idea grew that the colonies ought to be wholly free and independent. During the first half of 1776 the Continental Congress took several actions in the direction of independence. In March it sent Silas Deane to France to secure aid and to propose an alliance, with the assurance that "America will soon be established as an independent empire." A few days later private citizens were authorized to fit out privateers, and thus a number of otherwise idle merchantmen were armed and turned loosed to prey upon British shipping. In April the ports of America were thrown open to trade with all parts of the world except England.

The Declaration of Independence. A direct consideration of the problem of independence came in June after Richard Henry Lee of Virginia proposed three famous resolutions: (1) "That these united colonies are . . . free and independent states. . . ." (2) "That it is

expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances." (3) "That a plan of confederation be prepared. . . ."

On July 2, 1776, twelve of the colonies voted to adopt Lee's motions; on July 4 twelve colonies voted approval of the formal Declaration of Independence, which had been drafted by a committee headed by Thomas Jefferson. On July 15 the thirteenth colony, New York, gave its approval to the declaration. On August 2, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was signed by the president of the Second Continental Congress, John Hancock, and most of the other members.

The fundamental ideas in the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence consists of three main parts. (1) It summarizes in a few strong sentences the philosophy of government which European thinkers had been developing for a century:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

(2) The body of the Declaration contains a list of grievances — a clear-cut statement of a score or more definite and specific charges against the king. (3) The Declaration concludes: "That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states."

The Declaration contains these important ideals: (1) equality, (2) popular sovereignty, or government depending upon the consent of the governed, and (3) the right of the people to overthrow an oppressive government. The doctrine of equality is not a statement that individuals are mentally or physically equal, but a demand that all citizens be treated equally before the law. The colonists did not believe in the equal right of all to take part in the government. That and other applications of the doctrine came as later developments.

Effect of the Declaration. The publication of the Declaration cleared the air. The war was no longer merely a struggle in defense of liberties, but a fight for independence as well. Foreign nations, particularly France, might be more easily induced to assist the colonies.

AT SARATOGA THE AMERICAN ARMY FINALLY WINS A DECISIVE VICTORY

Geographic factors. The war had not progressed far before both sides were making use of their special geographical advantages. The long, exposed Atlantic coast, with its numerous harbors and deep riverways reaching inland, laid the colonies open to attack by the powerful British fleet. But the necessity of crossing three thousand miles of sea reduced the British advantage in that respect. The trackless wildernesses and swamps bordering many parts of the coast were also of

assistance to the colonies. And there was always the opportunity for the colonial armies to withdraw to the Appalachian highland.

The American and English armies in 1776. Following the withdrawal of the British from Boston in March, 1776, Washington transferred most of his troops to New York in anticipation of an attack. Described as a body of raw recruits, it was probably the largest army Washington ever commanded. Although between twenty and twenty-five thousand in number, it was one of the poorest forces in equipment and discipline that ever tried the patience of an American military chief. Sir William Howe had more than thirty-five thousand men.

Colonial losses in the middle states. From 1776 to 1778 the center of military activity was in the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Washington remained in this area with his uncertain army and harassed the enemy with some effectiveness from time to time, achieving brilliant but isolated victories at Trenton (December, 1776) and at Princeton (January, 1777). He was unable, however, to prevent the British from achieving their major objectives, for New York City was easily taken in August, 1776, and Philadelphia fell in 1777. The British held New York City until the end of the war.

Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga, 1777. Perhaps the most important military event of the entire war was the American defeat of an elaborate British scheme to drive a wedge through New York State from Canada to the Atlantic in order to separate New England from the rest of the states. The British forces moved southward from Canada by way of Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain. Minor detachments were stopped at Oriskany, New York, and Bennington, Vermont, and the main army of the invaders under General Burgoyne was decisively defeated at Saratoga. (See map, page 68.)

THE REVOLUTION BECOMES PART OF A WORLD WAR

The French Alliance, 1778. The victory at Saratoga not only heartened the Americans but also encouraged the French to enter into open alliance with the United States. Prior to this time France had been very sympathetic with the Americans, had cordially but unofficially received Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee as representatives of the new nation, and had secretly lent some much-needed money. But France was outwardly at peace with England and so was unwilling to risk war unless the United States could prove that its chances for victory were good. The success at Saratoga seemed sufficient proof. Consequently, on February 6, 1778, two treaties were concluded between the United States and France. By a treaty of alliance the two allies promised to make common military cause and not to sign a separate peace with the enemy. By a treaty of commerce the ports of France and the United States were opened to each other.

Spain and Holland in the war. The French were moved to help the revolting colonies partly to get revenge on England for their defeats in earlier wars, partly in the hope of gaining trade advantages with the United States, and partly with a view to recovering lost territory. Somewhat similar motives prompted Spain and Holland to enter the war against England in 1779, but they did so without any formal agreement with the United States. The war for American independence thus became almost a world war. Naturally, the participation of other nations in the war proved a great help to the Americans.



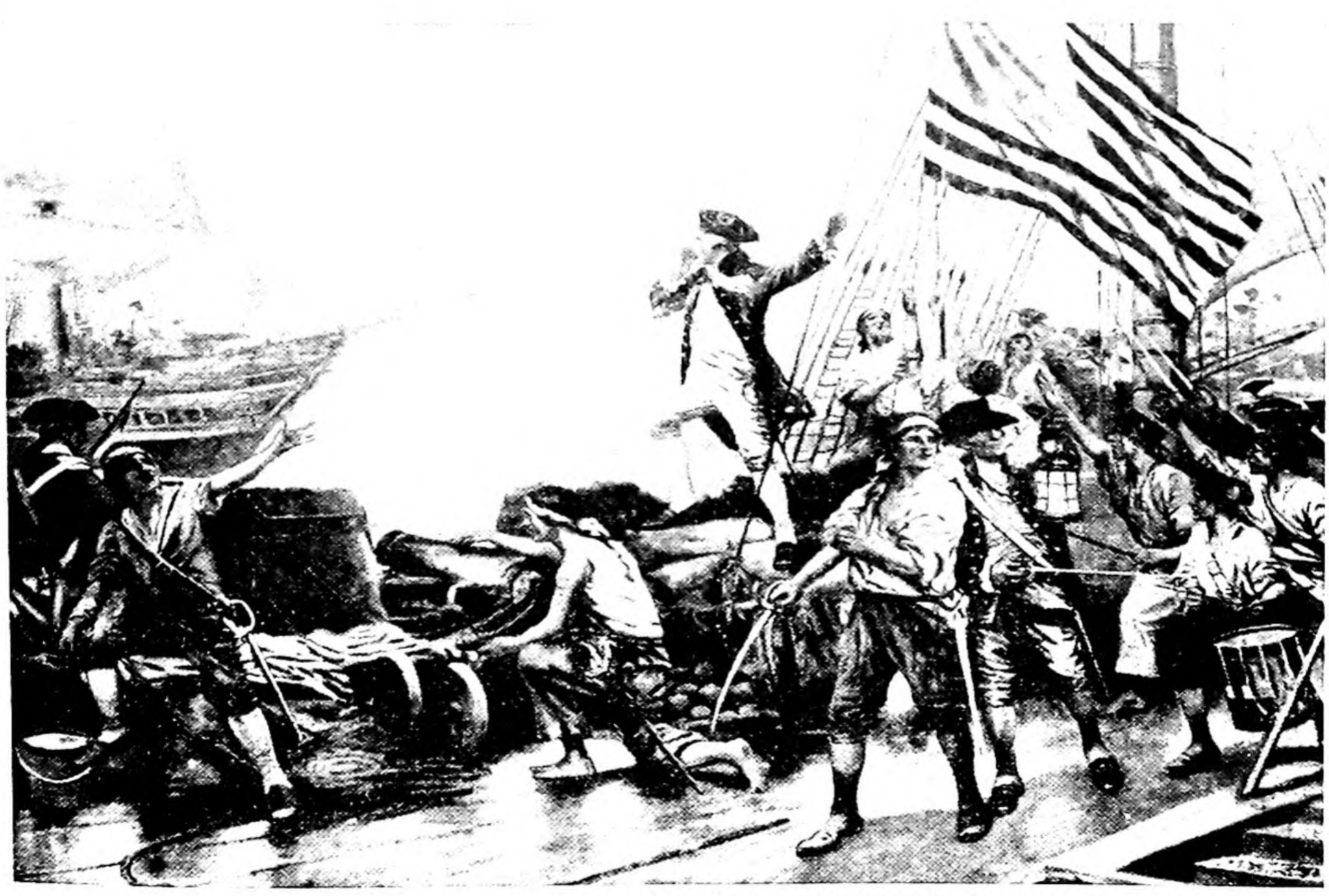
THE SARATOGA CAMPAIGN, 1777

Aid from individual Europeans. Individuals in Europe did not await action by their governments before helping out the American cause. Many private citizens in France and Holland lent money. Others crossed the Atlantic in person in order to take part in the war. Lafayette, a young French nobleman, came in 1777 and served with distinction until the end of the war. Others who came and served as officers were De Kalb, a Bavarian in the French service; Von Steuben, a Prussian whose skill as a drill master helped to fashion new recruits into real soldiers; Pulaski and Kosciusko, two Polish patriots; and John Barry of Ireland, who became a hero in the navy.



Surrender of General Burgoyne, by John Trumbull. Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery

Although the Revolutionary War dragged on for another four years, the Battle of Saratoga, 1777, was the crucial engagement in the struggle. It led to the treaty of alliance with France.



Painting by Edward P. Moran. Bettmann Archive

During the fight between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis* off the coast of Scotland, September 23, 1779, John Paul Jones shouted his defiant, "I have not yet begun to fight."

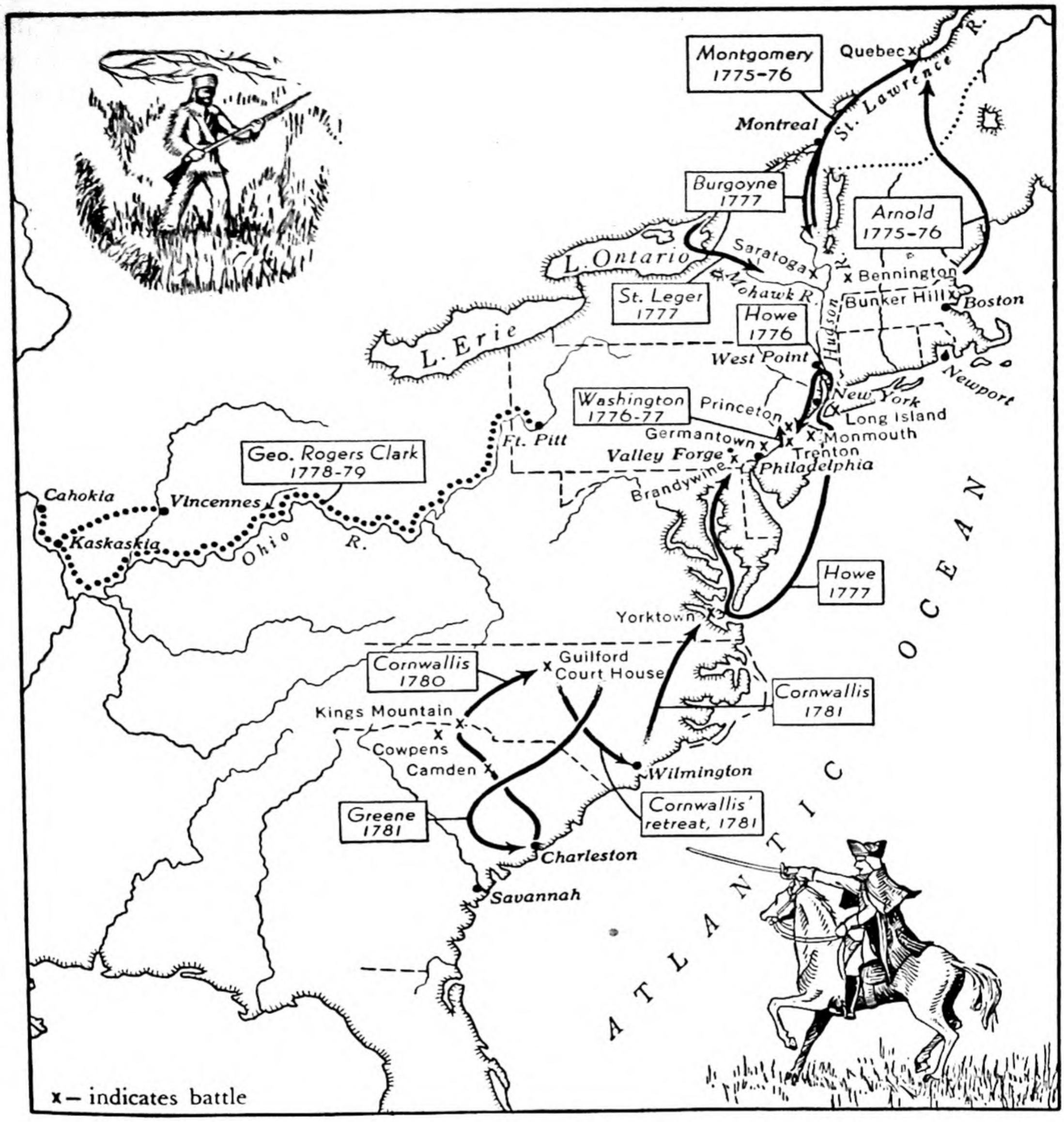
The war on the sea. The war on the sea centered chiefly in the attempt of each side to destroy the other's commerce. Approximately two thousand vessels were commissioned as privateers by Congress and the states. One of the most celebrated of the attacks on the British merchant marine was the battle off the coast of England between John Paul Jones's *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*, a British man-of-war convoying a fleet of merchantmen, in which the American commander was the victor. The damage that American privateers wrought upon English commerce was offset by attacks of British ships upon the commerce of the United States and France.

The concentration of the British fleet in New York and the constant menace of an attack by the French fleet prevented the British from keeping a close blockade of American ports. After France entered the war merchant ships found it less and less difficult to carry cargoes of American products to distant markets or to enter America with supplies from the West Indies or Europe. By 1779 the warehouses and stores were again well supplied with all kinds of foreign goods.

The work of George Rogers Clark. The British encouraged the Indians to attack the frontier settlements with the hope of keeping the frontier men from joining Washington's armies. In 1778 George Rogers Clark, a daring Kentuckian, determined to seize the British forts in the Illinois and Wabash country, and thus destroy the source from which the Indians drew their supplies of ammunition. Leading an expedition of 175 men, chiefly from the frontier, Clark captured Kaskaskia and Cahokia on the Mississippi and Vincennes on the Wabash. Clark's victories fastened our grip on the Northwest.

The French offensive. By 1779 Washington and Lafayette perceived that what the allies needed was closer co-operation and a centralized command. For a full year Lafayette appealed to the French government to send a fleet and an army to the United States and to place the whole under Washington's command. Finally a fleet and an army under Count Rochambeau arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, in July, 1780. The French also had in American waters a second fleet under the command of Count de Grasse, which had been protecting the supplies coming into America by way of the West Indies. Count de Grasse was under instructions "to co-operate in any undertaking which may be projected by the French and American generals."

The war in the South. Toward the end of 1778 the war shifted to the far South. The royal governors of South Carolina and Georgia, now refugees in England, advised the British government that the loyalists in Georgia were numerous and ready to co-operate with the British army. In December, 1778, the British captured Savannah. In 1779 and early in 1780 the British met with some success, and in May, 1780, an American army under the command of General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered at Charleston. (See map, page 71.)



PRINCIPAL THRUSTS AND BATTLES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Cornwallis, in command of the southern campaign for the British, at Camden, South Carolina, promptly defeated Gates, who had been sent to the South with a small force. Cornwallis then advanced northward, continually harassed by patriot bands led by Marion, Pickens, and Sumter. After his defeat at Camden, Gates was replaced by an abler commander, Nathanael Greene. Along with Greene were Daniel Morgan and "Light Horse Harry" Lee, father of Robert E. Lee, the great general of the War between the States.

In October, 1780, Virginians and Carolinians, under William Campbell and John Sevier, in a brilliant action at Kings Mountain captured a British regiment. Three months later a detachment of the British

army was severely defeated at Cowpens, South Carolina. Cornwallis desperately attempted to capture Greene's army but failed to do so at Guilford Court House, March, 1781. Greene had to retreat, but the British were too exhausted to pursue and retired to the seacoast.

Cornwallis is trapped at Yorktown. Cornwallis, disheartened by failure in the Carolinas, gathered his depleted forces at Yorktown, Virginia. Meanwhile, Washington and Rochambeau had been waiting patiently. They now saw a chance to converge all their forces on the British army at Yorktown. To that point went Rochambeau and De Grasse by sea and Lafayette and Washington by land. The maneuver worked out as planned, and soon Cornwallis found his army completely surrounded. Because of the French fleet the usually invincible British navy was unable to bring relief to the trapped forces of Cornwallis by sea. The situation of Cornwallis was hopeless, and on October 18, 1781, he surrendered. Within a few months England agreed to discuss the terms of peace.

ENGLAND RECOGNIZES THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES

The Treaty of Paris, 1783. Congress instructed John Jay, John Adams and Henry Laurens to join Franklin in Paris as peace commissioners. Disregarding their instructions to keep France informed of the peace negotiations they reached a preliminary understanding with England in November, 1782. England acknowledged the thirteen states, each by name, to be free and independent, and recognized the Great Lakes as the northern and the Mississippi as the western boundary of the new nation. The treaty gave to the New Englanders the privileges they had enjoyed as colonists in the Newfoundland fisheries. Great Britain wanted the United States to provide for the payment of the debts that Americans owed British citizens and for the restoration of the property of the loyalists. But the Americans explained that the several states controlled these matters and that the only thing Congress could do was to recommend that the states give satisfaction. The British accepted the suggestion, and hence the treaty included a promise to remove all obstacles to the collection of British debts in American courts, and another to recommend to the states the restoration of loyalist property. The northeast boundary was vaguely defined, and the treaty contained no definite date when the British were to withdraw from the western posts.

The French government approved the good bargain the Americans had made and concerned itself with gaining for Spain some share of her claims. The final treaty of peace (1783) gave Minorca and both East and West Florida to Spain. With the Floridas, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi as the boundary, the representatives of the new republic had obtained a liberal settlement.



Painting by Frederick Yohn for the *Youth's Companion*

In 1779 George Rogers Clark, with a small band of men, captured the scattered English settlements in Ohio and Illinois. He was forced out of Vincennes in December, 1778, but recaptured it February 24, 1779.



Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, by John Trumbull. Courtesy Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University

Approximately eight thousand English troops surrendered at Yorktown, October 19, 1781. Cornwallis's surrender practically brought the war to an end. Other Southern posts gradually surrendered, and peace negotiations were begun in Paris in the summer of 1782.

DURING THE REVOLUTION IMPORTANT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES WERE IN PROGRESS

The Revolution as a social movement. The political, social, and economic changes experienced by the thirteen colonies during their long struggle for independence were just as significant for the new nation as the accomplishments of the army in the field.

State constitutions. 1. Safeguards against tyranny. The first significant change was political. The thirteen colonies were transformed into thirteen independent states. Popular congresses and conventions, controlled by patriots, undertook to draft new state constitutions to take the place of the royal or proprietary governments. Only in the self-governing colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island were the old charters considered adequate. Since the framing of the new state constitutions was largely in the hands of "radicals," they contained many democratic features. Each constitution contained a bill of rights guaranteeing freedom of speech and press, trial by jury, freedom from unwarranted searches and seizures. The new state constitutions retained the division of the powers of government among three branches — the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The framers also believed that their liberties would best be safeguarded if individuals were elected to office for short terms. Thus frequent elections were authorized.

2. Increasing popular control. In general, each new state constitution provided for a legislature consisting of two houses. The upper house, formerly appointed by the king, was, like the lower house, chosen by popular vote. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York provided for popularly elected governors, but generally the governors were elected by the legislatures. With one or two exceptions, the term of office of the governor was one year and he was denied the veto power.

3. Increasing representation of the West. Representation in the assemblies was generally reapportioned, and the frontier farmers secured a larger share in the government than they had before.

4. Voting still limited. In some respects the Revolutionary constitution-makers made little change. The privilege of voting was limited, as in colonial times, chiefly to the landholders, and that of officeholding to those who possessed fairly large fortunes. Although there was a tendency to do away with the established church, religious tests for officeholding were still required in many states. The qualifications for voters excluded from the elections fully half the men, and few of those eligible took the trouble to vote.

Democratic tendencies in state legislation. The laws passed by state legislatures also reflect important changes. The law of primogeniture, according to which the eldest son inherited all the property of the parent to the exclusion of all other children, was abolished. Westward migration, which before the Revolution had been restricted by the Procla-

mation of 1763, began again, and as a result more people became owners of land. The large estates of the Crown, the proprietors, and the loyalists were confiscated and sold to farmers in small parcels. Along with the break-up of large landed properties went the abolition of the system of quitrents. Old laws which prescribed the death penalty for a number of offenses were repealed. Nearly all the states put an end to the further importation of slaves and practically all the Northern states provided for the abolition of slavery or the gradual emancipation of slaves.

The effect of paper money on prices. The leveling tendencies of the Revolution were greatly assisted by the financial policies of the Continental Congress and the states. Hard pressed for money, the Continental Congress did not levy taxes but resorted to issuing unsecured promissory notes, "Continental money," which it asked the states to redeem. From 1775 to 1779 it passed forty resolutions authorizing a total issue of $241,000,000 of paper money. The individual states also issued paper money to the extent of $209,000,000. The value of this money depended upon the willingness of the individual states to redeem it, and also, of course, upon the success of the American armies. The Continental currency declined steadily in value, and prices soared to dizzy heights. By the close of 1778 a dollar of paper money was worth about thirteen cents in silver; by 1779 its value declined to three cents; and by 1780 to one cent. Except for the gold and silver lent by the allies, the meager armies of Washington would have broken up completely. As it was, the uncertainty of prices and wages worked great injustice. There was much complaint of the cost of living, of speculation in money and necessities, and of "profiteering." The state legislatures tried to meet the situation by fixing wages and prices, but these efforts were of little avail. One cause of the unfortunate condition was the excessive use of paper money — inflation of the currency, as it is called — by both the states and Congress as a means of financing the war and avoiding taxation.

Efforts to stimulate production. During the war the giving of bonuses and premiums was a device used by local communities to encourage manufacturing. If guns, powder, bayonets, salt, camp kettles, or sailcloth were needed, a state legislature or a local committee offered premiums or prizes for those who would manufacture the needed articles. As the Revolution progressed, the number of new industries in America multiplied; steel was produced in large quantities; the production of paper, pottery, and woolen and cotton goods increased.

"The birth of a nation." All of these various forces — hardships, suffering, political adjustments, and the leveling tendencies of the Revolution — tended to strengthen the spirit of democracy and to bring about socially and economically, as well as politically, a separation from Old World customs and traditions. "The destinies of America had passed into the hands of farmers and middle-class people whose outlook

and ways of doing things were markedly different from those of the colonial aristocracy and the royal officialdom which they had supplanted."

The United States in 1783, with a population of 3,500,000, was a small nation in comparison with the older nations of Europe. But the Revolution meant much more than the entrance of a small nation into the world. It meant the birth of a nation dedicated to the ideals of equal opportunity, the rights of the individual, and government by the consent of the governed. Although these high ideals were not fully put into practice, they gave to America a priceless heritage.

Words and Phrases

Cowpens, Declaration of Independence, French Alliance, Kings Mountain, paper money, privateering, primogeniture, Saratoga campaign, Treaty of Paris, 1783, unalienable, Yorktown

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. Why was the Second Continental Congress reluctant to levy taxes for the conduct of the war?
2. In 1775 a declaration of the Second Continental Congress declared, "We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain." How can you reconcile this statement with the Declaration of Independence, which was approved a year later?
3. Was independence a "necessary and logical" step?
4. Explain the meaning of the doctrine of equality as announced in the Declaration of Independence.
5. Give specific examples which illustrate four of the grievances against George III mentioned in the Declaration of Independence.
6. How did geographic factors influence the conduct of the war?
7. Explain the major objectives of the Saratoga campaign. Why is it called the "turning point of the war"?
8. What is the significance of the military campaigns in the South?
9. What were the terms of the Treaty of Paris, 1783?
10. What features of the Treaty of Paris do you think were likely to become a source of future trouble?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Compare the Declaration of Independence and the first nine amendments to the Constitution. Explain and illustrate the statement: "The charges in the Declaration constitute indirectly a proclamation of a bill of rights."
2. The Declaration of Independence has been referred to as a propaganda document. What is meant by this statement? If this is so, what cautions should be observed in studying the Declaration as a statement of the causes of the War for Independence?
3. France contributed ships, money, and men. Arrange these in order of their importance to the United States and defend your arrangement. Report on the extent of French financial and naval assistance to the colonies.
4. In an economics book look up the subject "paper money." Why did Con-

gress resort to the issuance of paper money? What are the dangers in issuing paper money? (Note: Clear ideas on these questions will help in understanding certain phases of later American history.)

5. Did the victories of George Rogers Clark have any influence on the peace treaty? (Consult other accounts before forming an answer.)
6. By means of biographical sketches of important men like Paine, Barry, Lafayette, Jones, and others, prepare a review of the main events in the War for Independence.
7. Investigate and report on the difficulties of financing the war. Include in the report the activities of Robert Morris and Haym Salomon.
8. Why was the American Revolution an important event in world history?

Suggested Reading

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: Beard and Beard, I, 232–240; Becker, *Eve of the Revolution* (Y.C.S.), pp. 249–256; Carman, I, 275–280; Greene, *The Revolutionary Generation* (A.L.S.); Hart, II, 530–534, 537–539; Miller, J. C., *Origins of the American Revolution;* Ogg, *Builders of the Republic* (Pageant), Chap. III; Commager, Nos. 63, 65–67 — Events Leading to the Declaration of Independence; Amherst Readings, *The Causes of the American Revolution; The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.*

PROGRESS OF THE WAR: Carman, I, 280–301; Hart, II, 606–619; Van Doren, Carl, *Secret History of the American Revolution;* Van Tyne, *The American Revolution* (A.N.S.), pp. 102–135, 157–174; Wood and Gabriel, *The Winning of Freedom* (Pageant), Chaps. V, VI, X.

FOREIGN AID: Bailey, pp. 8–21; Bemis, pp. 15–45; Carman, I, 301–305; Hart, II, 574–589; Ogg, *Builders of the Republic* (Pageant), Chap. IV; Commager, No. 69 — Treaty of Alliance with France.

THE PEACE TREATY: Bailey, pp. 23–36; Beard and Beard, I, 287–296; Bemis, pp. 46–64; Carman, I, 305–307; Hart, II, 619–632; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* (A.N.S.), pp. 18–34; Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History,* pp. 160–183; Van Tyne, *The American Revolution* (A.N.S.), pp. 309–333; Commager, No. 74 — Treaty of Peace with Great Britain.

II

WELDING THE UNION

CHAPTERS

7 *The Critical Period*
8 *The Establishment of a Stronger Government*
9 *The Federal Government*



Courtesy The Old Print Shop, New York, and *Life* Magazine

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Critical Period

A UNION OF THE THIRTEEN STATES IS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, 1781–89

The Continental Congresses. The First Continental Congress assembled in 1774 to petition the British Parliament for a redress of grievances. It provided that if its demands were not met a second Congress should be held to formulate a common course of action. But when the Second Continental Congress convened in May, 1775, the battles of Lexington and Concord had already been fought. The Second Continental Congress almost immediately began to exercise the functions of a central government by raising and supporting an army and appointing a commander in chief. Common dangers had at last brought about a union of discordant interests.

A plan of union. Lee's resolution of independence stated that Congress should draft a plan for confederation to be submitted to the states for approval. The Congress accordingly appointed a committee to prepare a plan of union for the thirteen states. The plan prepared was called the "Articles of Confederation." After much debate the Second Continental Congress submitted the Articles of Confederation to the states for ratification in November, 1777. The Articles of Confederation did not go into effect until 1781.

The states under the Articles of Confederation. The thirteen states regarded themselves as equal, free, and sovereign. Therefore the Articles of Confederation created a Congress in which each state, regardless of its population, wealth, or geographic extent, had equal power. The members of the Congress were elected by the state legislatures. Although each state could send from two to seven delegates to the Congress, each state delegation could cast only one vote. The members of the Congress were essentially ambassadors from their states. The Articles could be amended only by the unanimous consent of all the states.

Weaknesses of the Articles. The Congress had power to declare war, make peace, conclude treaties, raise and maintain armies, maintain a navy, establish a postal system, regulate Indian affairs, borrow money, issue bills of credit, and regulate the value of coin of the United States and of the several states. However, nine states had to give their consent before any of these powers could be exercised. The weaknesses of the Articles are thus summarized by Professor McLaughlin: the Con-

gress "could not pass effective laws or enforce its orders. It could ask for money, but not compel payment; it could enter into treaties but not enforce their stipulations; it could provide for raising of armies, but not fill the ranks; it could borrow money, but take no proper measures for repayment; it could advise and recommend but not command." The Congress lacked two very important powers: the power to levy taxes, and the power to regulate commerce either with foreign nations or among the several states.

Furthermore, the Articles of Confederation created neither an executive nor a judiciary. The government created by the Articles did not function through officials appointed by Congress. It operated *through the states,* depending upon their good will to supply it with necessary funds and to carry out its resolutions. The powers of all officials were too limited to be effective. The Articles created a government of, for, and by the states — a "firm league of friendship."

Reasons for the failure to create a strong government. Many pointed out the defects of the new government, but the country had to experience the evil consequences of its weaknesses before it would be willing to establish a stronger union with a national congress, a national executive, and a national judiciary clothed with the necessary powers to govern. The long experiences of the states as colonies and their geographical isolation had tended to develop a strong spirit of provincialism, or localism. Furthermore, colonial experiences with the British government had developed a fear of centralized authority. The development of a national government with adequate power could only come about as a result of gradual evolution. The problem of the relations between the nation and the states was a difficult one to solve then, and it has ever since been a recurrent one in American history.

Causes for the delay in adopting the "Articles." The Articles of Confederation, though they interfered little with the rights of the states, were not ratified by the several states until 1781, when the war was almost over. The delay in ratification was due chiefly to a conflict of economic interests. The boundaries of some of the states — Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island — were fixed, but the other states had claims to Western lands that stretched all the way to the Mississippi. (Study the map on page 83.) There was a keen realization of the value of these Western lands, and it was confidently hoped that the sale of these back regions would wipe out debts, pension soldiers, and provide funds for education and other purposes. The advantage that would come to the states with claims to Western lands was resented by the states with fixed boundaries.

The legislature of Maryland had resolved in 1776 "that these back lands claimed by the British crown, if secured by the blood and treasure of all, ought in reason, justice, and policy to be considered common stock, to be parceled out by Congress into free, convenient, and inde-



WESTERN LANDS WHEN CLAIMED BY STATES



WESTERN LANDS AFTER STATES GAVE UP CLAIMS

pendent governments." Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until the states agreed to cede their Western lands to the central government. Since the Articles specified that they should not go into effect till all the states had ratified them, Maryland was able to prevent the Articles from going into effect.

The Continental Congress suggested that the states with claims to the west renounce them in favor of the general government, and promised that the lands would be used for the common benefit. In 1780 New York agreed to yield its claims. At the beginning of 1781 Virginia offered to cede her lands. Within a few years all the states having claims to Western lands ceded them to the United States.

THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE PROVIDES A PLAN FOR TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

Achievements of the Confederation Congress. Although the Congress of the Confederation did not possess enough power to deal with many problems, its record of achievement is not insignificant. It completed the war and concluded an advantageous peace. It prevailed upon the states to cede their Western lands, and adjusted the conflicting boundaries of the various states. Most important of all, Congress established a form of colonial administration which was to serve as a model for the future.

A land policy for the West. In 1784 and 1785, largely as a result of Jefferson's work, the Congress passed ordinances providing for a survey which divided the land into townships of thirty-six square miles. Each township was thereafter split into thirty-six sections of one square mile and each section into quarter sections. Four sections in every township were reserved as bounties for the soldiers of the Continental Army. Another section was set aside for the use of the public schools of the township. The remainder of the land was to be sold at public auction, at a price of at least one dollar an acre, in lots of 640 acres.

The Northwest Ordinance, 1787. There was a powerful lobby of speculators eager to acquire title to the rich lands of the West. These men urged the Confederation Congress to provide a form of government for the West, and before the Congress expired it enacted its most famous law. The Northwest Ordinance (for the territory north and west of the Ohio River) provided that Congress should appoint from the landholders of the region a governor, secretary, and three others who would constitute a territorial commission and court. When the territory had five thousand free men, these might choose from the landholders a representative assembly, which, together with the governor and a council appointed by Congress, would take over the government of the territory. When there were sixty thousand inhabitants, which was, at that time, the population of the smallest state, the voters

might adopt a constitution, elect their own officers, and enter the Confederation on equal terms with the original states. The Ordinance also provided that "there shall be formed in the said territory not less than three nor more than five states."

The Ordinance also included several social reforms practiced in some of the older states. To check the growth of a landed aristocracy, the rule of inheritance, which requires the lands of parents to be divided equally among the children, was adopted. Slavery was forbidden. A bill of rights, which included the right of religious freedom, made the Ordinance a sort of Magna Carta of the West. The Ordinance also stated that "the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

The government of the Southwest. When North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia ceded their Western claims to the United States, they did so on condition that the inhabitants of the Southwest should have the benefits of the Ordinance of 1787. Except for the anti-slavery clause, the chief provisions of the Northwest Ordinance were applied to the region south of the Ohio by an act of Congress (May, 1790).

Significance of the Northwest Ordinance. While it is possible to question the legal right of the Confederation Congress to enact the Northwest Ordinance (it was continued in effect by a law of Congress, August, 1789), there can be no doubt as to its far-reaching importance. It set up a system of expansion whereby the colonizing Western pioneers would not forever be subject to the direction of the original thirteen states. They were protected against tyranny during the period of sparse settlement and development and would ultimately be permitted to join the thirteen original states on an equal basis.

Since the framers of this Ordinance had a loathing for the idea of a colony, they referred to the region as a "territory." Ever since, the United States has referred to its various acquisitions — Louisiana, Florida, the Oregon country, the Mexican cession — as territories and has extended to them the chief features of the Northwest Ordinance. The principles stated in this Ordinance explain how thirteen states have added thirty-five others to the original union. The policy of permitting territories to become states was pursued as long as the United States acquired adjoining lands. Toward the close of the century the United States acquired overseas possessions, but has not, as yet, extended to them all the principles of the Northwest Ordinance.

THE GOVERNMENT WAS RESPECTED NEITHER ABROAD NOR AT HOME

A postwar depression. The government created by the Articles was handicapped because it began to function during a period of business depression. Generally speaking, the closing years of the Revolution were prosperous ones for the merchants, farmers, and planters. But, with the war over, Great Britain closed her ports to American commerce,

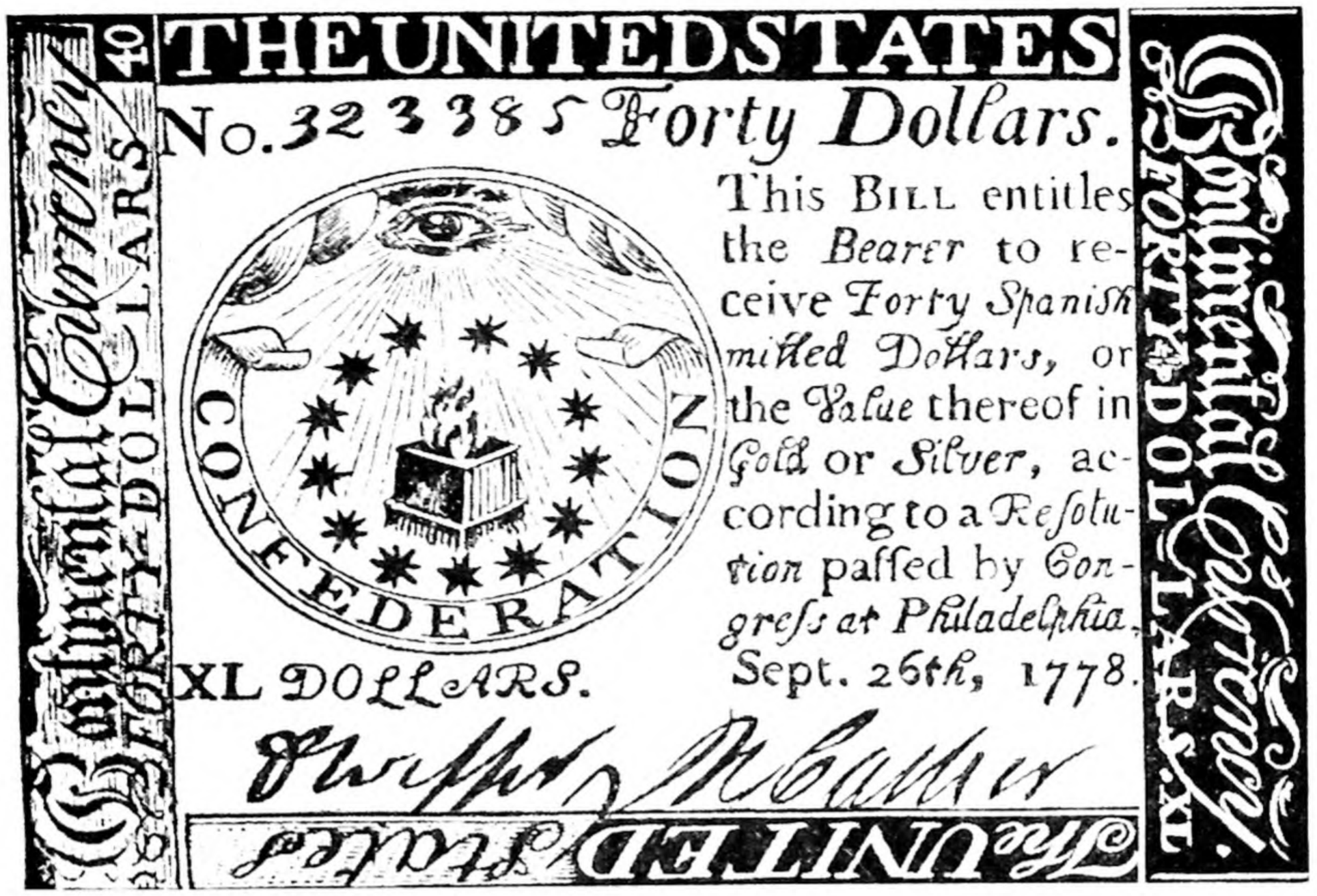
and France and Spain placed restrictions upon the trade of the new nation. Many Americans had run into debt, hoping that the wartime prosperity would continue. Now wartime industries ceased; creditors demanded payment. Those who started in new businesses could not compete with the goods which foreign countries "dumped" on our shores. New modes of earning a living could not be started immediately. It took time for the government to disband its armies, and for soldiers, having reached home, to grow new crops. It required even more time to recall the privateers and convert them into peaceful ships of commerce. Until laborers of all kinds could be put back to work, and markets for their products obtained, there could be no prosperity. Three years of hard times followed the coming of peace.

A helpless Congress. The Confederation Congress did not attract the services of able leaders, who preferred to devote themselves to the service of their respective states. Not infrequently Congress had to adjourn for want of a quorum. Finances were in a deplorable condition. Each state had the right to adopt its own currency system, and many of them, urged by debtors, issued unsecured paper money.

Neither the principal nor the interest on the Revolutionary debt was paid. Since Congress had no power to levy taxes it could only call upon the states to pay their quota of the national expenses. Some of the states responded not at all; others in part and after considerable delay. Government employees went unpaid. Soldiers in the meager army of defense on the frontier left the service.

Foreign attitude toward the new "nation." Abroad our ambassadors were treated with scant courtesy. Adams tried in vain to secure a modification of British restrictions upon our commerce. England refused to open her home ports to American trade and to enter into a treaty giving trade privileges to Americans in her West Indian ports. The loss of the West Indian trade injured American farmers and shippers. Furthermore, England insulted American pride, as well as interfered with the profitable fur trade, by maintaining military posts in the Northwest Territory. England argued that the states had interfered with the collection of debts owed to Englishmen, and that the national government was powerless to enforce its treaty promises. Moreover, the British government was urged by Canadian fur merchants and traders to hold the posts until the United States permitted a revision of the boundary.

Jefferson was equally unsuccessful in persuading France to negotiate a favorable commercial treaty. He complained that "we are the lowest and most obscure of the whole diplomatic tribe." Jay did negotiate a treaty with Spain (the Jay-Gardoqui Treaty, 1785) by which the United States was to give up the free navigation of the Mississippi for twenty-five years in return for favorable trade opportunities with Spain and her possessions. Jay was apparently willing to surrender the interests of the Western settlers, who needed the free use of the Missis-



This is the type of currency issued by the Continental Congress. The currency declined so much in value that it gave popularity to the expression, "not worth a Continental."



Courtesy New York Public Library

Led by Daniel Shays, angry, debt-ridden Massachusetts farmers and mechanics stormed the courthouse at Springfield to prevent the court from acting against debtors.

sippi as an outlet to markets, to the demands of the commercial Northeast. But the Westerners were so angered over this treaty that they threatened either to separate from the Union or to become part of the Spanish Empire. Congress refused to ratify the Jay-Gardoqui Treaty, and for the time the resentment of the West toward the commercial Northeast diminished.

Troubles at home. While the government of the Confederation was having difficulty in establishing satisfactory trade arrangements with foreign governments, there were serious difficulties at home. There were tariff quarrels and boundary disputes between the states; there was constant friction between the merchants, moneylenders, and men of property on the one hand and the small farmers and propertyless mechanics on the other. The debt-burdened people wanted the individual states to pass laws depriving the courts of the power to seize property for the nonpayment of debts. They also urged the states to ease the strain of hard times by issuing paper money. Seven of the states did so; as a result prices were again uncertain, varying from state to state. Conservative businessmen were alarmed at the trend of events, and some even thought of a king or a return to the British Empire as a cure for hard times and a weak central government. Many others began to insist that what was needed was a strong central government.

Shays's Rebellion. What happened in Massachusetts illustrates the difficulties that arose over the demand for paper money and the relief of debtors. The legislature, controlled by conservative business interests, refused to issue paper money or to pass "stay" laws stopping the collection of debts through the courts. In central and western Massachusetts groups of small farmers and mechanics, thinking that the government was acting in the interests of the rich, took up arms. In August, 1786, the insurrectionists seized the courthouse at Northampton and refused to permit the court to hear cases. Mobs took similar action in other towns. At Great Barrington they released those who were in prison for debt. The leader of this insurrection, or paper-money rebellion, was Daniel Shays, a captain in the Revolutionary War who had fought at Lexington, Bunker Hill, and Saratoga. He gathered a force of some two thousand farmers and mechanics, many of them penniless soldiers who had nothing to show for their service in the Revolution except worthless paper money, seized the courthouse at Springfield, forced the court to adjourn, and tried to obtain arms for his followers by taking the United States arsenal. The governor of the state, obtaining funds for the purpose from Boston merchants, sent the militia to put down the insurrection. Shays's Rebellion collapsed, and by the end of 1787 order was restored. The people, however, defeated Governor Bowdoin in his next campaign for re-election. The news of Shays's Rebellion gave alarm to merchants and propertied businessmen everywhere, for they feared that such attacks upon the government would

spread. With the paper-money party in power in seven states and a small civil war in another, there was real cause for alarm.

Tariff disputes. Equally serious were the disputes among the states over tariff duties and shipping laws. Each state had its own tariff and tonnage duties (taxes levied on vessels in their ports). Thirteen tariff systems gave almost countless opportunities for trouble and misunderstanding. James Madison thus described the situation: "Some of the states, having no convenient port for foreign commerce, were subject to be taxed by their neighbors, through whose ports their commerce was carried. New Jersey, placed between Philadelphia and New York, was likened to a cask tapped at both ends, and North Carolina, between Virginia and South Carolina, to a patient bleeding at both arms."

When the farmers of New York complained that woodcutters in Connecticut sold wood in New York City, and so drew money from the state, the legislature of New York placed duties on ships from Connecticut, as though they were foreign ships. The Connecticut towns forbade their woodcutters to sell any wood in New York, hoping that the scarcity of wood and high prices in New York would persuade the legislature to modify the taxes on goods coming from Connecticut. When the farmers of New York complained of competition from the vegetable growers in New Jersey, the legislature obligingly placed a tax on every boat or barge that crossed from the Jersey shores to New York City. New Jersey retaliated by placing a tax on the lighthouses which New York had built on Sandy Hook.

Boundary disputes. There were boundary disputes among the states. Three states claimed the Green Mountain (Vermont) settlements — New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York. The Vermont inhabitants wished to be a new state in the Union. They had had a constitution ready since 1777, and continually asked for admission.

Difficulties in the way of reforms. The leaders in Congress were not blind to the weaknesses of this "league of friendship." Congress, early in its existence, appealed to the states for power to levy a small duty of five per cent upon imports. But to change the Articles required the unanimous consent of all the states. To every suggestion of Congress that the Articles be amended, one state, at least, refused its consent. Congress pleaded with the states for adequate powers to regulate commerce. But the states refused, and not only sought to punish foreign nations by individual action, but even engaged in tariff and commercial "wars" with each other.

In 1786 Washington observed unhappily that "even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. . . . Thence to acting is often but a single step. . . . What a triumph for the advocates of despotism to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious!"

THE MOVEMENT FOR A STRONGER GOVERNMENT LEADS TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787

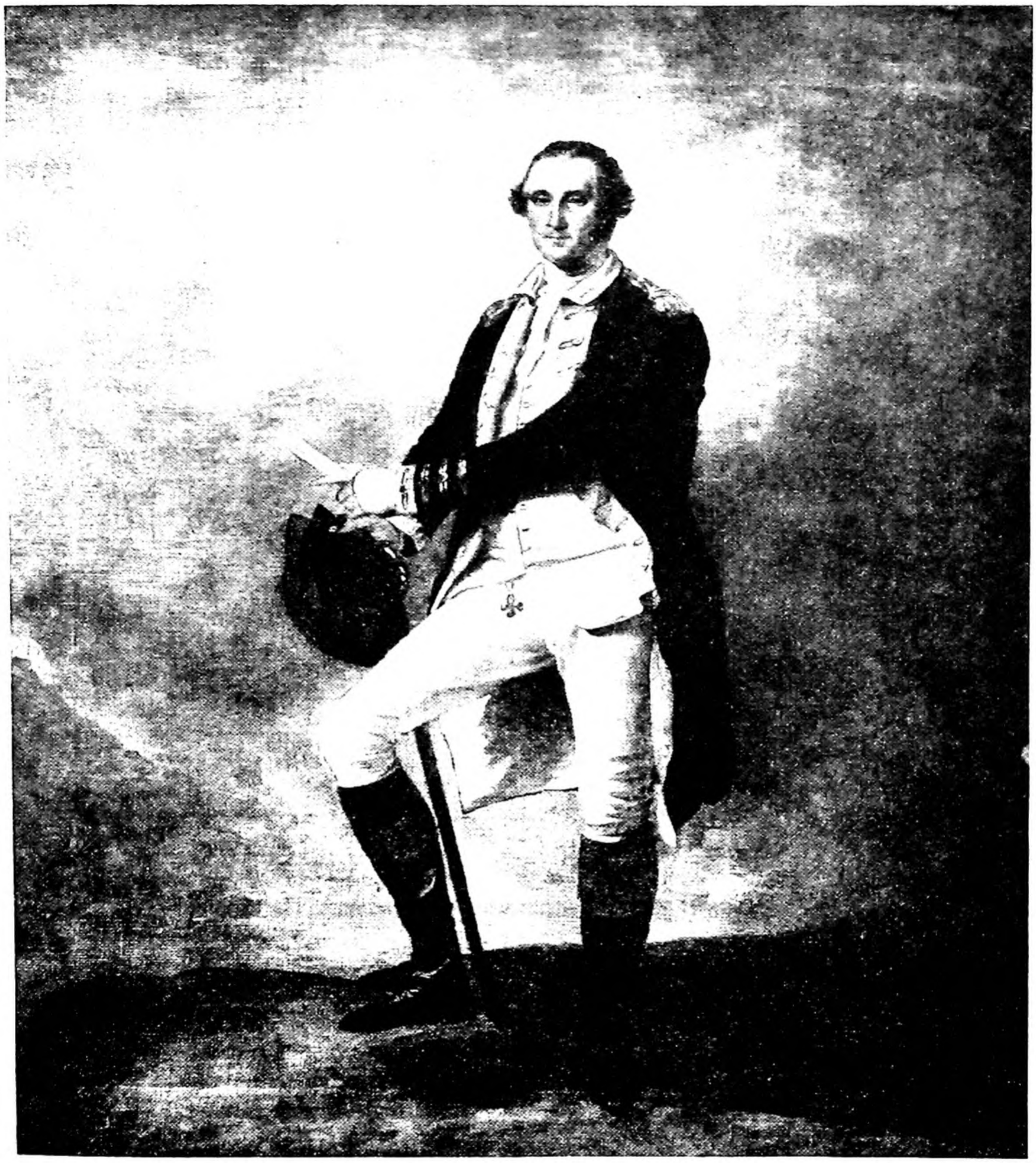
The demand for reform. While various conditions were revealing the helplessness of Congress, many people argued that the only way out of the difficulty was to hold a constitutional convention and make a fresh start. They were convinced that the Articles of Confederation could not be made effective by grafting amendments upon them. Those who wanted a stronger government, alarmed at the attacks upon property and the decline in the value of their holdings, wrote to one another, sent articles to the newspapers, and published pamphlets on government. In numerous letters to their friends, Hamilton and Madison described a plan for dividing the powers of government between the states and the general government. They also urged that the general government should carry out its powers through its own officials rather than through state officials, and that it should collect its own taxes.

By 1785 a convention was being widely talked about. The alarming events of 1785–86 — the widespread use of paper money, the attacks on the courts, Shays's Rebellion, and the failure of efforts to change the Articles of Confederation by amendment — led to a widespread belief that some new course would have to be tried.

The Mount Vernon Conference. In 1785, under the influence of Madison, Maryland and Virginia appointed commissioners to work out an amicable agreement concerning travel and commerce on the Potomac, a matter over which there had long been difficulty. The commissioners first met at Alexandria, Virginia, and later, on Washington's invitation, at Mount Vernon. They succeeded in coming to an agreement on many of their differences. Maryland suggested that, since Pennsylvania and Delaware were interested in the same matters, they should be invited to join in later conferences.

The Annapolis Convention. Influenced by Maryland's suggestion, the Virginia Assembly went a step further and invited all the states to send delegates to Annapolis, where they would "take into consideration the trade of the United States" and "examine the relative situations and trade of the said States." Only five states were represented at the Annapolis Convention, although two more appointed delegates reached Annapolis after the Convention had adjourned. Upon Hamilton's suggestion the Annapolis Convention adopted a resolution calling upon the states to send delegates to a second convention to be held the following year in order to recommend such revision of the Articles as would make them "adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

The call for a Constitutional Convention. Although this proposal was contrary to the prescribed method for amending the Articles, it met with widespread approval. Several of the states proceeded immediately to appoint some of their most prominent citizens as delegates.



George Washington by John Trumbull. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art

"It was the extraordinary fortune of Washington, that, having been intrusted in revolutionary times, with the supreme command, . . . he should be placed at the head of the first government in which an attempt was to be made on a large scale to rear the fabric of social order on the basis of a written constitution and of a pure representative principle. A government was to be established without a throne, without an aristocracy, without castes, orders or privileges; and this government, instead of being a democracy existing and acting within the walls of a single city, was to be extended over a vast country of different climates, interests and habits, and of various communities. . . . Destined for this high career [Washington] was fitted for it by wisdom, by virtue, by patriotism, by discretion, by whatever can inspire confidence in man toward man." *Daniel Webster, commemorating the first centennial of Washington's birth, February 22, 1832.*

Some even acted before Congress sent out a formal invitation to all the states to send delegates to a convention at Philadelphia, in May, 1787, to revise the Articles of Confederation.

Words and Phrases

Annapolis Convention, Articles of Confederation, Northwest Ordinance, Northwest Territory, Shays's Rebellion, sovereign, Western land claims

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What were the chief weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation?
2. Why did the Articles of Confederation provide that amendments to it would require the consent of all the states?
3. Why were the decisions of Congress under the Articles little more than recommendations?
4. State the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance.
5. Illustrate how state legislatures waged "commercial wars of retaliation on one another."
6. Show that the government of the Confederation did not command respect abroad.
7. What has the problem of establishing credit abroad to do with the problem of promoting prosperity at home?
8. Explain how the unchecked issuance of paper money affects a creditor; a debtor.
9. Among the important powers which the Constitution gives to Congress are the power to tax and the power to control commerce. What events during the "critical period" explain these provisions of the Constitution? Why did the Constitution forbid the states to issue paper money?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. In the text it is hinted that speculators in Western lands were interested in securing the passage of the Northwest Ordinance. Why were they so interested? Would this group be interested in the establishment of a strong central government? Why or why not? Would the attitude of the settler be different from that of the speculator from whom he had purchased his land? Why or why not? (Consult other books for material concerning the activities of Manasseh Cutler and the Ohio Company.)
2. "Of all the motives that caused men to strive for a more vigorous national government the most potent was undoubtedly the desire to re-establish conditions under which property rights and contracts might be secure, investments be safe, and commerce and business prosper." (Schlesinger) Are these things, then, the purpose of government? Compare with the Preamble to the Constitution. How were they endangered during the "critical" period?
3. Read more detailed accounts of Shays's Rebellion. What other events or movements in American history can be compared with it? Investigate also the action of the Rhode Island courts (Trevett *vs.* Weeden) in declaring a "paper-money" law unconstitutional.

Suggested Reading

NORTHWEST ORDINANCE: Bassett, pp. 231–235; Beard and Beard, I, 510–513; Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, pp. 187–207; Faulkner, pp. 174–181; Gabriel, *Lure of the Frontier* (Pageant), Chap. IV; Greene, E. B., *The Revolutionary Generation* (A.L.S.); Hart, III, 138–161; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* (A.N.S.), pp. 108–123; Ogg, *The Old Northwest* (Y.C.S.), pp. 76–130; Commager, No. 82 – Northwest Ordinance.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: Bailey, pp. 37–52; Bassett, pp. 222–231, 238–240; Beard and Beard, I, 302–309; Bemis, pp. 65–84; Carman, I, 340–341; *The Federalist*, Nos. XXI, XXII; Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, pp. 134–186; Greene, E. B., *The Revolutionary Generation* (A.L.S.); Hart, II, 591–593, III, 14–97, 120–138, 161–177; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* (A.N.S.), pp. 35–123, 138–168; Van Tyne, *The American Revolution* (A.N.S.), pp. 175–202; Commager, No. 72 – Articles of Confederation.

MOVEMENT FOR REVISION: Bassett, pp. 235–238, 240–247; Carman, I, 341–344; Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution*, pp. 1–14; Hart, III, 177–198; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* (A.N.S.), pp. 168–183; Commager, No. 83 – Annapolis Convention; Amherst Readings, *The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution*.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Establishment of a Stronger Government

THE STATES SEND THEIR BEST MEN TO THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION

The Constitutional Convention. The Constitutional Convention was in session for nearly four months, from May 25 to September 17, 1787. At the beginning, eleven of the thirteen states were represented; the representatives of New Hampshire did not reach Philadelphia till the end of July; and Rhode Island never appointed any delegates. At various times a total of fifty-five men sat in the Convention, but the average number in attendance was about thirty-five.

The states vied with each other in sending their ablest and most popular men. Well-known leaders who were absent were Jefferson, John Adams, and Jay. Equally notable for their absence were radicals like Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine, and Christopher Gadsden. The members of the Convention represented primarily the conservative, propertied, and business classes. Small farmers, mechanics, and the frontier settlers were not represented. The majority of the delegates were lawyers who had had considerable experience in public life. There were also wealthy landowners, planters, moneylenders, merchants, and a scattering of prominent clergymen and professors.

The Virginia delegation. The Virginia delegation included Washington, Madison, and Governor Randolph. Washington was chosen president of the Convention. Although he contributed little to the debate, his prestige and dignity were so great that his approval or disapproval of various proposals carried considerable weight. James Madison, known as the "Father of the Constitution," prepared himself most diligently for a leading part in the Convention. Day by day he made careful notes of the proceedings, summarizing debates and resolutions, and expanded them by night. In 1837, when all the members of the Convention had died, Congress published his manuscript as Madison's *Journal of the Constitutional Convention.*

The Pennsylvania delegation. Pennsylvania sent the aged Franklin, whose wit and homely common sense kept the members in good humor during the most trying moments. Another Pennsylvania delegate was

James Wilson, an able lawyer with a keen mind. He was an expert in political theory, and ranks with Madison and Washington as an outstanding member of the Convention. Robert Morris, a financier, and Gouverneur Morris also represented Pennsylvania. Gouverneur Morris became chairman of the Committee on Style, and as such is largely responsible for the final arrangement and wording of the Constitution.

Other leading members. Alexander Hamilton, brilliant, forceful, and skillful in debate, one of the most ardent advocates of a strong national government, had worked very hard to bring about the holding of the Constitutional Convention. He was one of the New York delegates, but since he was outvoted by the other delegates from New York who did not share his views, his attendance at the Convention was not very regular. His greatest service was rendered in explaining and defending the Constitution after it had been submitted to the states and in campaigning for its ratification by New York. New Jersey was represented by William Livingston and Paterson, her Attorney-General. Rutledge and the Pinckneys represented South Carolina, and Rufus King and Elbridge Gerry were sent from Massachusetts. Delaware was represented by John Dickinson, the author of the famous "Farmers' Letters" which had been so influential in stating the colonists' cause against Great Britain. Luther Martin, delegate from Maryland, was an able lawyer who turned out to be the staunchest advocate of the rights of the states. Roger Sherman of Connecticut was the only member who not only signed the Constitution but had also signed the "Association" adopted by the First Continental Congress, the Declaration of Independence, and the Articles of Confederation.

THE TASK OF FORMING A MORE PERFECT UNION PROVES DIFFICULT

The problem confronting the delegates was to create a national government with sufficient power for effective action without trespassing unduly upon the sovereign power of the states. That they succeeded is evidenced by the long life and success that their handiwork has enjoyed.

Political differences. In framing the Constitution the members of the Convention were confronted with different political and economic interests which had to be reconciled. On the political side there were three major conflicts: (1) There was a difference in point of view because the states were not equal in geographical area, wealth, or population; thus there developed what has been called a large-state group and a small-state group. (2) This conflict was closely related to another concerning the structure of the new government. While there was almost unanimous agreement that the new national, or federal, government should have adequate power for action, the problem of whether the national government or the states should be supreme was difficult

to settle. (3) A third political difference was the conflict over the extent to which the democratic ideals of the period should be emphasized. Should the landholding and propertied class be given a dominant influence in the new government, or should the Constitution provide opportunities for the masses of the people to control the government?

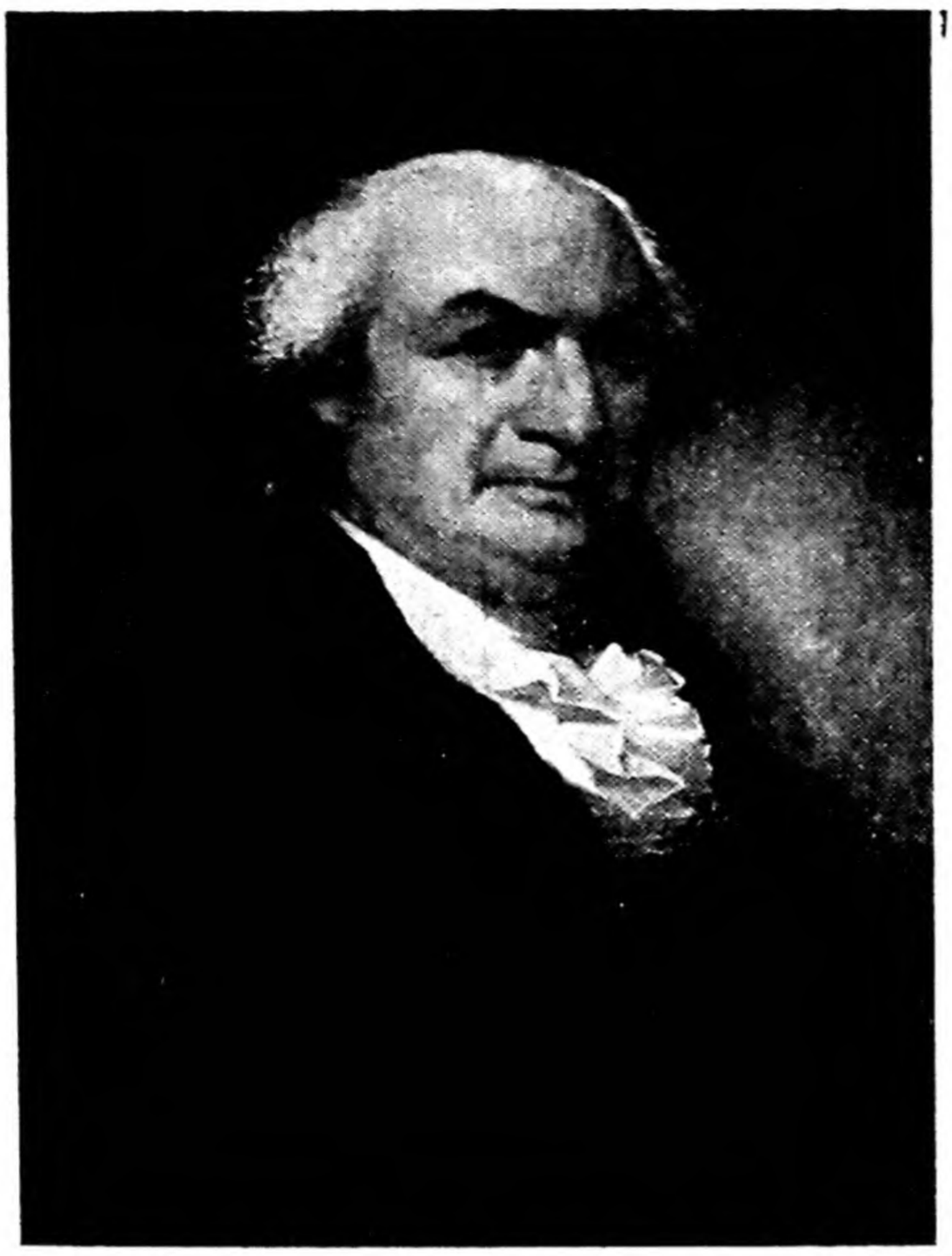
Hamilton on democracy. Alexander Hamilton was the ablest and most outspoken advocate of what might be called the aristocratic point of view. Madison's *Journal* reports Hamilton's views as follows:

> All communities divide themselves into the few and the many: the first are the rich and well-born, the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and however generally this maxim has been quoted, it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent or changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they will ever maintain good government. . . . Let one body of the legislature be constituted for good behavior during life.

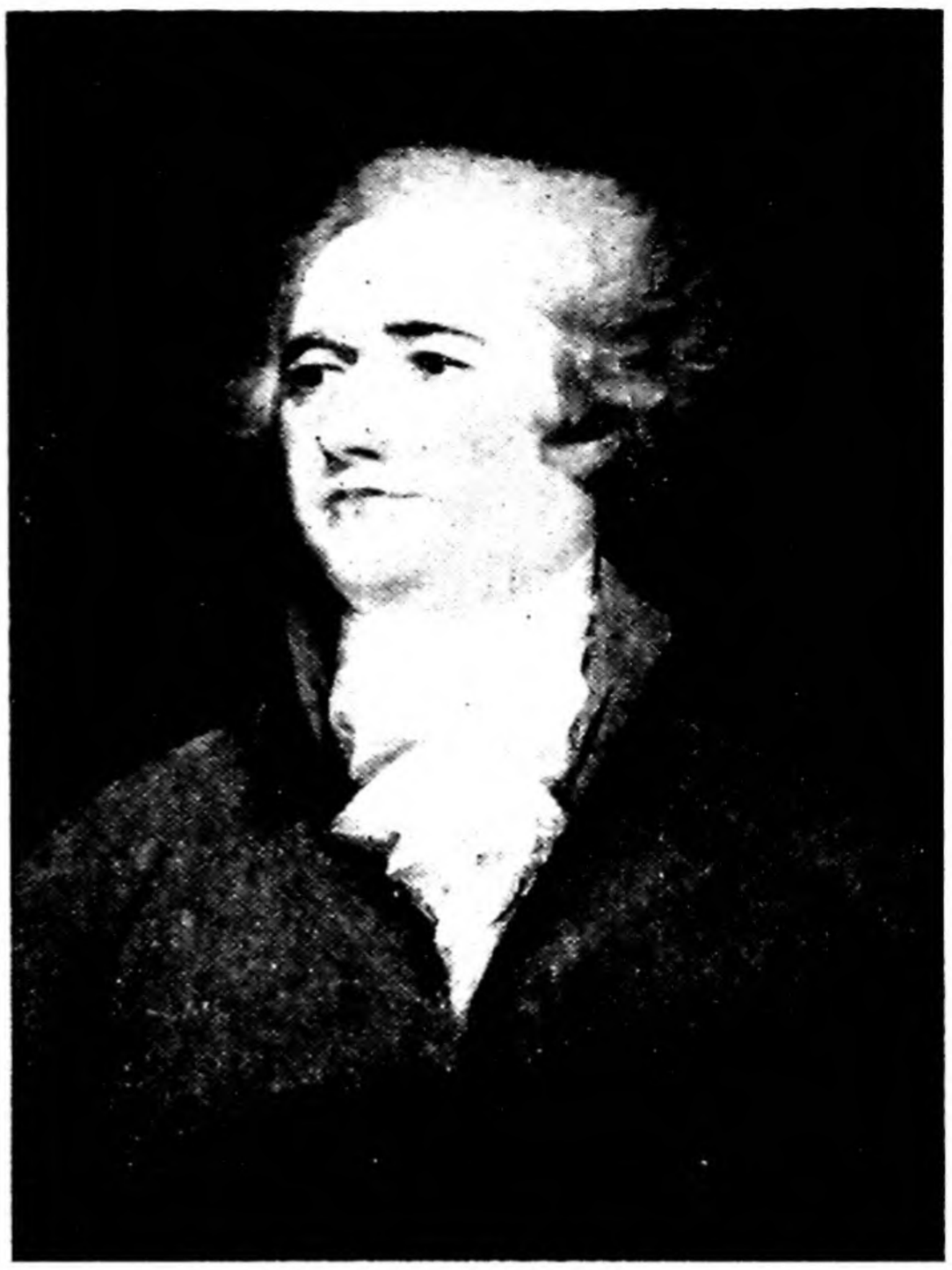
Some of the delegates, notably Luther Martin of Maryland and George Mason of Virginia, advocated a more democratic point of view. But since the majority of the members of the Convention were conservative, the Constitution tended to reflect their attitude. We see their conservatism in the check-and-balance system, the indirect election of the President, and the method of selecting senators.

Points of agreement. In spite of the differences among the delegates, they were practically unanimous on many essential points. Thus, for example, there was agreement (1) that the national Congress should have the power to tax, to regulate commerce, to coin and borrow money, to sell the Western lands; (2) that the public debt should be paid; (3) that property rights should be safeguarded; (4) that there should be a national government consisting of a supreme legislature, an executive, and a judiciary, and (5) that this government should have the authority to enforce its laws without depending upon the pleasure of the states. It was on the details of how these purposes might be accomplished that the Convention divided and was forced to compromise.

The Virginia and New Jersey plans. The differences in the Convention were summed up in two general plans of union which have come to be known as the Virginia and New Jersey plans, or sometimes as the "large-states plan" and the "small-states plan." The Virginia plan, largely the work of Madison, provided that the Articles of Confederation should be completely revised rather than patched up by amendments. It called for a legislature of two houses, the lower house to be elected by the people, and the upper house to be elected by the lower. Representation was to be apportioned among the several states on the



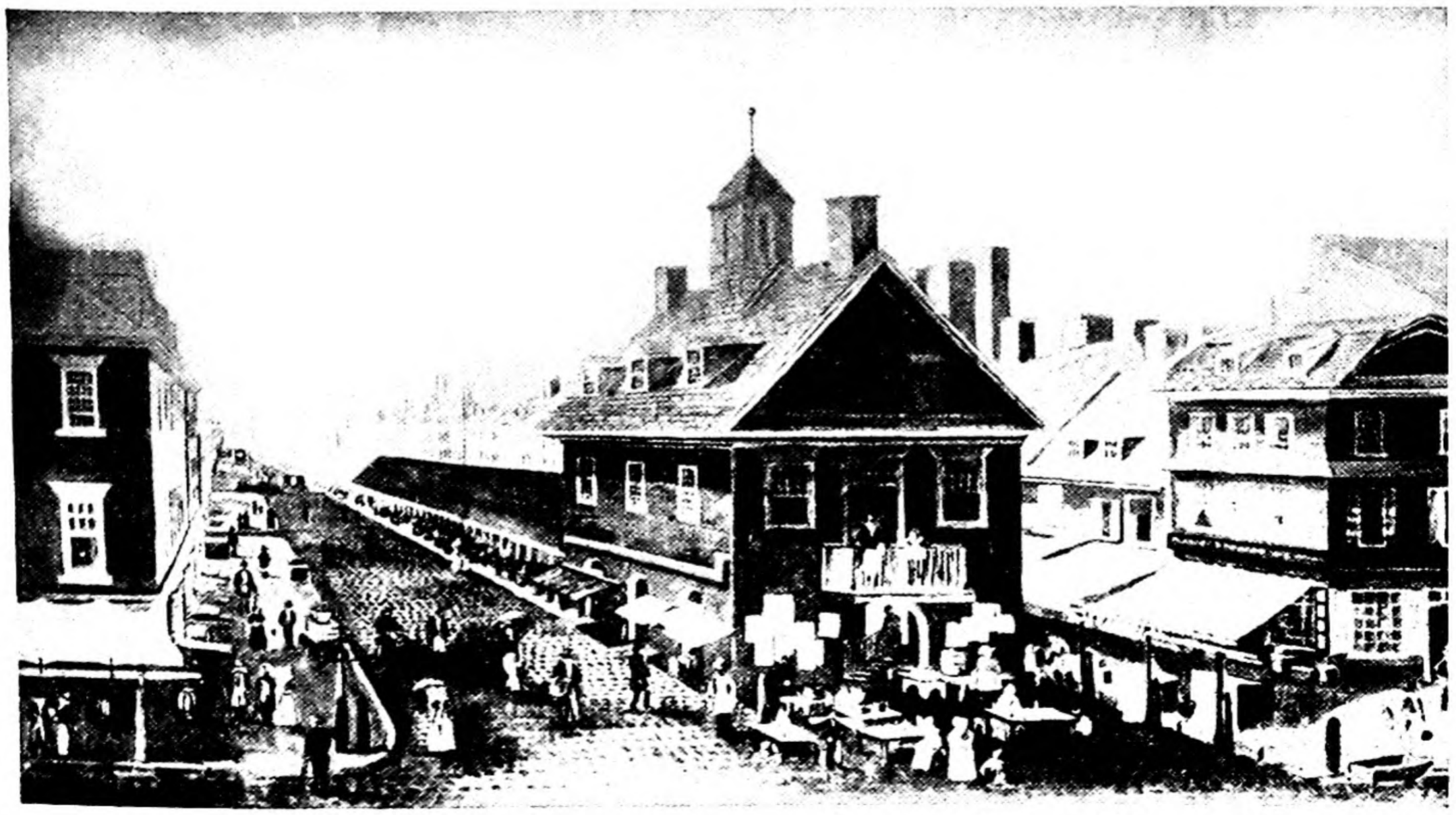
Painting by Ezra Ames. Courtesy New York Historical Society



Painting by John Trumbull. Courtesy Frick Art Reference Library, Arthur Iselin Collection

Left: Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816) was a prominent member of the Continental Congress, represented Pennsylvania at the Constitutional Convention, and became United States minister to France, 1792–94.

Right: Alexander Hamilton (1757–1804) was one of the greatest architects of American political institutions. Born in the West Indies, educated at King's College (now Columbia University), he became aide to Washington and was a member of the Confederation Congress. More than any other man, Hamilton was responsible for the calling of the Constitutional Convention. He became the first Secretary of the Treasury and the organizer of the Federalist party.



Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia appeared like this to the members of the Constitutional Convention. The building in the center foreground is the courthouse.

basis either of the free white population or of the amount they contributed to the national treasury. The plan also provided for an executive chosen by the legislature and ineligible for re-election. The judiciary, consisting of a supreme court and inferior courts, was also to be chosen by the legislature.

Paterson of New Jersey declared that New Jersey would never confederate on such a plan: "She would be swallowed up." He was answered by Wilson of Pennsylvania: "Are not the citizens of Pennsylvania equal to those of New Jersey? Does it require one hundred and fifty of the former to balance fifty of the latter? . . . If the small states will not confederate on this plan, Pennsylvania would not confederate on any other."

The New Jersey plan looked toward the amending of the Articles of Confederation rather than their complete revision. It asserted the *equality of all the states,* irrespective of size, and gave them *equal* representation in the new government. It provided for a federal judiciary, and for a legislature of one house in which the states should have equal power, but which could impose taxes, control commerce, and even compel a state to obey its mandates.

The problem of representation. As the debate progressed on these plans, it became clear that the most difficult question to settle was the question of how the states were to be represented in the new government. Should the states have an equal voice in directing the affairs of the Union, or should their voting strength be proportionate to their population? The two sides became so embittered that even the wisest delegates almost gave up hope of ever coming to an agreement.

The "Great Compromise." The delegates dropped the question temporarily to discuss less thorny problems, but it kept recurring, and unless it could be settled, the Convention would fail. Finally the delegates referred it to a committee, which proposed what has come to be known as the "Great Compromise," or the "Connecticut Compromise" (because Roger Sherman of Connecticut was chairman of the committee). Since the legislature was to consist of two houses, the committee proposed that *the large states should have their way in the House of Representatives,* where representation should be *in proportion to population. In the Senate the small states should have their way by making representation equal.* Without this compromise the Constitution would never have been drafted. The rest of the work was comparatively easy. (See the Constitution, Art. I, sec. 2, par. 3; sec. 3, par. 1.)

The compromise on taxation. The small states were afraid that in the exercise of the power to tax and regulate commerce the new government would extend favors to the large states. They therefore wanted a two-thirds vote of Congress for the imposition of taxes so that they would be able to prevent the imposition of taxes they did not like. The advocates of a strong central government, on the other hand, argued

that this proposal gave to a small group of Congressmen the power of veto. This difficulty was finally overcome by establishing the principle that a majority vote would be sufficient for taxation. To counterbalance this concession to the large states, it was agreed that Congress could not impose any *export* duties, and that taxes were to be *uniform* throughout the United States. This would prevent discrimination between sections. As a further concession to the small states it was agreed that direct taxes should be apportioned among the states according to population. (See the Constitution, Art. I, sec. 2, par. 3; sec. 8, par. 1; sec. 9, pars. 4, 5, 6. Note the Sixteenth Amendment, adopted in 1913.)

Reasons for slave-trade clause. Some of the Southern delegates feared that Congress, through its power to regulate commerce, might stop the slave trade. To satisfy them Congress was forbidden for twenty years to interfere with the importation of slaves or to impose an import tax of more than ten dollars on each slave brought in.

The three-fifths rule. The Southern states, having a large slave population, raised the question of whether slaves should be counted in determining the population as a basis for representation and direct taxes. Without much difficulty it was agreed that "three fifths of all other persons" should be added to the whole number of free persons in determining the population of a state for purposes of representation. For example, if a state had a free population of 200,000 and a slave population of 150,000, three fifths of the latter number (90,000) was to be added to the former, making a total for purposes of representation (and direct taxes) of 290,000. This is commonly referred to as a compromise, yet it was really in the nature of a concession to the Southern states. (See the Constitution, Art. I, sec. 2, par. 3.)

The compromise on the election of a President. One of the chief points of difference among the delegates was the share the people should have in the election of the President. Since a conservative and aristocratic group controlled the Convention, it was quickly decided that the executive was not to be chosen by direct popular vote. Another cause of difficulty was the amount of influence that the large and small states should have in the choice of a President.

After much debate the final plan provided that the President should be chosen by electors selected as the legislature of each state should determine. To please the large states the number of electors allowed to each state equaled the number of its representatives and senators. The electors were to vote for two men without designating which was to be President and which Vice-President. If no candidate received a clear majority of the votes of the electors, the House of Representatives was to choose the President from the five candidates having the highest number of electoral votes. (See the Constitution, Art. II, sec. 1, pars. 1–4, and pages 118–119, 163–164).

The powers granted to the national government. By the process of

compromise the details of the Constitution gradually took shape. Some important features were adopted without much discussion or serious differences of opinion. By a clever device the framers of the Constitution outlined the powers which belonged to the national government and those which belonged to the states. In section 8 of Article I the Constitution lists the powers which can be exercised by the national government. Among these are the right to levy taxes, to coin money and regulate its value, to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, and to raise and support an army and navy.

Powers denied to the states. To prevent confusion limits were placed upon the powers of the states. Section 9 of Article I says that the states may not coin money, issue bills of credit, impose duties on imports, enter into treaties, and impair or weaken the validity of contracts. In national affairs the possibility of dual action by the nation and the states was avoided. However, all powers not granted to the national government and not prohibited to the states were reserved to the states. (Note the Tenth Amendment.)

The elastic clause. The Constitution contained some phrases which later became the subject of controversy. One of the most important of these was that contained in Article I, section 8, paragraph 18, granting power to the national government to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." By this clause — sometimes referred to as the "elastic clause" — the framers of the Constitution left open the door to an extension of the powers of the national government (pages 110–112, 143, 146–147, 211).

Checks and balances. The framers of the Constitution, fearing ill-considered actions by the democratic multitude, sought to establish safeguards against hasty and rash decisions by a system of checks and balances. Their distrust of democracy is illustrated by the fact that the only branch of the government to be elected by the people was the House of Representatives. Besides, whether or not the House was to be democratically elected depended entirely upon how far the states were willing to go in the direction of democracy. The Constitution simply stated that the voters in each state should have the qualification necessary for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature. Senators were to be chosen by state legislatures, an indirect and undemocratic method of election (changed by the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913). In addition to other checks on the popular will the delegates wanted to establish an executive, legislature, and judiciary which would serve as checks on one another. An executive, independent of the legislature, was given the power to veto the laws of Congress, and his veto could be nullified only by a two-thirds vote of each house. An independent judiciary, appointed by the President and approved by the Senate, interpreted the laws and later began the practice of deciding what laws of Congress were unconstitutional (pages 124–126, 208–210).

The completion of the task. On September 17, after nearly four months of wearisome work during a hot summer, the Convention adjourned, its work finished. Only three members refused to attach their names to the document when the time for signing came. Franklin expressed the view of the majority in his usual happy manner. He was too feeble to deliver his own speech, so James Wilson read it. "I confess," wrote Franklin, "that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them." He concluded, "But though many private persons think almost as highly of their own infallibility as that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who, in a dispute with her sister, said, 'I don't know how it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right.' "

Sources of the Constitution. The Constitution seemed ideal to none. It had been welded together to meet a great need. The framers trusted to time to find ways of improvement, having made provision in the Constitution for amending it. Some details had been drawn from the Articles of Confederation and others from the Revolutionary state constitutions. It had the two-house legislature of most of the states. It had a strong and independent executive, such as there was in the state of New York. There was a judiciary independent of the legislature, as in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. In nearly every particular the national Constitution was based on experience since 1776, as the first state constitutions had been based on experience since 1607 (pages 47, 74).

IN SPITE OF STRONG OPPOSITION THE CONSTITUTION IS RATIFIED

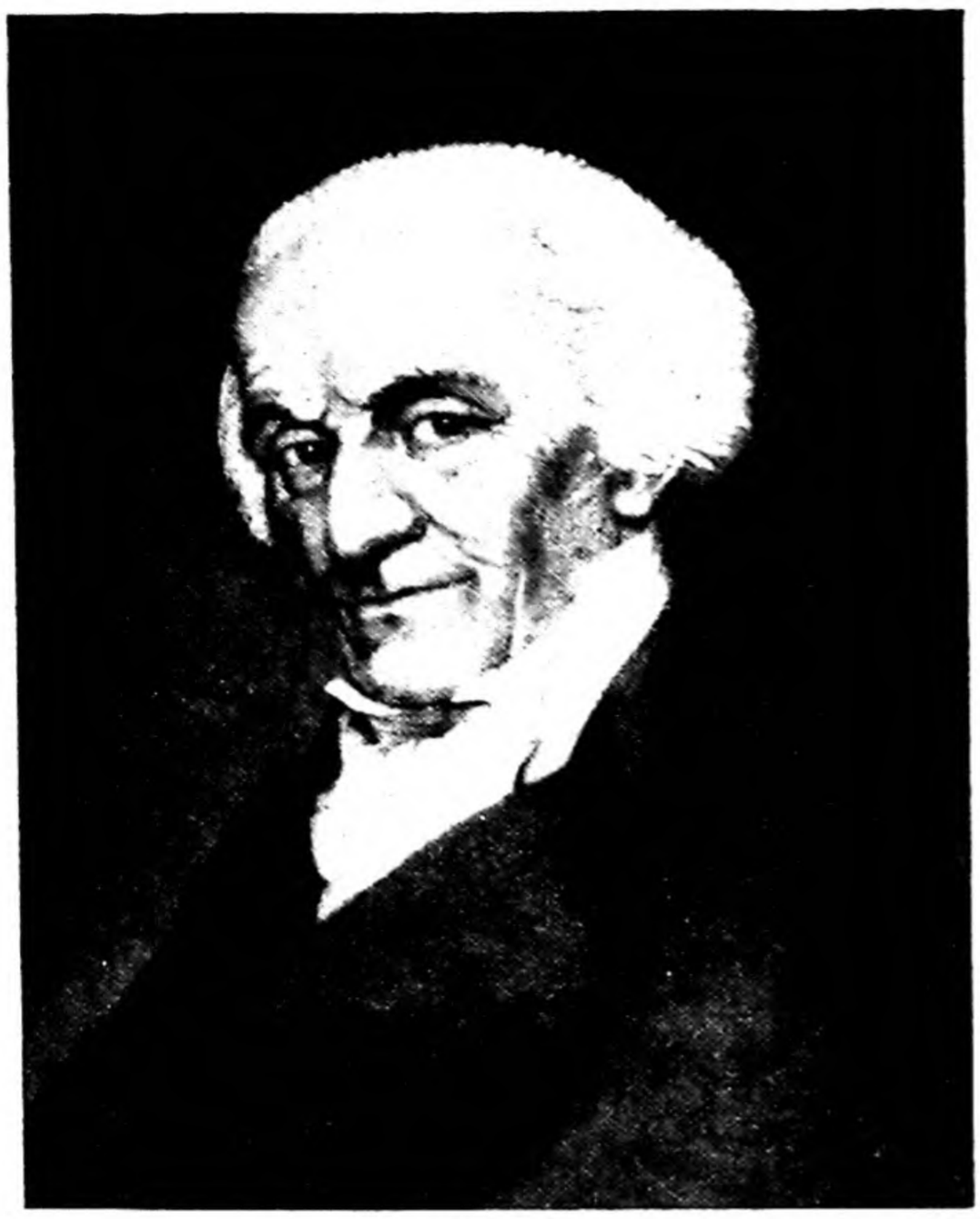
A new method of ratification. The Philadelphia Convention was revolutionary, because it ignored the rule in the Articles of Confederation that changes in government must be approved by *all the state legislatures.* The Constitution provided, instead, that the people should choose delegates to conventions which should decide whether to approve it or reject it. When *conventions in nine states* had given their approval, it would go into effect for those states no matter what the other four decided. By this provision the delegates at the Convention accomplished a master stroke that has few equals in history.

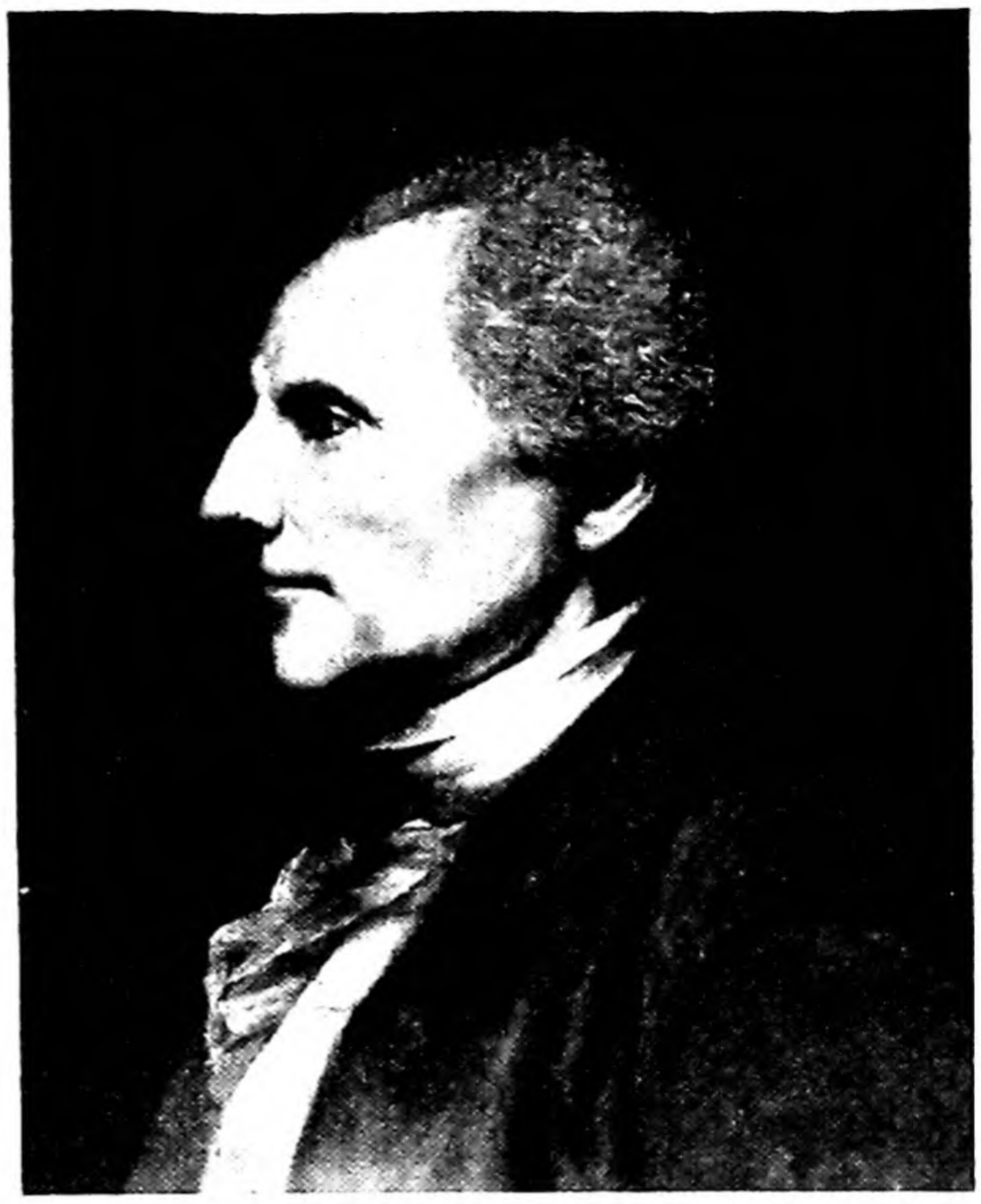
Groups opposed to ratification. Upon the adjournment of the Convention and the publication of the Constitution, people divided themselves into two groups. Those favoring ratification were called Federalists and those opposed were known as Antifederalists. In general, the same classes which had struggled to amend the Articles and which had controlled the Philadelphia Convention supported ratification. This group represented the commercial, moneylending, and planting aristocracy. The debtor, non-propertied, and small-farmer classes were

opposed to ratification. The campaign for ratification became, in a sense, a contest between the East and the West — the older established centers opposed to the newer frontier settlements. And yet there were frontier sections — like the valley of the Connecticut River in New Hampshire — which voted for ratification. Without the votes of some of the frontier regions the Constitution would not have been adopted.

Arguments of those opposed to ratification. The Antifederalists were led by a number of prominent men such as Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Samuel Adams, Luther Martin, and Elbridge Gerry. The Antifederalists advanced arguments which carried great weight with the people. (1) First of all, they insisted that the government outlined in the Constitution was undemocratic: the Convention had ignored the masses of the people and served the interests of a propertied minority. To this argument the Federalists replied that the abuses of the day were against property, and that the protection of property rights was in the interests of all. (2) The Antifederalists declared that the proposed government meant the ultimate destruction of the states. Patrick Henry raised the question: "What right had the members of the Convention to say, 'We, the people,' instead of 'We, the states?' " "States," said Henry, "are the characteristics and the soul of a confederation." (3) It was also argued that a President with such great powers, being eligible for re-election, might become in effect a king, and senators might become a new aristocracy. What was to hinder the new government from oppressing the people, as long as it operated through its own officers instead of state officers and had power even to call out the militia? (4) One of the strongest and most popular arguments of the Antifederalists was that the Constitution contained no guarantee of personal liberty. The Federalists argued that personal liberties were adequately safeguarded in the various state constitutions. To this the Antifederalists replied that a Bill of Rights could do no harm and might, at some time, save the liberties of America. In the end the Federalist leaders, realizing the strength of the demand for a Bill of Rights, promised to support amendments to the Constitution which would guarantee personal liberties (pages 115–116).

The Federalist. Throughout the campaign for ratification, the country was flooded with speeches, pamphlets, and newspaper articles. A series of articles signed "Publius," printed in New York newspapers for the purpose of winning over doubtful New York State to the cause of ratification, is commonly considered the ablest defense of the Constitution. These articles were mostly written by Hamilton of New York and Madison of Virginia; a few were written by John Jay. They were later gathered together in a single volume called *The Federalist.* These essays are believed to have won over many "middle-of-the-road" people who found it difficult to make up their minds to support the Constitution. The practical political philosophy which guided the

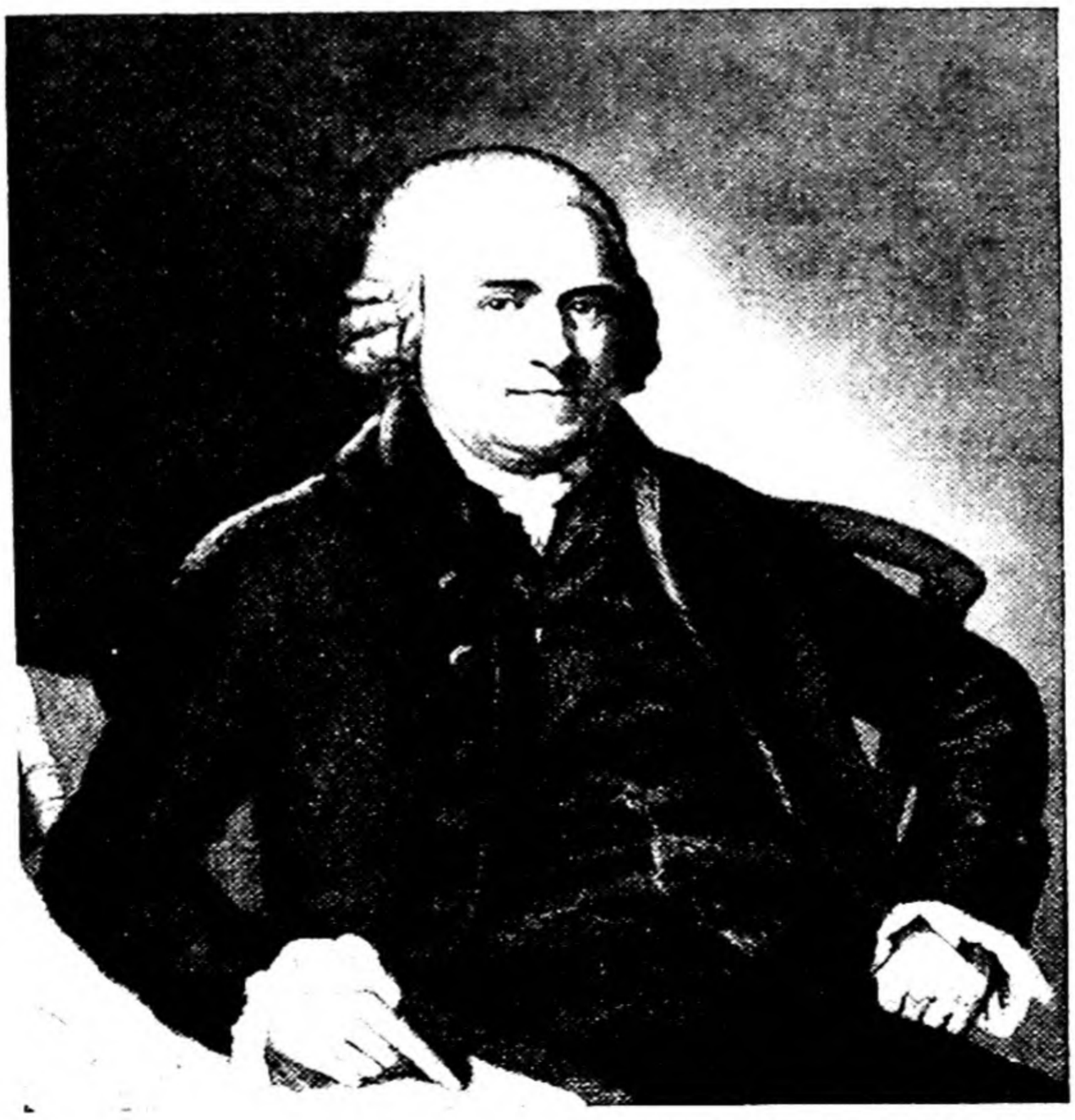




Courtesy Bostonian Society

Left: Elbridge Gerry (1744–1814) represented Massachusetts at the Constitutional Convention. He was one of those who refused to sign the Constitution. He was commissioner to France, governor of Massachusetts, and became Vice-President under Madison.

Right: Richard Henry Lee (1732–94) introduced the motion in the Continental Congress, June 7, 1776, that the united colonies be declared free and independent states. Like Samuel Adams, he was active in the Antifederalist group.



Courtesy Bostonian Society

Samuel Adams (1722–1803), the extreme "radical" who worked so hard for the people's cause before and during the American Revolution, naturally became a leader of the Antifederalists, who opposed ratification of the Constitution because they claimed it was undemocratic.

framers of the Constitution was clearly outlined by Madison in the tenth essay in *The Federalist.*

> But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors and those who are debtors fall under a like discrimination. . . . The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government. . . .
>
> Is a law proposed concerning private debts? It is a question to which the creditors are parties on the one side and the debtors on the other. . . . Shall domestic manufactures be encouraged, and in what degree, by restrictions on foreign manufactures are questions which would be differently decided by landed and manufacturing classes, and probably by neither with a sole regard to justice and the public good. The apportionment of taxes on the various descriptions of property is an act which seems to require the most exact impartiality; yet there is perhaps no legislative act in which greater opportunity and temptation are given to a predominant party to trample on the rules of justice. Every shilling with which they overburden the inferior number is a shilling saved to their own pockets.

Madison concluded that the Constitution provided adequate methods for reconciling and compromising these conflicting interests. In determining whether to support or oppose the Constitution, one's economic interest was, as Madison suggests, of greater importance than abstract argument.

The process of ratification. Four of the smaller states — Delaware (December 7, 1787), New Jersey (December 18, 1787), Georgia (January 2, 1788), and Connecticut (January 9, 1788) — ratified the Constitution almost unanimously, for their leaders were pleased with the many concessions they had won in the Convention from the large states. The second state to ratify the Constitution was Pennsylvania, where the well-organized Federalists hurried the calling of a convention before Antifederalist opposition could crystallize (December 12, 1787). The sixth state to ratify was Massachusetts (February 6, 1788). Here the contest was close and bitter. The final vote was 187 to 168. The seventh and eighth states to ratify were Maryland (April 28, 1788) and South Carolina (May 23, 1788), where the Federalists won easily.

Eight states had ratified. North Carolina and Rhode Island had not summoned ratifying conventions, and it was known that the division of opinion in the other three states — New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York — was close. The ratifying convention of New Hampshire met in February, 1788; but the Federalists, realizing that the majority of the delegates were opposed to ratification, secured an adjournment till June

to give them time to organize their campaign. When the convention reassembled in June the Federalists won by a vote of 57 to 47, and New Hampshire thus became the ninth state to ratify the Constitution. In Virginia, one week later, the vote was equally close, 89 to 79. In New York, the majority of the delegates were opposed to ratification, and Hamilton delayed the vote. There was a month of fiery argument. Those against ratification were led by Governor George Clinton. The Federalists were skillfully led by Hamilton, who finally won New York for the Constitution on July 26, 1788, by the extremely close vote of 30 to 27. (North Carolina did not ratify the Constitution until November, 1789, several months after Washington had been inaugurated, and Rhode Island delayed ratification until May, 1790, when it was threatened with treatment as a foreign nation by the Congress of the new government.) The closeness of the vote and the tactics used by the Federalists to secure ratification indicate that there is truth in the contention of many scholars that the majority of the people were not in favor of the Constitution. In the words of John Adams: "The Constitution was extorted from a reluctant people by a grinding necessity."

THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS LAUNCHED

The election of Washington. When it became known in the early summer of 1788 that the Constitution had been approved by the necessary number of states, the Congress of the Confederation made provision for the inauguration of its successor, providing, among other things, that the new Congress should assemble the first Wednesday of the following March in the city of New York, which was to be the seat of the government until the new Congress made other arrangements. It so happened that the first Wednesday in March in 1789 was the fourth. Thus March 4 became the date for the commencement of each new administration until the Twentieth Amendment, adopted in 1933, made January 20 the date for the inauguration of the President.

The elections held during the winter of 1788–89 resulted in the selection of friends of the new Constitution (or "strong-government men") to Congress and the Electoral College. The choice of the President was a mere formality, for the country wanted Washington. It seemed fitting to all that the man who had been first in war should now also be first in peace. The public services of John Adams and the fact that he would represent the North, while Washington represented the South, combined to win for Adams the second highest number of electoral votes and the vice-presidency.

The first inauguration. Because of the difficulties of travel, the first Congress was nearly a month late in getting organized; it was not until April 6, 1789, that the formality of counting the electoral votes was completed. Adams took his seat in the Senate on April 20 (though he

did not take the oath of office as Vice-President till June 3). On April 30, 1789, in New York, before a vast throng, Washington took the oath of office as first President of the United States. With this event the new government may be said to have been launched. Fortunately, even before the new government got under way, the hard times of the Confederation had begun to disappear. Fortunately, too, the control of the new government was in the hands of its friends. In words that are of prophetic importance to Americans of the twentieth century, Washington in his first inaugural revealed how the people of the time regarded the task before them: "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

Words and Phrases

Bill of Rights, convention, federal, Great Compromise, New Jersey Plan, ratification, *The Federalist,* "three-fifths rule," unconstitutional, Virginia Plan

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What was the essential task confronting the Philadelphia Convention?
2. Explain the chief differences between the Virginia and New Jersey plans.
3. "The essential agreements of the Philadelphia Convention were more significant than its disputes." What were these agreements?
4. "So far as the structure of the government was concerned, the Constitution was a bundle of compromises" (Beard). What were these compromises? Why does the author use the limiting phrase "so far as the structure of the government was concerned"? (Compare with question 3.)
5. In what way did the Constitution correct the defects of the Articles of Confederation?
6. What groups were opposed to ratification? What arguments did they use?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Not "the greatest work that was ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," our Constitution is a thoroughly practical document. Prepare a brief to support this statement.
2. The Constitution had been "extorted" by "grinding necessity" from a "reluctant" nation (John Adams). Why? Explain the ideas suggested by the quoted words.
3. New York State's population today is about thirteen million; Nevada's, one hundred ten thousand. Why have they the same number of senators? Some call this undemocratic because Nevada's voting strength exceeds its importance. Should the Constitution be changed? If so, how? Would this affect the federal character of our government?
4. It is sometimes argued that the President should be elected by direct popular vote; in opposition to this proposal it has been said that the present method tends to emphasize "the federal character" of our government.

Explain and discuss this latter statement. Formulate with reasons your own opinion on this subject. Report on recent proposals to amend the Constitution to provide for a different method of electing the President.

5. Imagine yourself a member of the ratifying convention in one of the states — say New York or Virginia. Prepare (a) a brief of a speech you would make in support of ratification; (b) a brief of a speech against ratification. Would your own position, that is, your economic status or occupation, influence your decision? Explain.

Suggested Reading

COMPROMISES: Bassett, pp. 242–247; Beard and Beard, I, 316–328; Beard, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, pp. 152–188; Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution*, pp. 68–233; Fiske, *Critical Period of American History*, pp. 236–266; Hart, III, 198–233; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* (A.N.S.), pp. 201–235; Ogg, *Builders of the Republic* (Pageant), Chaps. V, VI; Commager, Nos. 84, 85 — Virginia and New Jersey Plans.

RATIFICATION: Bassett, pp. 247–250; Beard and Beard, I, 331–335; Carman, I, 351–361; *The Federalist*, Nos. LXXXIV, LXXXV; Faulkner, pp. 152–157; Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, pp. 306–350; Hart, III, 233–255; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* (A.N.S.), pp. 277–317; Amherst Readings, *The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.*

CHAPTER NINE

The Federal Government

CONSTITUTIONS OUTLINE THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENTS AND DETERMINE THEIR GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Written and unwritten constitutions. Every government has a constitution of some form. It is not necessary that this constitution be a *written* document such as the American Constitution. A nation may have an *unwritten* constitution, by which is meant that long-established custom and usage have the force of law. The "unwritten" constitution can be changed by an act of the law-making body or by the gradual development of new customs. A written constitution can be formally changed only in the special way outlined by the document itself. (In practice, however, *informal* changes may result from varying interpretations of the written document.)

In the United States we have both a *written* and an *unwritten* constitution. By the *written* Constitution we mean the document adopted by the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 and the formal amendments which have been added to it. By the *unwritten* constitution we mean those usages and practices followed through custom.

The Constitution says nothing about political parties, the committee system of handling bills in the legislature, the spoils system, lobbying, or the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional; yet these institutions, as well as others, are a part of our machinery of government.

Why we have a written constitution. Because of the conditions of our development, a written constitution was almost a necessity for the United States. After the Declaration of Independence the thirteen colonies became in a sense thirteen independent nations. To achieve "a more perfect union" it was necessary to write down the powers of the nation and the states, for the states were jealous of their powers and were reluctant to surrender them to the central government.

Federal vs. *unitary government.* Practical conditions made it necessary for the United States to adopt a federal system of government. Such a system of government usually results when several independent political units decide to combine for certain purposes but desire to preserve their separate identity and powers. It is the only type of union which could have been worked out in 1787. Quite different from the federal type of government is the "unitary," or centralized, government,

one in which all the sovereign powers of government are entrusted to one agency. England and France are examples of the unitary, or centralized, type of government, while the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Soviet Russia are examples of the federal type.

THE DIVISION OF POWERS: THE CONSTITUTION DIVIDES THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT BETWEEN THE NATION AND THE STATES

The federal government is limited. In theory a *sovereign* independent government can do anything. Where was "sovereignty" at the time of the Constitutional Convention? It apparently resided in the thirteen independent states who determined that it was desirable to enter into an effective union. Should all the powers of a sovereign nation be entrusted to the central government? This the states were unwilling to do. They were willing to surrender to the national government only certain definite powers, and they wished all the other powers of government to be reserved to the states.

The national, or central, or federal, government (all these names are at times applied to it) is then a government of *limited*, or *delegated*, powers. The word "limited" tells us that the federal government has a restricted field of action — it cannot do everything that sovereign nations can do. The word "delegated" tells us that the powers of the federal government were given to it, or delegated to it, by the states. These *limited* or *delegated* powers are also sometimes called *enumerated* powers because they are set forth in detail in the Constitution.

Powers delegated to the federal government. If we turn to section 8 of Article I of the Constitution, we find enumerated there the powers of the national government. This section begins, "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes. . . ." There then follow seventeen other clauses which begin with the infinitive, such as "to borrow money . . . ; to coin money . . . ; to declare war. . . ." All these infinitive clauses are the object of the main clause "Congress shall have power . . ." In general, the powers granted to the federal government are those which are clearly national in scope — powers which, if exercised by the several states, would lead to disorder. (See section 8 of Article I, and Article IV, which grants certain additional powers to the federal government.)

Powers denied to the states. To remove all doubts concerning whether certain powers were to be exercised by the nation or the states, section 10 of Article I contains a list of things that the states cannot do — e.g., the states cannot coin money, declare war, enter into treaties, impose duties on imports or exports without the consent of Congress, nor maintain "troops" or ships of war without the consent of Congress. Some of the amendments imposed important additional

restrictions on the states. (Consult the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Nineteenth amendments.)

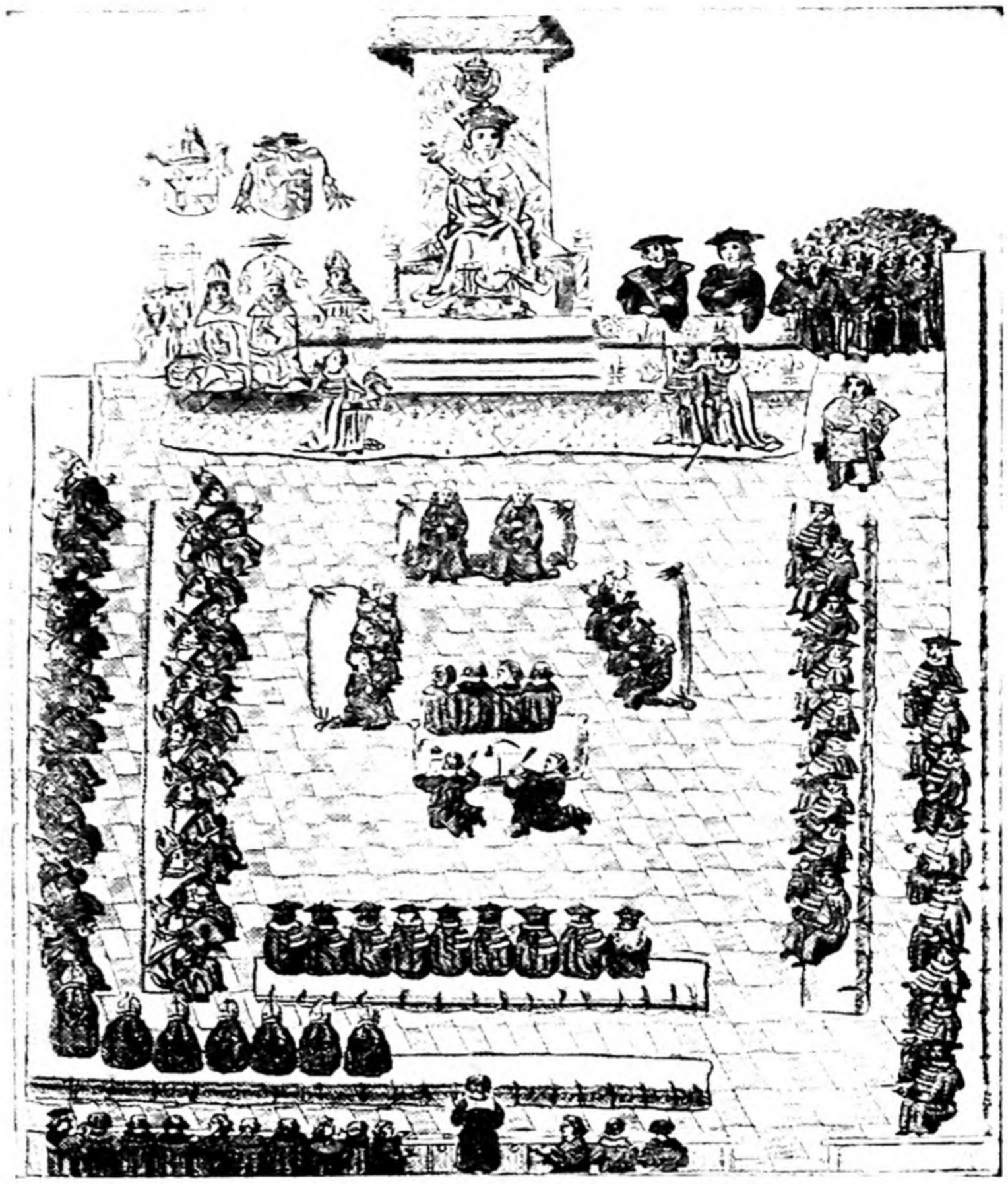
Concurrent powers of nation and states. Certain powers granted to the federal government are not denied to the states. These powers are commonly known as *concurrent powers;* that is, they are powers *which can be exercised by both the nation and the states.* By section 8 of Article I, Congress is expressly granted the power to levy and collect taxes. But the states also have the power to lay taxes; hence the power to tax is a *concurrent* power. In general, all those powers conferred upon the federal, or national, government in section 8 of Article I which are not specifically denied to the states in section 10 are concurrent powers.

Restrictions on the national government. Since the states feared that the federal Congress might attempt to favor one state at the expense of another, they placed important restrictions upon the federal government in section 9 of Article I. Thus the federal government cannot impose export taxes, give preference to the ports of one state over those of another, or draw money from the treasury without an appropriation made by law. Other restrictions on the federal government — in Article I, section 9, and in the first nine amendments — are aimed to protect the rights of individual citizens rather than of the states (pages 115–116). An important restriction on the federal government in its relations to the states is contained in the Tenth Amendment. This is a clear-cut statement of the *reserved,* or *residual,* powers of the states; it declares that the powers not delegated to the United States and not prohibited to the states are *reserved* to the states or to the people. The term "reserved" or "residual" powers indicates the powers of government which may be exercised by the states.

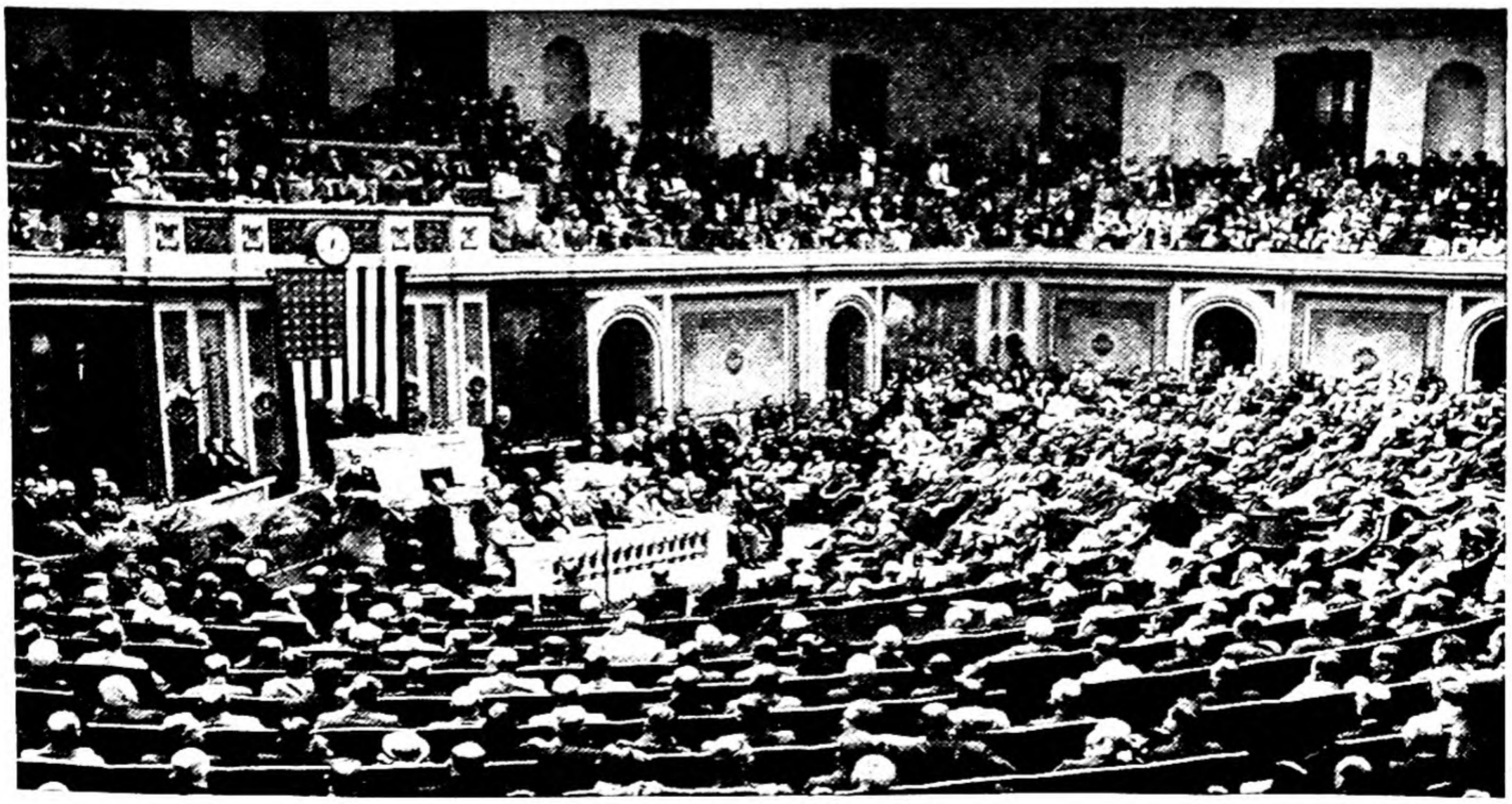
The "elastic clause" and the doctrine of implied powers. The last clause of Article I, section 8, makes a broad grant of power to the federal government. This clause states that Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be *necessary* and *proper* for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." This is commonly known as the "elastic clause" or "implied-power clause" or "necessary and proper" clause. About it has raged the storm over *loose* or *strict* construction. If this clause is *loosely interpreted,* the federal government may expand its functions to pass laws which are derived, or implied, from the grant of a specific power. If this clause is *strictly interpreted,* the actions of the federal government are confined to the passage of laws which unmistakably relate to its enumerated powers (pages 100, 143, 211–212).

Over the years it has generally been the policy of the Supreme Court to place a broad interpretation upon the elastic clause, and this broad, or loose, construction of the "elastic clause" may be regarded as part

This is a scene from an early English Parliament. From this small assembly developed the modern House of Lords and House of Commons. Just as Congress guards the interests of the people of the United States and gives them a voice in their national government so does Parliament protect the rights and reflect the wishes of the people of Great Britain.



From *Social England*, by Henry D. Trail



Ewing Galloway

The Senate and the House of Representatives conduct most of their business separately, but on special occasions, such as the reading of the President's message to Congress, the two houses of Congress assemble in the House of Representatives for a joint session (as above). Spectators are allowed in the galleries.

of the unwritten constitution. Under the power to tax and to borrow money, Congress has established a national banking system and has stimulated industry by means of a protective tariff. Under the power to regulate foreign and interstate commerce, Congress has regulated immigration and created commissions to regulate railroads, trade practices, and the sale of securities. Under the power to establish post offices and post roads, Congress has undertaken to subsidize railroads, steamship lines, and airways, to prevent fraud, and to exercise a certain censorship over literature.

States' rights. Those who advocate a narrow and strict interpretation of the "elastic clause" are said to be advocates of *states' rights.* Those who are in sympathy with a broad interpretation of this clause are said to be advocates of a strong national government. Through the decisions of the Supreme Court the conflicts constantly arising over the sphere of action of the nation and of the states are adjusted. Changing economic conditions, especially pronounced in recent years, have given rise to a demand for the still greater extension of the powers of the national government. It is argued, for example, that problems of labor, education, roads, health, social security, corporate organization, and the control of industry are not limited by state boundaries. It is claimed that these problems cannot be adequately handled by the individual states, acting independently, but that they demand a uniform program which the federal government alone can furnish. The division of powers between nation and state, therefore, is an item of great importance in understanding the way the United States undertakes to solve complex economic and social problems.

THE SEPARATION OF POWERS: THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDES FOR A SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES

The second important characteristic of the federal government is the threefold separation of government activities among the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. Each of these three necessary branches of government is in some respects dependent on the other, and yet in certain respects they are independent. Each "checks and balances" the other.

Parliamentary supremacy vs. *separation of powers.* In England the legislature is supreme. There the prime minister and his cabinet are really an executive committee of Parliament. They are responsible to it, and charged with the obligation of carrying out its wishes. The prime minister and his cabinet are unable to act without the approval of a majority of Parliament. In the United States the President has a fixed term of office of four years, and hence his continuance in office does not depend on legislative approval. In England, furthermore, there is no national judiciary with the power to declare laws of Parlia-

ment unconstitutional. In the United States the Constitution does not give supremacy to any one branch of the government.

Checks on the President. The chief duties of the President are to execute the laws of Congress and to control foreign affairs. In exercising these functions the President is in many respects independent of the legislature and the judiciary. Yet (1) most presidential appointments must be confirmed by the Senate, and (2) all treaties negotiated by the President must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. (3) Furthermore, the President may be impeached by the House of Representatives and, if found guilty of the impeachment charge by the Senate, may be removed from office. (4) Finally, the actions of the executive are subject to review by the courts.

Executive checks on the legislature. On the other hand, the President has some control over the legislature and the courts. The President may recommend the passage of laws to Congress, call Congress in special session, and veto bills passed by Congress. In practice a strong President, able to lead his party, can usually get the laws he wants. The sources of the President's powers are three: first, party loyalty; second, the opportunity to build up a favorable public opinion; and third, the distribution of executive favors and patronage by which the President can frequently compel favorable action on the laws he desires.

Executive checks on the judiciary. The executive check on the judiciary is threefold. First, the President has the power to pardon those convicted of federal offenses; second, he may neglect to carry out the decrees of the court; third, he, with the approval of the Senate, has the power to appoint judges. By appointing judges holding certain beliefs, the President can often influence for some time to come the type of decision the court is likely to render (pages 590–591).

Balance of powers between the two houses of Congress. A delicate balance is struck by the Constitution in the distribution of the powers of the two houses. The Senate has the following *exclusive* powers: (1) It ratifies treaties; (2) approves presidential appointments; (3) sits as a court of impeachment; and (4) elects the Vice-President in case the Electoral College fails to do so. The House of Representatives possesses the following *exclusive* powers: (1) It originates revenue bills; (2) has the power of impeachment; and (3) elects the President in case the Electoral College fails to make a choice. Otherwise the Senate and House are on an equal footing. The consent of both houses is necessary for *all* laws.

Legislative checks on the President and the judiciary. The executive, as we have learned, may recommend legislation, and also may veto that which Congress may have passed. The judiciary, in its turn, can declare acts of Congress unconstitutional. The legislature may overcome the presidential veto by reconsidering the measure and passing it by a two-thirds vote. It can overcome the judicial veto only by

proposing amendments to the Constitution, which have to be ratified by the legislatures or conventions of three fourths of the states.

Judicial check on the legislature and executive. The federal judiciary, consisting of a Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress sees fit to create, is charged with the duty of conducting trials and sentencing those found guilty of violating federal laws. Federal judges are appointed by the President, with the approval of the Senate. Hence the selection of judges is subject to the control of the executive and one branch of the legislature; the other legislative branch has the power to impeach. Federal judges hold their office "during good behavior." In some respects the judiciary seems to be the most independent of the three branches of government. Through its interpretation of the laws the judiciary may give them a meaning different from that intended by the lawmaking body. The Supreme Court may declare unconstitutional the laws of Congress, of the states, and the actions of the executive. The check on this great power is the privilege of amendment, a slow and cumbersome process.

Proposals to curb the Supreme Court. The following proposals have been made to curb this power of the Supreme Court: (1) Require a six-to-three, a seven-to-two, or even a unanimous vote in the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional. (2) Give to the action of the Supreme Court in declaring laws unconstitutional merely the same effect as a presidential veto; that is, permit Congress to override the action of the Court by repassing the law by a two-thirds vote. (3) Deny the Court the power to declare laws unconstitutional. These proposals tend to weaken judicial control over the executive and legislature. The adoption of either the second or third proposal would be a step in the direction of establishing a parliamentary type of government, for either would tend to give supremacy to the actions of the legislature.

An appraisal of the check-and-balance system. The purpose of the check-and-balance system is (1) to prevent any one branch of the government from becoming too powerful, and (2) to prevent any one department of government from interfering unduly with the rights of property and individuals. The check-and-balance system has been criticized as undemocratic and as an encouragement to delay, obstruction, and irresponsibility. But it is difficult to determine whether the action of Congress in passing a law, or of the President in vetoing a law, or even the act of the Supreme Court in declaring a law unconstitutional is the clearest expression of the popular will. A presidential veto or a decision of the Supreme Court may be more directly in tune with popular opinion than an act of Congress. Although the check-and-balance system often causes delay, many have argued that in highly controversial cases delay rather than haste is desirable. In emergencies one branch of the government becomes dominant, usually the executive branch. Consequently, when action is needed, the actual

working of the principle of the separation of powers does not necessarily cause delay. This was true during the administrations of Lincoln, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt (pages 331, 355, 525, 529).

THE CONSTITUTION PROTECTS THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS AND PROPERTY AGAINST THE TYRANNY OF GOVERNMENT

Protection against the tyranny of government. The third principle written into the Constitution is that the people should be protected and safeguarded against the "tyranny" of government itself. The framers of the Constitution, fearing the tyranny of absolute government and of irresponsible majorities, undertook to safeguard the people against both. This is the chief reason for the check-and-balance system and for many restrictive clauses in the Constitution.

Personal guarantees. The two classes of "rights" guaranteed by the Constitution are those affecting *persons* and those affecting *property*. The most important personal right is the *right to life*. The Constitution declares that life cannot be taken without *due process of law*. This phrase is difficult to define; it imposes limits on the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary in the interests of the individual. So far as criminal law is concerned, "due process" has come to mean a speedy and public trial before a jury, the right to counsel, the right to question accusers, and the right to present evidence in behalf of the accused.

The individual is also protected by the Constitutional provisions forbidding both federal and state governments to pass *bills of attainder* or *ex post facto laws*. A bill of attainder is a legislative act decreeing punishment for a person without a trial. An *ex post facto* law is one that makes a person liable to punishment for an action which was not criminal at the time it was performed. The Constitution also declares that the federal government may not suspend the writ of habeas corpus except in cases of rebellion or invasion when the public safety may require it. The writ of habeas corpus compels those who imprison anyone, or restrict an individual's freedom of action, to prove in open court that they have just cause for such action.

These restrictions were not considered sufficient when the Constitution was submitted to the states for ratification. There was widespread fear that the federal government would interfere with individual liberties. So the states insisted that a "bill of rights" be added to the Constitution. This was done by the ratification of the first ten amendments in 1791. The restrictions in these amendments apply to the *federal government*, not to the states. However, the individual state constitutions contain "bills of rights" which restrict each individual state in pretty much the same way, especially as regards freedom of press, speech, and assembly, trial by jury, and the establishment of religion. The Fifth Amendment contains the broad restriction that "no

person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." *This amendment limits the Congress, not the states; but the Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1867, places this same prohibition on the states.* As a result of court interpretations, *these two clauses have become the most important safeguards of the rights of persons and of property.* For a time they proved to be stumbling blocks in the way of social legislation, such as minimum-wage laws and others, which reformers urged as a necessary means of dealing with modern social and economic problems (pages 358–359, 422–428).

The theoretical statement of these "personal guarantees" is one thing, and their actual practice another. In practice they are not rights but privileges which the government reserves the right to interpret. Thus the right of assembly does not involve the right to hold meetings to advocate or plan the overthrow of the government. In general, *these civil rights of the individual may be exercised only in such a way that they will not cause injury to others or to the public welfare.* Thus the courts have long held that restrictions may be placed upon the individual's exercise of these rights in the interests of public health, safety, or morals. *These rights are not absolute, but relative* to time, place, and circumstance. The government and the individual often disagree in their interpretation of these rights (pages 117–118, 426–428, 637–640).

Property guarantees. The Constitution contains various clauses which safeguard the rights of property. 1. Eminent domain. Every nation regards itself as sovereign and, therefore, has the right of eminent domain; that is, the right to take private property for public purposes. The Fifth Amendment prevents Congress from confiscating private property for public purposes without just compensation.

2. Restriction of taxation. The power of the government to tax is almost unlimited, but the fear that the power to tax might be used to help one section or group of people and hurt another and that property might be confiscated by means of taxation was ever present to the framers of the Constitution. They therefore provided that direct taxes (a poll tax, land tax, income tax) could be levied by Congress only in proportion to the census, or enumeration. (Note that the Sixteenth Amendment, added in 1913, permits the levying of income taxes without regard to the census, or enumeration.) Indirect taxes must be uniform throughout the United States, and the Congress is forbidden to levy export taxes.

3. Restrictions on paper money and contracts. We have already learned how the issuance of paper money might interfere with property rights. The Constitution, therefore, forbade the states to coin money, issue bills of credit, or make anything but gold or silver coin legal tender in payment of debts, although the federal government can do these things. The states are also forbidden to pass laws which would impair (weaken) the obligation of a contract.

4. Judicial interpretation of the "due process" clause. Both the federal and the state governments are forbidden to deprive any person of property without "due process of law" (Fifth and Fourteenth amendments). In general, the courts have interpreted "due process" clauses in favor of the individual and his property and not in favor of the government. Since a corporation is considered a person in the eyes of the law, the property of a corporation is also protected by these amendments. Since the famous decision of the Supreme Court in Munn *vs.* Illinois in 1876 (pages 498–500), the courts have followed the principle that *property rights, like civil rights, are not absolute.* The Court has ruled that the right to property and the right of freedom of contract are subordinate to the public interest. *Just at what point and under what conditions private property rights end and the public interest begins is a highly controversial twilight zone of social and legal argument.* It is on such matters that the court itself divides sharply and that the social and economic philosophy of individual judges is of such great importance.

Police powers. We have stated that the government may impose restrictions upon personal and property rights in the interest of public health, safety, and morals. Laws which restrict property and personal rights for this reason are said to be based on the "police powers" of government; that is, a sovereign nation does not permit "absolute" rights to interfere with its major purpose of promoting the general welfare. *Therefore, the courts have held that the government can interfere with the individual's rights when public health, safety, and morals are involved.* Because of the federal character of American government, "police powers" — for example, laws which regulate the construction of dwelling houses and factories, the handling of food, the sale of firearms, and gambling — properly belong to the states, not to the federal government. Therefore, actions of the state legislatures which interfere with civil and property rights may be defended on the ground that they are necessary to protect public morals, health, and safety. The federal government, however, can accomplish such purposes only when it is exercising one of its delegated or enumerated powers. The power to tax, the power to regulate interstate commerce, and the power to establish post offices and post roads are the important powers used by the federal Congress to cut through constitutional restrictions and to justify legislation for the general welfare (pages 570, 580, 584–585). Here is another controversial zone, where the social and economic point of view of the judge is more important than his legal reasoning.

Laissez-faire vs. *collectivism.* In the preceding paragraphs we have touched briefly upon some of the most vital problems of government, fundamental problems of increasing importance in the twentieth century: What is the ideal relation of the government to the individual and of the individual to the government? Where do the rights of the in-

dividual and the rights of the group (the government) begin and end? The American Constitution, traditions, and judicial interpretations seek to establish a balance and compromise.

The eighteenth century witnessed a long period of revolt against governmental absolutism and governmental restrictions on the economic, social, and political life of the individual. The doctrine of natural rights — personal liberty, economic freedom, political liberty — triumphed. The American Constitution reflects this triumph, and in so far as it establishes these personal and property rights of the individual, it *establishes a social and economic order, or philosophy, as well as a framework of government.* Economists call this philosophy laissez-faire, individualism, capitalism, or the competitive system.

In the twentieth century this concept of the relation of the individual to the state, and of the state to the individual, is seriously challenged by rival philosophies. Although different in their economic ideals, communism in Russia and fascism as it was practiced in Italy and Germany had this in common: a belief that the state has the right to plan and order the lives and activities of its citizens as it sees fit. According to this "totalitarian," or "authoritarian," theory, a nation has absolute authority and embraces within its sphere of action the total field of human relationships and activities. The form of government is that of a dictatorship, either by an individual or a party; freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly is vigorously curtailed (pages 637–638).

For more than a quarter of a century the United States has been struggling to adjust its ideals of freedom and rights to the newer demands for social reform. There are many evidences of this struggle — antitrust legislation, child labor laws, labor regulation, social security laws, regulation of farm production and business practices. Many believe that there are stormy days ahead for American constitutional ideals and practices. Whether America can maintain its democratic traditions in the struggle between the rights of the individual and the rights of the group seems to be a pressing problem for the immediate future. Important factors in that struggle will be the habit of tradition and a deep-rooted respect for a flexible and living Constitution.

"THE EXECUTIVE POWER SHALL BE VESTED IN A PRESIDENT"

The effect of political parties on the Electoral College. We have already outlined the method prescribed in the Constitution for the election of the President. Customs and practices not clearly foreseen by the framers of the Constitution have prevented this feature of the Constitution from working out as intended. The most important of these customs is the growth of political parties.

The effect of the growth of political parties on the method of electing the President and on the presidency itself can be illustrated by not-

ing what has happened to the Electoral College. Each state is given the power to choose as many electors as it has representatives in the Senate and House of Representatives, in such manner as the state legislatures shall direct. Originally, the state legislatures chose the electors. As democracy developed, the states turned over the task to the voters. At first the voters chose two electors at large (representing the two senators from each state) and the remaining electors were chosen *by districts,* but for more than a century electors in most states have been chosen not by districts but *at large.*

The electors do not exercise independent judgment when they cast their ballots for the President and Vice-President, for they are expected to vote as the voters direct. Therefore the voters choose electors to vote for a certain presidential nominee, and the electors merely "rubber-stamp" the voters' choice.

The net result of these customs is that the President is now chosen in fact, though not in theory, by popular vote. The election is still *by states* and not *by the country as a whole.* Thus it is possible for a man to be elected President without receiving a majority of the popular vote, provided he carries, even by small majorities, enough states to give him a majority of the electoral vote. Since many states can usually be classified as "belonging" to one of the major political parties, this practice narrows the contest for the presidency to a few "doubtful" states.

The President as leader of his party. These political practices have had their influence on the presidency itself. The President is commonly regarded as the leader of his party. As such he is expected to formulate party policies and secure their enactment into law. As party leader it is the task of the President to strengthen the party and reward party workers by the giving of patronage. A President who so desires can initiate legislation and, by granting or withholding favors, can get party members to support it. To the extent that a President sees fit to carry out this policy, the check-and-balance system between the executive and legislature tends to break down. On the other hand, a President who does not care to assume actively the burdens of party leadership allows Congress to initiate and control legislation. *The presidency, as a result of political custom, becomes to some extent what the personality of a given President wants it to be.*

Succession to the presidency. In the event of the death or disability of the President, the Vice-President succeeds to the presidency. The Congress is given power to specify who shall succeed to the presidency in the event of the death of both the President and the Vice-President. For a long time Congress provided that the president *pro tempore* of the Senate should succeed, but this was changed by the *Presidential Succession Act of 1886.* It provided that the members of the Cabinet should succeed to the presidency in the order in which the depart-

ments over which they preside were created. Thus, in the event of the death of both President and Vice-President, the Secretary of State, then the Secretary of the Treasury, and so on, would succeed to the presidency. In 1947 this was changed to provide that in the event of the death or incapacity of the President and Vice-President, the Speaker of the House would succeed to the presidency. Next in line would be the president pro tempore of the Senate, and then the members of the Cabinet, beginning with the Secretary of State. What would happen in the event of the death of the President-elect and Vice-President-elect was answered by the adoption of the Twentieth Amendment. (See Appendix and pages 127, 630–632.)

Administrative duties of the President. Many of the duties and powers of the President have been mentioned in our discussion of the check-and-balance system. In the discharge of his executive, or administrative, duties the President is assisted by a vast army of officials numbering in recent years some three quarters of a million. Many of these obtain their positions as a result of competitive civil service examinations, but a large number receive their appointment for party loyalty. The President himself appoints some fifteen to twenty thousand; and the rest are appointed by heads of departments responsible to him.

The Cabinet. In the execution of the laws the President is assisted by the ten members of the Cabinet, each of whom presides over a large department. As the country has grown, the number of Cabinet positions has changed. Cabinet officers are responsible to the President alone. He may ask their advice but need not follow it.

Independent boards and commissions. In recent years Congress has entrusted the enforcement of many difficult and technical laws to independent boards and commissions. The members of these boards are appointed by the President for a fixed number of years. Thus, for example, there are the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, and the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. While the President has the power to remove from office most of the officials whom he appoints to office, the Supreme Court in 1934 decided that he cannot remove the members of these independent boards and commissions.

Legislative duties of the President. The President may call Congress in special session, recommend laws to Congress, and approve or veto the bills passed by Congress. A most important aspect of the President's legislative functions is the power to issue proclamations, regulations, and ordinances.

Whenever Congress directs that the President shall have power to issue regulations and decrees to deal with certain problems, it very frequently places a time limit on the grant of power, and also outlines the broad policies which control the President's actions. The Supreme

Court has ruled that Congress cannot, except within very narrow limits, transfer its power to legislate to the President.

Military powers of the President. The President is commander in chief of the Army and Navy. As such he possesses extraordinary power both in times of war and peace. The President may use the military and naval forces of the United States to enforce the Constitution, the treaties, and the laws of the United States. Ordinarily, in times of peace, presidents have not been tempted to make use of this power, but in times of war it has been used with telling effect. By ordering the Navy to maintain a blockade, or by ordering the Army to occupy disputed territory, the President can virtually bring the country to the brink of war, although the power to declare war belongs to Congress. The President can so maneuver events that there is little left for Congress to do except to declare war.

Diplomatic powers of the President. The President has the power to nominate and, with the consent of the Senate, to appoint ambassadors, public ministers, and consuls. The President also has the power to receive ambassadors. This power is not exclusively ceremonial, but confers upon the President the *power to recognize or refuse to recognize* foreign governments.

Treaty-making power of the President. The Constitution grants the President "the power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present consent." The President negotiates the treaty, and the finished product submitted to the Senate for approval is largely the work of the executive or his agents. Treaties, according to the Constitution, are part of the "supreme law of the land" and, consequently, may affect the powers of Congress, or laws already passed by Congress. Usually the Senate has been ready to give its approval to treaties, although there are instances of strong opposition to the ratification of treaties, or instances of the ratification of treaties with reservations. It has been proposed that the Constitution should be amended to permit ratification of treaties by a majority of the Senate, or by a majority of both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Judicial power of the President. The appointment of federal judges with the approval of the Senate is, properly speaking, an administrative, or executive, act, but it may tend to influence judicial decisions. The chief judicial power of the President is the "power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment." This, as we have noted, is a check upon the power of the federal courts.

The presidency — "pre-eminently the people's office." The extraordinary powers granted to and exercised by the President of the United States make him the most powerful popularly elected ruler of any modern nation. Only dictators rival him in authority and power. In

a crisis his powers are almost absolute. Yet it is significant of our democracy that until Franklin D. Roosevelt's third election in 1940, no man held the presidency more than eight years, and that when presidents have exercised dictatorial power, it has been during a crisis and for a short time. It has become traditional in the American democracy that the President must exercise his extraordinary powers conservatively, or else the people at large or the Congress or the Supreme Court will act as a check upon an executive who seems eager to exercise his power in an arbitrary and dictatorial fashion.

LEGISLATIVE POWER IS VESTED IN A CONGRESS CONSISTING OF A SENATE AND A HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The Senate. The Constitution provided for a bicameral, or two-chambered, legislature — a Senate and a House of Representatives. The provision that each state should be entitled to two senators, irrespective of its size or population, is a concession to the theory that the states are equal in power and possess certain independent rights. The smallest as well as the largest state shares equally in the conduct of foreign affairs and in the choice of appointive officials.

The House of Representatives. The House of Representatives was constituted to reflect the temper of the nation as a whole rather than that of the states. The representation of a state in the House of Representatives is dependent upon its population. To entitle the large states to their proportionate share of representatives and to provide for shifts in population, the Constitution provided for a census of the people every ten years. After each census the number of representatives to which each state is entitled is adjusted in accordance with the facts shown by the census. State jealousies, however, caused a delay in reapportionment following the census of 1920 until 1929. Since the census of 1910 the membership of the House has remained at 435, a figure which the Reapportionment Act of 1929 provided should be used indefinitely. At present, therefore, the total membership of the Congress is 531 (435 members of the House, plus 96 senators).

Organization of Congress. By the terms of the Twentieth Amendment, ratified in 1933, Congress convenes each year on January 3. The presiding officer of the Senate is the Vice-President; but the Senate also elects a *president pro tempore* to preside over it in the absence of the Vice-President. The presiding officer of the House of Representatives is the *Speaker*. He is chosen by the Representatives themselves, but his election is usually the result of a caucus vote of the majority party. The office of Speaker of the House of Representatives has been called the second most powerful in the American government (pages 488–490). Each branch of Congress makes its own rules of procedure.

Filibustering in the Senate. Because of its smaller size the Senate

permits unlimited debate, except under special circumstances; that is, any member of the Senate has the privilege of talking as long as he desires. This rule gives rise to the practice of "filibustering" — the attempt of a single senator or a small group of senators, who are determined in their opposition to a bill which the majority favors, to prevent it from coming to a vote by talking until the Senate adjourns. A filibuster may be attempted at any time during the sessions of the Senate, and can be broken only if the majority of the senators determine to tire out the filibusterer. This they can do by refusing to adjourn. In 1917 the Senate adopted a "cloture" rule whereby a petition of sixteen senators approved by a two-thirds vote of the Senate may limit debate on a question to one hour for each senator. However, the Senate has been reluctant to make use of the cloture rule. The House of Representatives, on account of its large size, has rules which limit debate.

Practical lawmaking — the committee system. In the practical work of passing laws both houses are influenced by a series of customs not mentioned in the Constitution. Both houses of Congress use the *committee system.* In 1946 Congress reduced the number of standing committees in the House to nineteen and in the Senate to fifteen. Of these committees ten or twelve are of major importance. It is the function of these committees not only to consider bills which individual members introduce but also to prepare and draft important bills. Thus the House Committee on Ways and Means discusses and prepares a tax bill such as a tariff. *It is in the committee that real argument, debate, and compromise take place.* When a committee refers a bill to the House or Senate for debate, the committee may report the bill favorably, unfavorably, or without comment. Most of the bills reported favorably are adopted without much debate, and without the members of Congress knowing the details of the bills they are approving. Bills reported unfavorably are usually defeated. Most bills introduced in both houses are never reported "out of committee"; that is, they are "killed in committee."

Lobbying on pending bills. In the discussion and planning of bills it is a common practice for committees to conduct investigations and hold public hearings, which allow those interested to present their points of view or to make suggestions. In conducting public hearings the committees usually arrange for both sides to be heard. In these discussions before committees, lobbies publicly present the point of view of the groups they represent. Nearly every important economic group in the country maintains lobbies at Washington. The lobby furnishes an opportunity for the representation of group interests, and committee hearings provide opportunities for interested groups either to assist or to oppose one another (pages 635–637).

"Pork-barrel" legislation and logrolling. The term "pork-barrel legislation" has come into general use to describe the efforts of congress-

men to secure appropriations of federal money to build post offices, to dredge rivers, or to improve harbors in their districts. Whether or not the expenditure of the money is wise from a national point of view is not the question. What influences the congressman or senator is the desire to prove to the "folks back home" that he has been active in getting the federal government to "do something" for his district. Congressmen assist one another in securing these special, and at times unnecessary, "pork-barrel" appropriations for their district by a process known as "logrolling"; that is, one member of Congress will support a measure that another member desires in return for the promise of support for a measure in which he is interested.

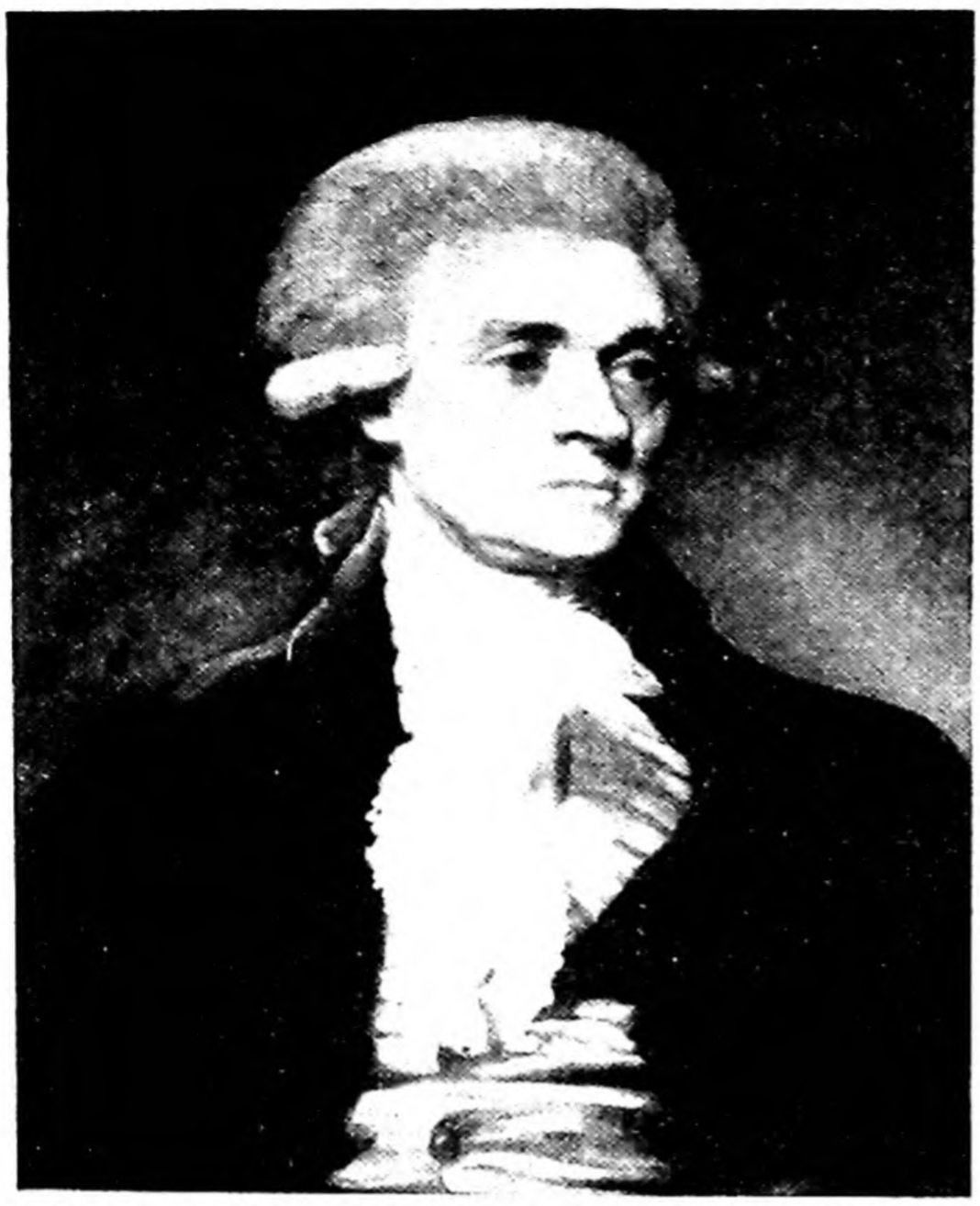
Congressional investigations. An important legislative activity is the conducting of investigations. In recent years congressional committees have held investigations to find out the facts concerning lobbies, security exchanges, holding companies, monopolies, war contracts, political campaign expenditures, and foreign loans. Congressional investigations turn the white spotlight of publicity on evil practices so that popular support may be obtained for reform legislation.

THE SUPREME COURT IS AMERICA'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY OF GOVERNMENT

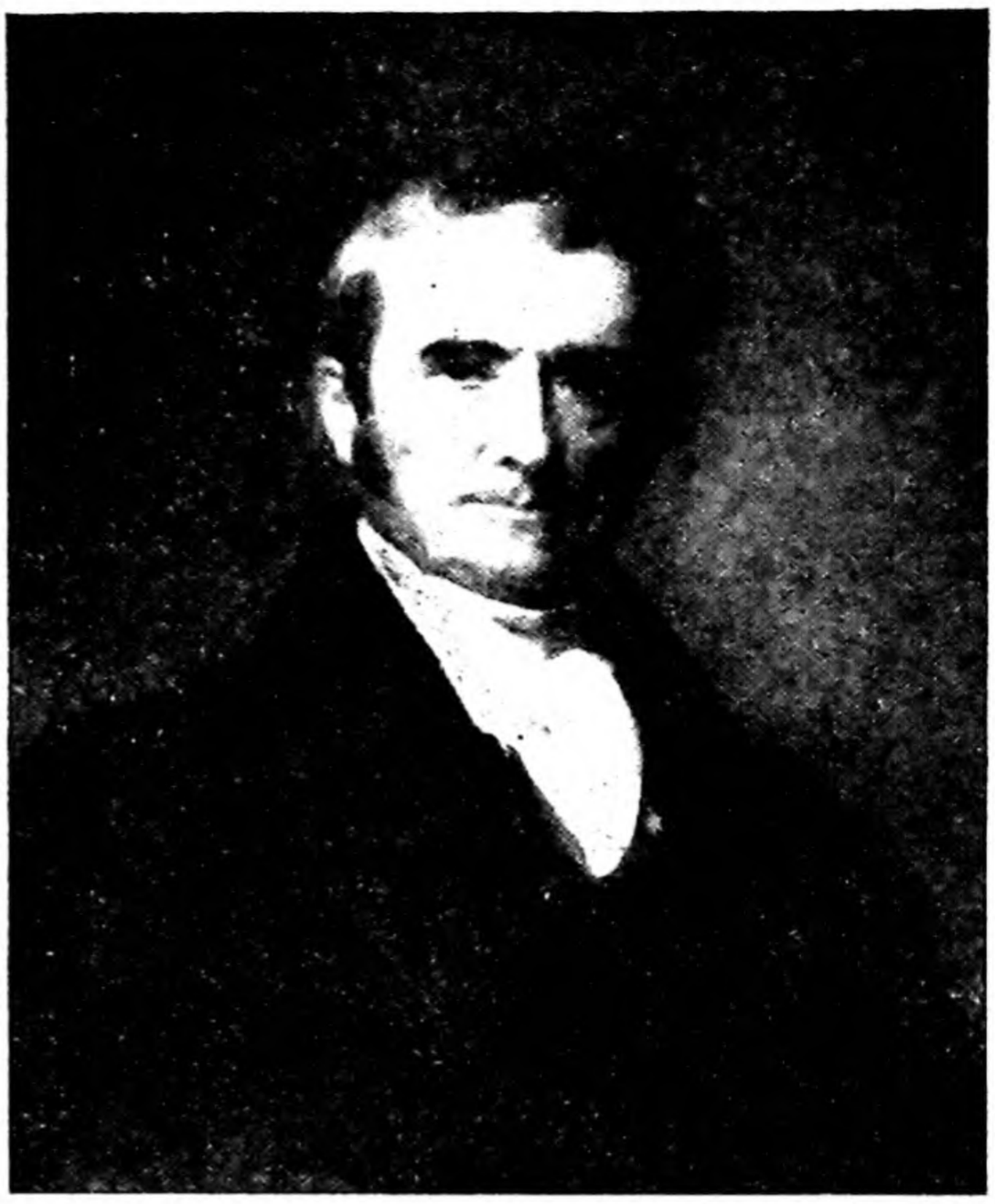
The federal judiciary. The Constitution declares that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." At present the Supreme Court consists of one chief justice and eight associate justices. The ten Circuit Courts of Appeals are appeal courts and have been created to reduce the volume of business that might otherwise come before the Supreme Court.

Jurisdiction of federal courts. The judicial power of the United States is described in Article III of the Constitution. A court is said to have *jurisdiction* of a case when it has the right to hear or decide the case. Jurisdiction is of two kinds, *original* and *appellate*. A court has *original* jurisdiction when it has the right to hear and pass upon the case at the outset. It has *appellate* jurisdiction when it has the right to hear cases on *appeal* from lower courts. The federal district courts are courts of original jurisdiction; the circuit courts and the Supreme Court are courts of appellate jurisdiction. But the Constitution confers upon the Supreme Court *original jurisdiction* in two types of cases which are rare: (1) cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and (2) cases in which a state is a party.

Judicial review. We have already commented on the power of the Supreme Court to declare the laws of Congress and of states unconstitutional. The Supreme Court also has the power to set aside the decisions of state courts if the constitutional rights of citizens have not been



Courtesy Frick Art Reference Library. Portrait owned by Hon. Charles Francis Adams



Portrait by Henry Inman. Courtesy Virginia Conservation and Development Commission

Left: Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), author of the Declaration of Independence, had great faith in the common people and their ability to govern themselves. He favored the doctrine of *strict construction* of the Constitution because he feared any other interpretation would take the government out of their hands.

Right: John Marshall (1755–1835) as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835 strengthened the federal government. His decisions interpreting the Constitution have permanently influenced American political institutions.



Painting by Charles W. Peale. Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Benjamin Franklin (1706–90) was one of the most respected of the colonial leaders, both at home and abroad. Statesman, scientist, writer, and philosopher, his influence at the Constitutional Convention helped to bring about the compromises needed before an acceptable form of the Constitution was achieved.

adequately safeguarded. These powers are nowhere expressly given to the Court. The first elaborate defense of the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional was written by Chief Justice John Marshall in the famous case of Marbury *vs.* Madison, 1803 (pages 208–210). In Article VI of the Constitution is a strong justification for the argument that the Supreme Court may declare laws unconstitutional. The second clause reads: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, *shall be the supreme law of the land*, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." Since the Constitution is the supreme law, and since the laws of Congress and the constitutions and the laws of the states must conform to this supreme law, it is argued that the proper agency to decide the question of conformity to the supreme law is the Supreme Court. *Judicial review* has been one of the chief instruments whereby the Constitution has been adjusted to changing economic conditions (pages 208–212).

THE CONSTITUTION MAKES PROVISION FOR ORDERLY CHANGE

The process of amendment. The Constitution (Article V) outlines the way in which it may be amended. There are two essential elements in the amending process — the method of *proposal*, and the method of *ratification.* An amendment may be proposed either by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress or by a convention called by Congress on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the states. Proposed amendments may be ratified in either of two ways: (1) *by the legislatures* of three fourths of the states; or (2) *by conventions* in three fourths of the states.

The earliest amendments. The Constitution has been amended twenty-two times. All the existing amendments have been proposed by a two-thirds vote of Congress, and all except the Twenty-first have been ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the states. The first ten amendments, commonly called the "Bill of Rights," were adopted very early in our history and are sometimes regarded as part of the original Constitution (pages 102, 140). The Eleventh Amendment, adopted in 1798, provided that the judicial power of the United States should not extend to suits against a state by citizens of another state or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state (page 140). The Twelfth Amendment corrected defects in the method of electing the President (pages 164–165).

The "Civil War amendments." The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments are sometimes called the "Civil War amendments" because they are the result of problems created by that struggle.

Amendments of the twentieth century. Almost a half century passed before any new amendments were added. The Sixteenth Amendment (1913) permitted the levying of income taxes (which the Supreme Court in 1895 had declared to be direct taxes) without apportionment among the several states and without regard to any census of enumeration (pages 490, 526). The Seventeenth Amendment, ratified in the same year, provided for the election of senators by the direct vote of the people rather than by the state legislatures. The Eighteenth Amendment prohibited the sale and manufacture of intoxicating beverages. The Nineteenth Amendment, ratified in 1920, provided that the right to vote should not be denied on account of sex.

The Twentieth Amendment, ratified in 1933, changed the time when Congress convenes and the date of the inauguration of the President and Vice-President. Its major purpose was to abolish the so-called "lame-duck" session of Congress (pages 630–632). The Twenty-first Amendment is unique in two respects: First, it repeals, or deletes from the Constitution, a former amendment, the Eighteenth, which had established national prohibition. Second, it is the only one of the amendments which has been ratified by specially chosen conventions in each of the states. The Twenty-second Amendment, ratified in 1951, limited the presidency to two elective terms.

CUSTOM HAS ADDED UNWRITTEN FEATURES TO THE WRITTEN CONSTITUTION

Judicial decisions and custom have caused the development of unwritten constitutional principles. The following characteristics may be regarded as features of our unwritten constitution.

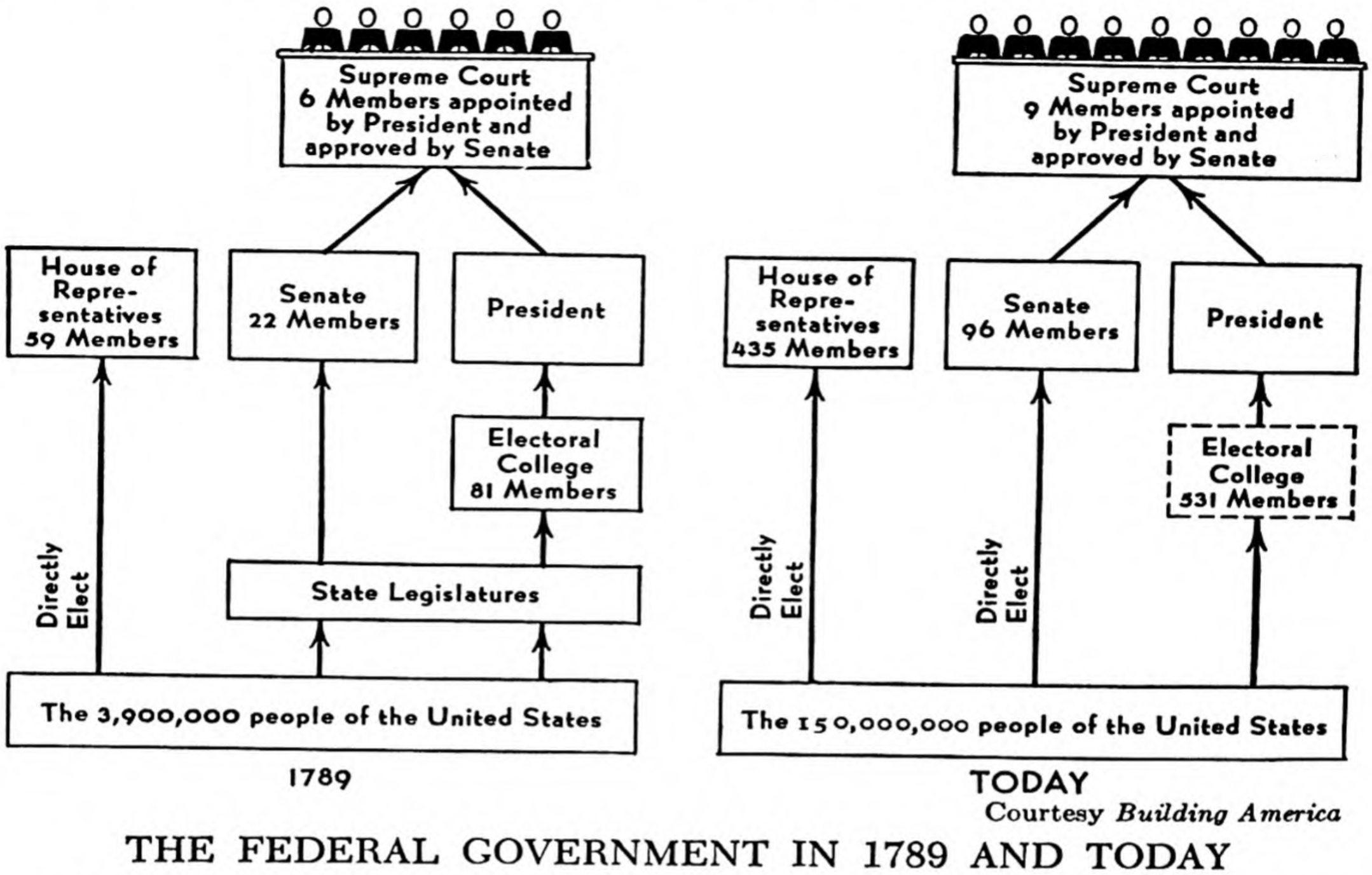
1. The American Cabinet, which should not be confused with the cabinet systems of European governments, is an outgrowth of custom and congressional enactment.

2. In making appointments to office, the President usually follows the advice of the senator from the state affected by the appointment, and in ratifying such appointments the senators are guided by the wishes of the senator from the state affected.

3. The whole party system is extraconstitutional, and yet the custom and practices of parties have acquired the force of unwritten law. The national nominating convention and the instruction of members of the Electoral College to vote for the party nominee are some of the important practices of parties which have achieved the force of law.

4. The tradition of a two-term limit for the presidency, broken by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940 and 1944, has been one of the strong features of the unwritten constitution. It has also been customary for a Vice-President succeeding to the presidency to consider the unexpired term of his predecessor as one of the two terms.

5. The committee method of preparing and considering laws is also a part of the unwritten constitution. The Senate and House of Representatives have become vote-recording bodies, while the important work of drafting, preparing, and recommending laws has become the function of a variety of congressional committees.



Courtesy *Building America*

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN 1789 AND TODAY

6. In recent years Congress has shown a tendency to transfer large administrative and regulative authority to important boards and commissions. The Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Securities and Exchange Commission are examples of this tendency. The creation of these boards, commissions, and corporations and the *administrative law and procedures* which they have established are among the most important features of the unwritten constitution (pages 575–583).

7. In some respects certain features of our foreign policy, such as the policy of avoiding entangling alliances, the Monroe Doctrine, and the "good neighbor policy," because they have achieved widespread and continuing popular support, may be regarded as part of the unwritten constitution.

8. Finally, the practice of judicial review, and what has aptly been called "judicial legislation," is a most significant feature of our unwritten constitution. Modification of the laws of Congress and the states through judicial interpretation is an instrument for amending, enlarging, and revising the laws of Congress and the states, as well as the principles which underlie the American structure of government.

These are a few of the more significant ways in which the forces of custom and practice add unwritten features to the Constitution, the

supreme law of the land. These traditions are almost as binding as the original Constitution itself.

"*Accommodating essential principles to times and events.*" It is no small tribute to the genius of the men who worked out the delicate balance among the three branches of government and the division of powers between the nation and the states that the Constitution has endured so long. It has endured because it contained within itself the elements of growth and adaptability. Today, as then, it is a document full of life, hope, and promise. It is indeed a living Constitution.

Words and Phrases

bicameral, bill of attainder, checks and balances, cloture, committee system, concurrent powers, delegated powers, due process, elastic clause, eminent domain, *ex post facto* law, extraconstitutional, filibustering, implied powers, judicial legislation, judicial review, lobbying, logrolling, parliamentary government, police powers, representation of group interests, reserved powers, senatorial courtesy, states' rights, tyranny of government, unwritten constitution, writ of habeas corpus

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What is the difference between a written and an unwritten constitution?
2. Why did the Philadelphia Convention create a federal rather than some other type of government?
3. Illustrate by concrete examples the principle of the separation of powers, or the check-and-balance system.
4. Illustrate by concrete examples the principle of the division of powers between the nation and the states.
5. How does the Constitution safeguard the rights of persons? the rights of property?
6. Consult Article I, sections 8, 9, and 10, and the Tenth Amendment. How are they related to each other?
7. What are the special powers of the Senate and of the House of Representatives?
8. Explain the committee system.
9. Outline the steps by which a bill becomes a law.
10. How have amendments changed the original Constitution with regard to the election of the President, the election of Senators, direct taxation, and the right to vote?
11. Outline the features of America's unwritten constitution.

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Examine the first clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. What special privilege is conferred by this clause upon persons born or naturalized in this country? Do the remaining sentences of this clause restrict or increase the power of the state? restrict or increase the power of the federal government? Reasons.
2. Examine the Fifteenth Amendment and the Nineteenth Amendment. Does the state or federal government determine the qualifications of a

voter for the office of President? Considering these amendments and also the First Amendment and the clause in the Constitution to the effect that there shall be no religious test for office, how do you account for the fact that many of our states once had religious tests for voters, and that several states limit the "right to vote" by means of educational or literacy tests? North Carolina today denies to atheists the "right to hold office." Is this contrary to the First Amendment? Reasons. (Consult *World Almanac* for summary of state restrictions on voting.)

3. "Although the actual wording of the Constitution has only been changed here and there by means of formal amendment, the Constitution is not quite the same document that it was in 1789." Explain the meaning of this statement. In what respects has the Constitution changed? How can the Constitution change without formal amendment?
4. Explain the statement that the Constitution, in addition to outlining a form of government, also endorses an economic philosophy.
5. State three ways in which the federal judiciary is now taking a more active part in the government of the United States than it took in the earlier period of our history. Name an amendment to the Constitution that extended widely the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and explain how the amendment had this effect.
6. What proposals have been made to limit the authority of the Supreme Court?
7. Explain the statement: "What the laws mean in practice, and what the public officials do, depend in the last analysis on the social and economic pressures behind them."
8. Explain the statement that personal rights and property rights are not absolute but relative.
9. Investigate and report on the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946, indicating particularly the provisions concerning (a) the salaries of members of Congress; (b) the number of congressional committees and their methods of functioning; and (c) lobbyists.
10. Investigate and report on the action of President Truman in ordering the "seizure of the steel industry" during the 1952 steel strike and the decision of the Supreme Court concerning this act of the President. (Reread the paragraph on the presidency, pages 121–122.)

Suggested Reading

PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT: Beard, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, pp. 159–216; *The Republic*, pp. 1–192; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 20–39, 52–73; *The Federalist*, Nos. XXXIX, XL, XLVII–LI; Johnson, *Readings in American Constitutional History*, pp. 135–153; McBain, *The Living Constitution*, pp. 34–71, 150–201; McLaughlin, *Constitutional History of the United States*, pp. 163–184; Ogg and Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, pp. 122–196; Amherst Readings, *The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution*.

THE PRESIDENCY: Beard, *Readings in American Government and Politics*, pp. 176–196; *The Republic*, pp. 207–223; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 246–294; *The Federalist*, Nos. LXVII–LXXVII; McBain, *The*

Living Constitution, pp. 114–149; McLaughlin, *Constitutional History of the United States*, pp. 238–263; Ogg and Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, pp. 197–255; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, I, 1–19.

CONGRESS: Beard, *Readings in American Government and Politics*, pp. 214–272; *The Republic*, pp. 178–207; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 145–172; *The Federalist*, Nos. LII–LXVI; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* (A.N.S.), pp. 253–261; Ogg and Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, pp. 336–406, 435–451.

THE JUDICIARY: Beard, *Readings in American Government and Politics*, pp. 273–290; *The Republic*, pp. 223–242; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 109–141; *The Federalist*, Nos. LXXVIII–LXXXIII; Fiske, *The Critical Period in American History*, pp. 300–303; McBain, *The Living Constitution*, pp. 237–271; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* (A.N.S.), pp. 245–252; Ogg and Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, pp. 407–434.

UNIT THREE

III

THE RISE OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY

CHAPTERS

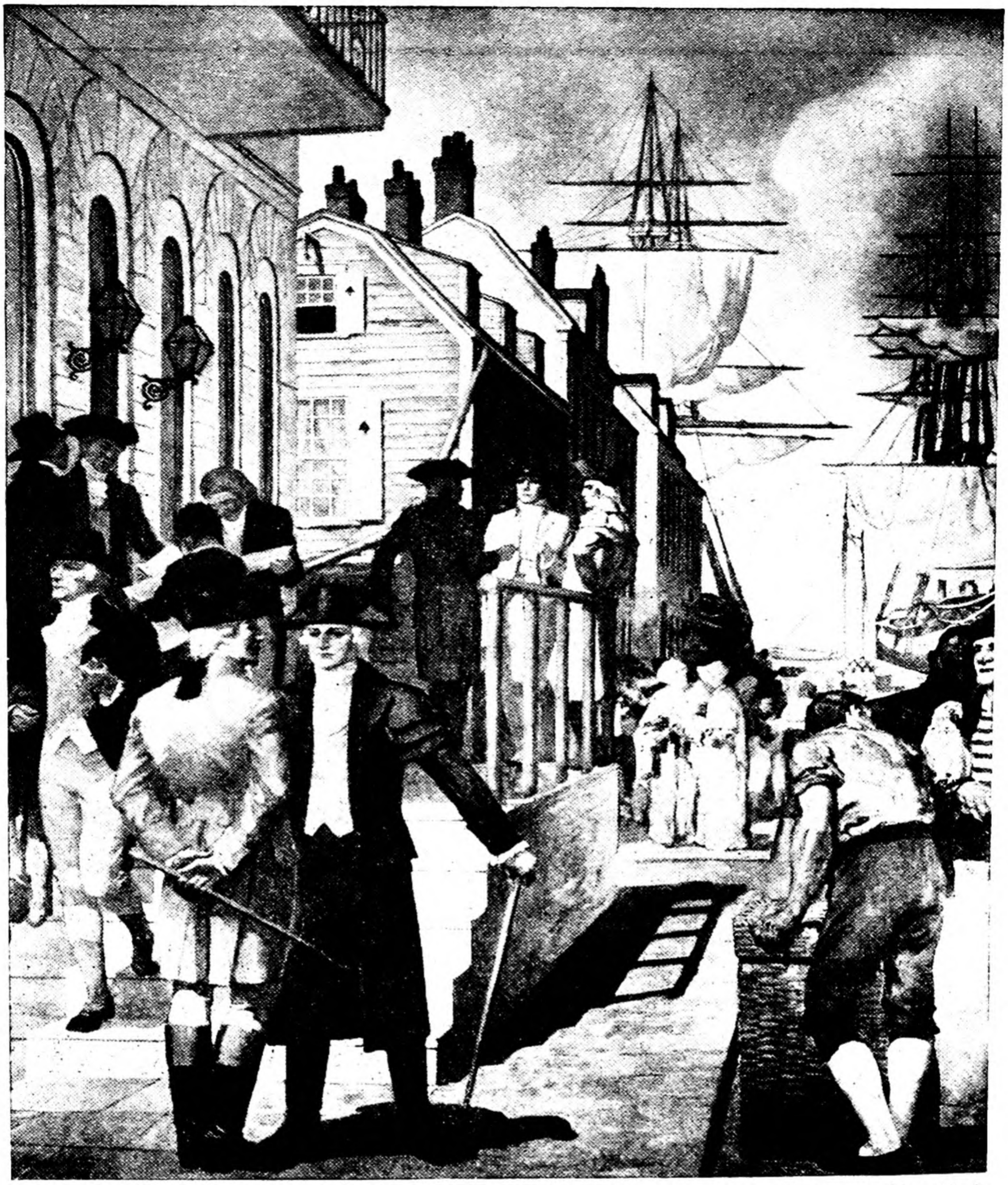
10 The New Nation

11 Disentangling the United States from Europe

12 The Triumph of Jefferson

13 The War of 1812

14 A Nation Free to Work Out Its Own Destiny



Courtesy Bank of the Manhattan Company, New York

John Jay, governor of New York, and Robert Livingston, chancellor of that state, have a friendly chat outside the Tontine Coffee House at the east end of Wall Street in 1799. Jay, as statesman and chief justice of the Supreme Court, and Livingston, as statesman and financier, played an important part in the building of the new nation. Through the leadership of men of this type, the new government was firmly established and a remarkable industrial and commercial expansion got under way.

CHAPTER TEN

The New Nation

IN 1789 THE UNITED STATES IS A SMALL NATION WITH AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

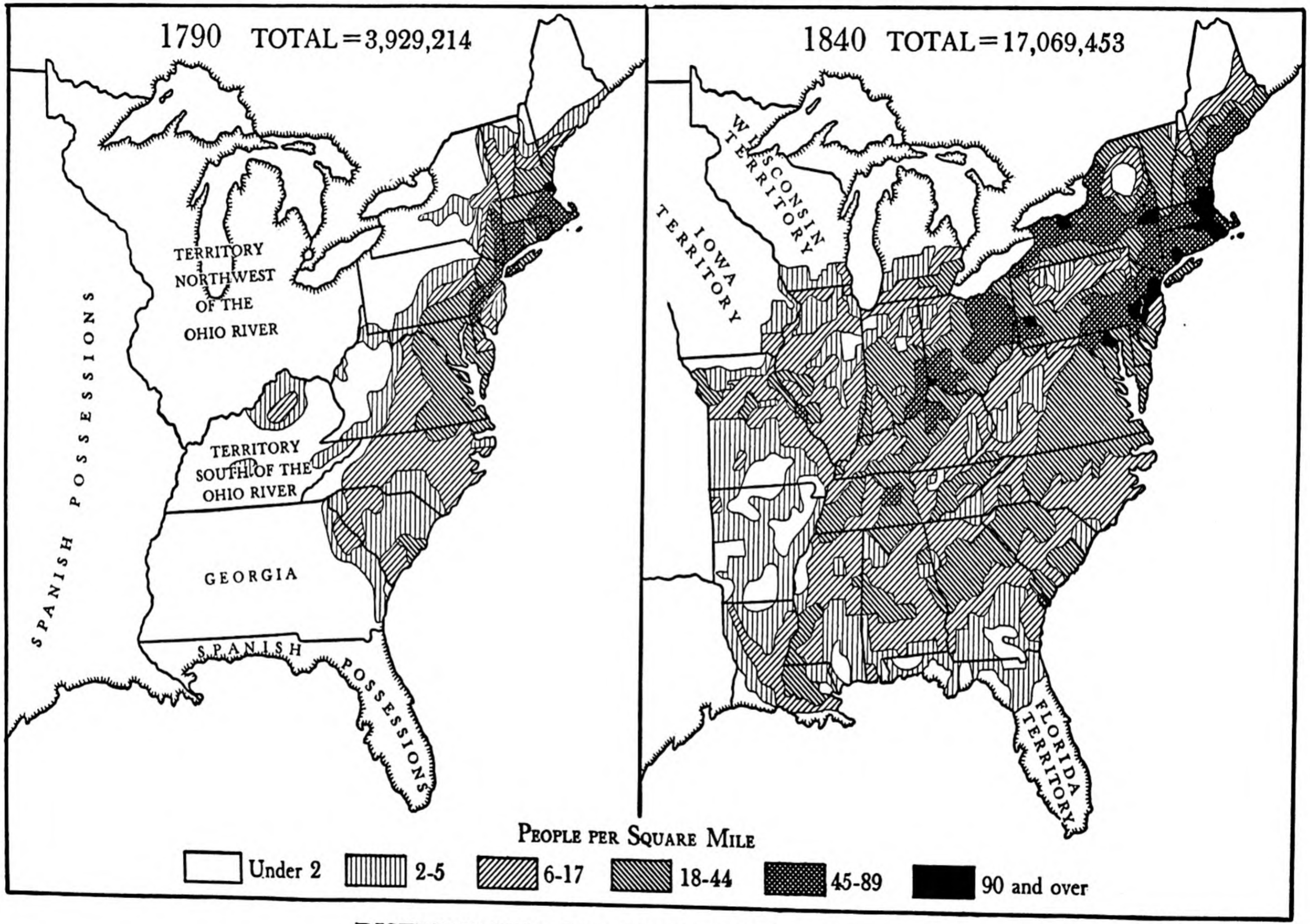
It is difficult for us today to picture early conditions in this country — a population of less than four million; cities few and small; homes lighted with candles and heated by open fireplaces; streets unpaved; no sewers; reliance upon horse and ox, wind and water, and human muscle as the sole sources of power; no railroads, automobiles, electric lights, telephones; none of the conveniences which we regard as so essential to our comfort. It will help us greatly in our study of history if we remember that economic and social conditions and even political beliefs and theories were different in the past from those of today.

Conditions at home. The first census of the United States, taken in 1790, revealed a total population of about 3,900,000; of this number approximately 600,000 were slaves. In 1790 Virginia was the largest state, with a population of 747,000; Pennsylvania was second with 434,000; and North Carolina third with 393,000. There were few cities. Philadelphia, the largest, had a population of 42,000; New York ranked next with 32,000; Boston had 18,000; Charleston, 16,000; and Baltimore, 14,000. These five were the only cities which could boast a population in excess of 10,000. More than 100,000 people had left the older settlements for the fertile valleys of the Ohio and the Cumberland.

The bulk of the population was engaged in tilling the soil. The natural resources of the country were abundant and furnished the basis for a fairly widespread prosperity, which increased steadily. Shipping and commerce provided a livelihood for some. Manufacturing, although it had been stimulated by the Revolutionary War, had as yet failed to attract either large amounts of capital or large numbers of workers.

Conditions in Europe. In England tremendous changes in the industrial arts were ushering in a new era. Man was beginning to use machinery to help make the goods that satisfied his wants. England soon became the workshop of the world and became increasingly dependent on overseas trade for farm products and raw materials.

In France a political revolution, destined to advance greatly the doctrine of human equality and the practices of democracy, began shortly after Washington's inauguration. Before long the French Revolutionists became involved in a war with England and the other states of Eu-



DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION – 1790, 1840

rope. This conflict influenced the course of events in the United States, where there was a struggle to avoid European entanglements.

PRECEDENTS ARE ESTABLISHED

The new government is in the hands of its friends. The Constitution had been ratified with difficulty; many hoped to see it prove a failure. The bitter contest for ratification had scarcely ended when an active campaign between the supporters and opponents of ratification was under way for control of Congress. But the friends of the new government triumphed. Eleven of the twenty-four senators of the first Congress had been members of the Philadelphia Convention and had supported the Constitution; nine of the fifty-five members of the House of Representatives had also been at the Philadelphia Convention. In all, forty-four members of the first Congress had taken a part in the framing of the Constitution or had served as members of ratifying conventions in the various states. Of this number only seven had opposed ratification. Washington, when President, was careful to select for executive positions those whom he knew to be supporters of the new government. It was fortunate that the new government was in the hands of its friends, and that reviving prosperity accompanied the inauguration and the first steps of the new nation.

The force of precedent. Washington was aware of the difficulty of his position as first President. He knew that whatever he did would tend to become established custom. The work of the first Congress and President, the official positions they created, the agencies they set up, the way they worked with each other have become essential parts of the American scheme of government. Yet many of these customs and habits are not even mentioned in the Constitution.

The question of titles and ceremony. One of the controversies which developed almost immediately was over the question of ceremony and titles. Some advised Washington to make the government impressive by introducing elaborate ceremonials, while others urged simplicity. Washington leaned toward those who favored ceremony and pomp. He used for all state occasions a canary-colored carriage, decorated with gilded nymphs, cupids, and his coat of arms and drawn by four, sometimes six, white horses. Outriders in livery accompanied the President, while gentlemen of his household in a post chaise added dignity to the group.

With the best intentions on his part, Washington was giving offense to some of those about him. To those who believed that simple manners and dress became a republic, the grand style seemed an imitation court, and, worst of all, an imitation of that of George III.

When members of Congress began to speak of the President as "His most gracious Highness, the President of the United States and Pro-

tector of their Liberties," and of his address as "His most gracious Speech," some protested the new republic was taking the "first rung of the ladder in the ascent to royalty." As a result the custom developed of referring to the chief executive as "Mr. President."

Much more important, however, than this dispute over titles and ceremony were the disputes over questions of internal organization, finance, and foreign affairs. The way in which these problems were settled has influenced American political practices and institutions.

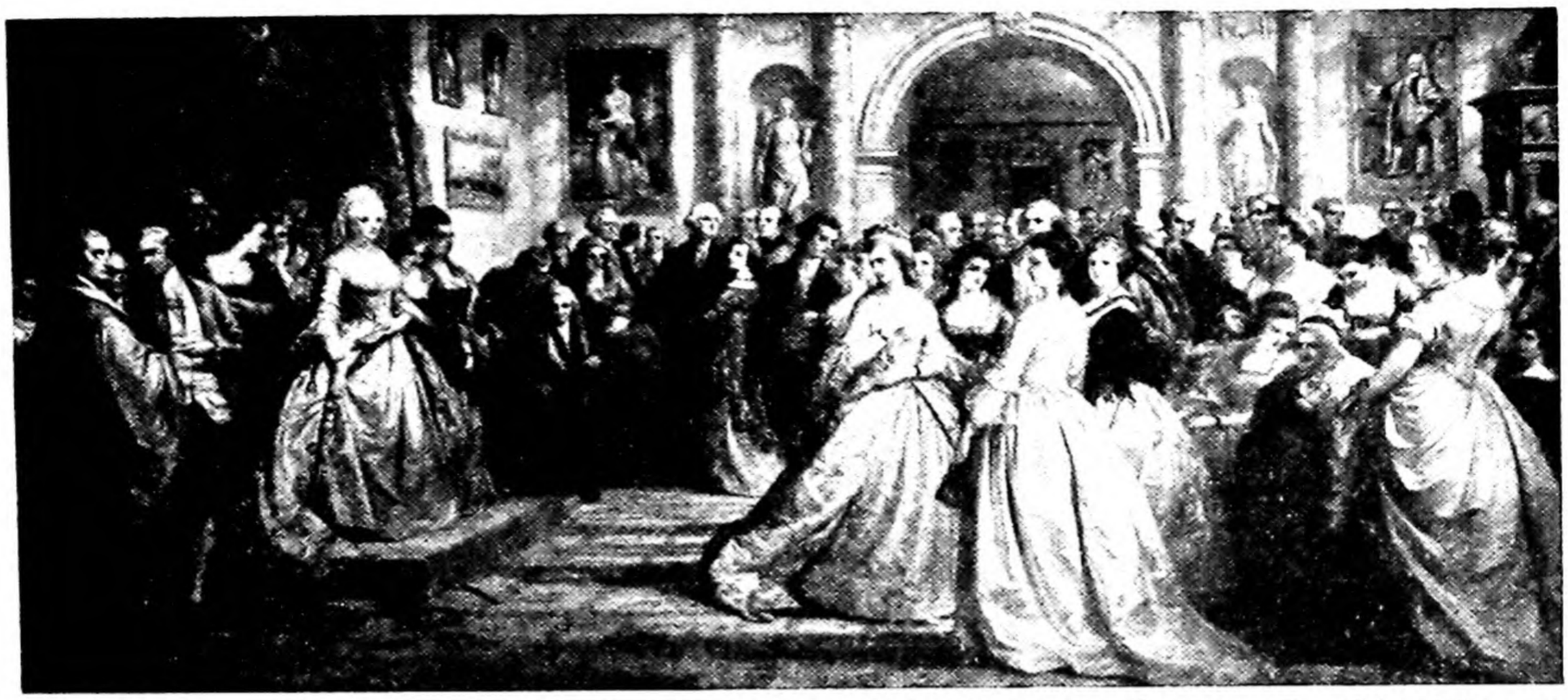
THE NEW GOVERNMENT BEGINS TO FUNCTION

The federal judiciary. The Constitution said that the judicial power was to be vested in "one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." (Article III.) This left to Congress the settlement of the details. The Judiciary Act of 1789 provided that the Supreme Court should consist of one chief justice and five associate justices, and that the inferior courts would be known as Circuit and District Courts. Washington appointed John Jay as the first chief justice.

The Cabinet. In defining the powers of the President, the Constitution stated that he may "require the opinion in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments." But it did not specify what executive departments should be set up or what their relation to the President and the legislature should be. The first Congress created the departments of State, Treasury, and War. General Henry Knox, who had been Secretary of War since 1785, kept his office under Washington. As events turned out, Washington's most important appointments were Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury and Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State. Congress also provided for the office of Attorney General, to which Edmund Randolph was appointed. In Knox, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Randolph we have the first American "Cabinet." Washington relied heavily upon these men for advice.

Congress resented Hamilton's efforts to appear before it in person to argue his various proposals, and ruled that the heads of departments were not entitled to the floor of Congress — a practice which has endured to this day. Thus the American cabinet system was prevented from developing in the direction taken by the English and other European cabinets.

Military establishment. Secretary of War Knox proposed a system of national defense based upon universal manhood training in annual encampments and conscription in time of war; but in 1792 Congress worked out its own plan of national defense. The organization of the militia was handed over to the states. This was a victory for those who wished to check the growth of national power.



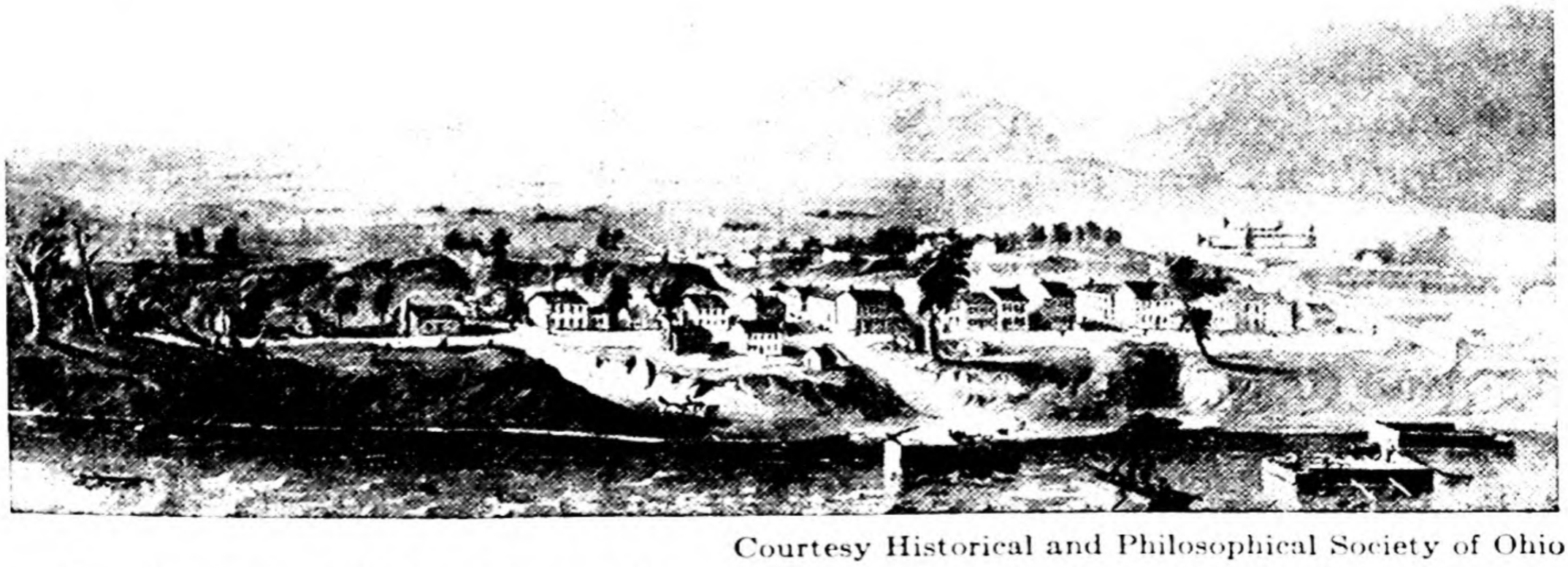
Painting by Daniel Huntington. Courtesy Brooklyn Museum

"Lady Washington's Reception," shows Martha Washington (on the platform at the left) at one of her brilliant and very formal parties.



Drawing by Baroness de Neuville. Courtesy Phelps Stokes Collection, New York Public Library

Stately residences lined Greenwich and Dey streets in New York in the first decade of the nineteenth century.



Courtesy Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio

Cincinnati in 1800 was just a cluster of houses, with a population of about 2500. Established in 1788, it was the capital of the Northwest Territory from 1790 to 1800.

State jealousy: the first eleven amendments. One important action of the first session of the first Congress was the submission of the first ten amendments — the so-called "Bill of Rights" — to the states for their approval (pages 102, 115). Even after these amendments had been passed, there was still one power of the central government which was greater than public sentiment would tolerate. One clause in the Constitution allowed citizens of another state or a foreign government to sue a state in the Supreme Court of the United States. (Article III, section 2.) After three or four such suits, the states insisted on adding the Eleventh Amendment to prevent them (1798).

The first tariff law, 1789. One great need of the new government was revenue. Congress immediately began to discuss ways and means of obtaining enough money to pay its expenses and to reduce the debt. With reasonable promptness, but with a difference of opinion, Congress passed the first tariff act (July, 1789). By this law taxes were levied upon a considerable number of goods entering the country. The revenue from the tariff, amounting to about twenty-two million dollars in the next five years, brought stability to the new government.

HAMILTON'S FINANCIAL PROGRAM STRENGTHENS THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Hamilton's background. Two months after the passage of this first tariff law, Alexander Hamilton began his brilliant career as the first Secretary of the Treasury. At the time, he was thirty-two years old. He had been born in the British West Indies and had early migrated to the United States. After being graduated from King's College (now Columbia University), he had served as Washington's secretary and aide during part of the Revolutionary War, and had later achieved distinction as a lawyer. He was instrumental in organizing the movement to revise the Articles of Confederation, was a member of the New York delegation to the Constitutional Convention, and had worked hard to secure ratification of the Constitution by New York. As the first Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton not only placed the credit of the new nation on a firm basis, but he was also the dominant figure in Washington's first administration, advocating theories of government which have influenced the whole course of American history.

Hamilton's debt proposals. Shortly after the second session of the first Congress convened in December, 1789, Hamilton submitted a lengthy and brilliant "Report on the Public Credit." In this report he advocated with remarkable skill (a) the payment of the foreign debt in full (the United States owed about $12,000,000 to the French, Dutch, and Spanish governments); (b) the payment of the domestic debt in full (Americans had bought $40,000,000 worth of bonds issued by the Second Continental and the Confederation congresses); and (c) the as-

sumption by the federal government of the unpaid debts of the states ($22,000,000). Since the federal government did not have the money to pay this debt, totaling $74,000,000, Hamilton proposed a policy known as "funding" the debt; that is, the old bonds and certificates should be called in at their face value and replaced by a new bond issue which would be a direct obligation of the new government.

Opposition to the payment of the domestic debt in full. To Hamilton's proposal to pay the foreign debt in full there was no objection. To his proposal to pay the domestic debt there was considerable opposition. The certificates representing this debt were being sold at about one fourth their face value, and since few were still in the hands of the original buyers, speculators appeared to be the ones most likely to benefit. Nevertheless, Hamilton succeeded in getting Congress to provide for the payment of both the domestic and foreign debt in full, amid charges from his opponents that the new government was being operated in the interests of the wealthy. Nearly half of the members of the House of Representatives who voted for the payment of the foreign and domestic debt in full were themselves security holders.

Hamilton's clever bargaining for assumption. Hamilton's proposal that the federal government should assume the state debts met with strong opposition. States which had not paid their debts were naturally glad to support his policy, while those who had paid off a large portion of their debt objected strenuously. His assumption program was defeated by two votes in the House, but Hamilton would not admit defeat and finally prevailed upon Jefferson to persuade a few congressmen to change their votes in return for Hamilton's promise to support the establishment of the new capital on the banks of the Potomac. Congressmen from Virginia, which had paid most of its debt by the sale of Western lands, had little desire to help other less fortunate states pay their debts through national taxes, but local pride made them desire to have the capital located on the Potomac. Many congressmen from other states were less concerned about the location of the capital than they were about assumption. So a bargain was effected — Congress decided to locate the national capital on the Potomac and to assume the debts of the states.

The political motives influencing Hamilton. Hamilton's opponents accused him of seeking to win over the moneyed interests to the support of the new government. He did not run from the charge. Hamilton regarded government as an instrument to advance the interests of men of wealth and position. He therefore used all his power to win the support of the influential groups to the new government.

The excise tax and the Whiskey Rebellion. To help pay the interest on the staggering national debt, Hamilton recommended an elaborate system of internal, or excise, taxes. Among other reasons for this proposal was Hamilton's desire that the people of the several states should

feel a direct responsibility to the federal government. There was strong opposition, however, to some of these taxes, particularly to the one on whiskey. The Western farmers regarded the whiskey tax as a tax on their grain. Several states protested against the law, and in western Pennsylvania opposition was so strong that for some time the federal tax collectors were unable to make much headway. This defiance of the federal government has come to be known as the "Whiskey Rebellion." It continued for two or three years. It was essentially a challenge to the authority of the national government. Hamilton finally (1794) persuaded Washington to summon the militia to overcome the insurgents. The suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion clearly demonstrated the power of the new government to enforce its laws.

The Bank of the United States. At the same time that Hamilton presented his proposal for the excise taxes, he also recommended the establishment of a national bank. It was the crowning achievement of the Hamiltonian financial program. In 1789 there were only three banks in the country, one each in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Hamilton had long felt that a bank chartered by the national government would help solve the currency and credit needs of the people. He prevailed upon Congress in 1791 to charter the Bank of the United States for a twenty-year period. The charter provided for a bank with a capital of $10,000,000, one fifth of which was to be subscribed by the national government. The remaining stock was to be in the hands of private individuals. (It was oversubscribed within a few hours after its stock was placed on the market.) Although the Bank was chartered by the government, which named some of the directors, it was not a government bank. Rather it was a private corporation, with profits passing to its stockholders and to the government as a minority stockholder.

The Bank was given a monopoly of the government's business; that is, it was to be the depository of government funds. This feature gave the Bank access to large funds which it could lend to commercial enterprises. The Bank was also given the privilege of issuing notes, which would pass as currency, a power which increased the funds available for lending. The Treasury Department had the right to inspect the accounts of the Bank and to demand weekly reports.

Hamilton's reasons for creating a bank. Hamilton's motives in fostering this organization were many. He was a firm believer in the necessity of a strong national government. Furthermore, he conceived of government as working chiefly through the activities of men of wealth and social position. He realized that the country's expanding business required a larger volume of currency. Inasmuch as the supply of gold and silver was inadequate, the Bank was extended the privilege of note issue. He argued that the notes of the Bank would circulate widely throughout the country at a uniform rate and would not be subject to great fluctuations in value.

Hamilton believed that it was of great importance to provide an agency which would insure a uniform and stable currency and handle the financial business of the nation. This agency should have the respect and confidence of responsible businessmen. It should take care of the transfer of cash and credit from one part of the country to the other by means of its various branches. He was building an institution which he felt certain would increase national solidarity, establish and safeguard the credit of the country, and provide safe opportunities for investment. The Bank would be able to finance new enterprises and, in general, by protecting and making more valuable the property of the substantial citizens, win their support of the national government.

The argument over the constitutionality of the Bank. The Bank of the United States was not chartered by Congress without a struggle. It was argued, among other things, that Congress had no power under the Constitution to charter a bank. On this point President Washington himself was in doubt, so he requested the members of the Cabinet to submit their opinions to him in writing. According to Jefferson, since the Constitution did not give Congress the power to charter a banking corporation, Congress could not do so. This is the doctrine of *strict construction*. It is also the cornerstone of the doctrine of states' rights. In reply to Jefferson's argument, Hamilton developed the doctrine of *loose construction*, or the theory of implied powers. He quoted the last clause of Article I, section 8, which reads that Congress shall have the power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." He argued that the chartering of a bank was a necessary and proper way of exercising the granted powers of borrowing money and regulating the currency, and contended that Congress had the right to exercise powers which could be "implied" or "derived" from the powers actually granted. Hamilton triumphed for the time being (pages 211, 247–248); for Washington decided to support him, and signed the bill.

Hamilton's attempts to make the country self-sufficient. In a famous "Report on Manufactures," Hamilton outlined a scheme for the all-round development of the United States. At the time, the nation depended upon Europe for almost all its manufactured goods. Hamilton urged America to become independent of Europe by manufacturing her own commodities. He said that the resources of the country were ample to make it a powerful, self-contained, and economically independent unit. He recommended a high protective tariff, giving nearly all the arguments that have since been used to justify that policy. He was not able to persuade Congress fully because of Jefferson's opposition.

Hamilton's influence. Hamilton's genius in organizing the nation's finances and his skill in extending the authority of the new government were important factors that helped it to success. His program assisted, if it did not cause, an astounding prosperity during Washington's first

administration; and prosperity is always a powerful factor in stifling criticism and winning popular support.

DIFFERING INTERESTS GIVE RISE TO POLITICAL PARTIES

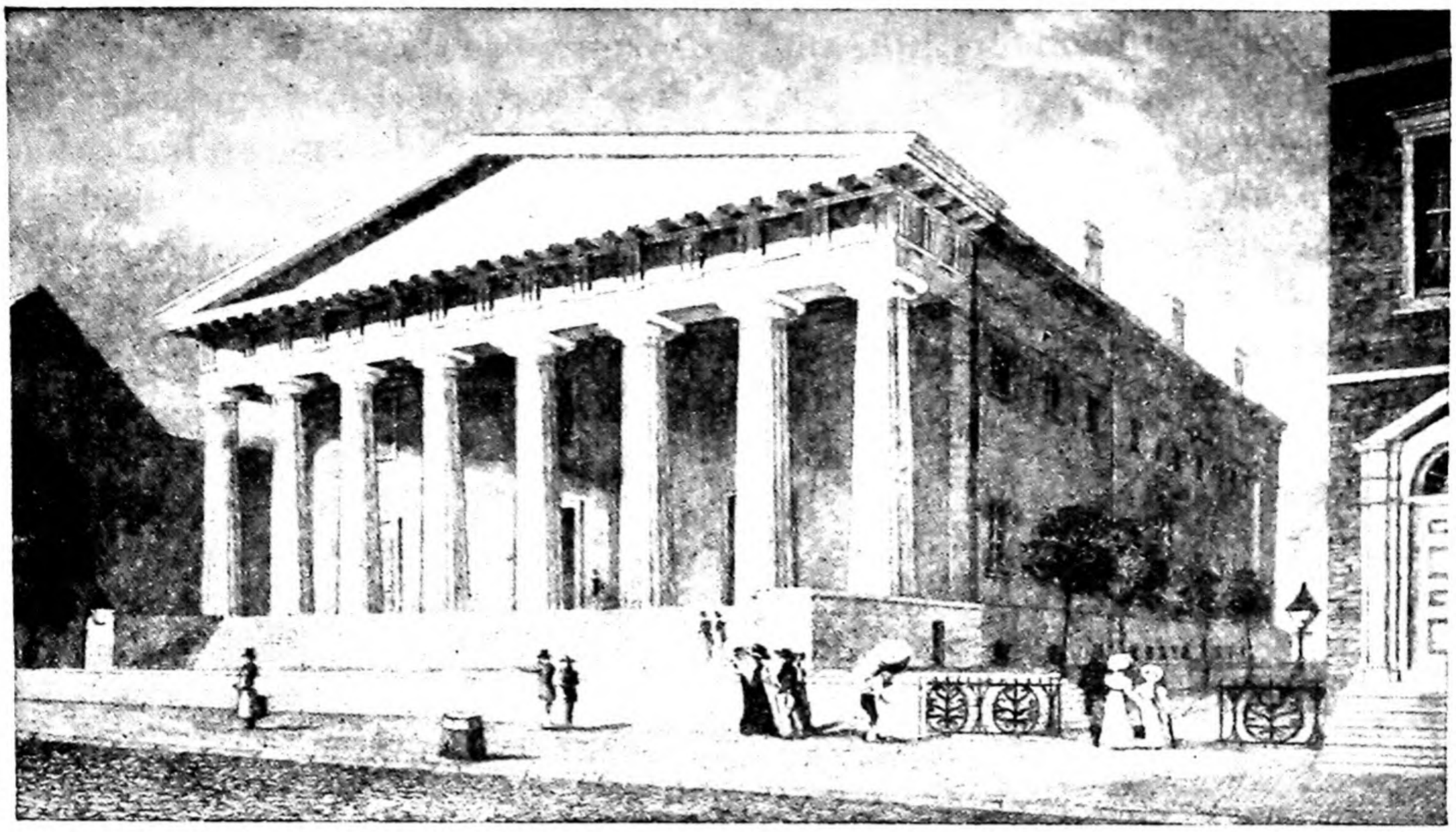
Early political differences. Although the first years of Washington's presidency were marked by strong differences of political opinion, there were no organized political parties such as we have today. People had, to be sure, already become accustomed to differing political factions. In later colonial days there were Whigs and Tories; during the Revolution there were patriots and loyalists; and during the struggle over ratification of the Constitution there were Federalists and Antifederalists.

Causes for political factions. New divisions developed during Washington's administration, and political parties came into being. 1. Differences of opinion about democracy. There was a well-founded belief that some leading members of the new government lacked confidence in a government by the people and preferred a government by the property owners. Some excesses of the people during the Revolution and Shays's Rebellion had aroused a distrust of democracy. Since the majority of the people were provincial and without education, it was difficult for Hamilton and Adams, or for the moneyed class in general, to accept literally the ideals of equality which the Declaration of Independence had proclaimed. Others in the federal government, like Jefferson and Madison, believed the people could govern themselves. Such opposing theories provided a fertile background for the rise of parties.

2. Opposing theories on the supremacy of the national government. In addition to this fundamental difference as to the nature of democracy, there still lingered the fear that the national government might become too powerful. In general those who distrusted a thoroughgoing democracy also found it desirable to support a strong national government. Alexander Hamilton became their leader; Jefferson became the champion of those who trusted democracy and sought to increase the power and prestige of the individual states.

3. Opposition to the policies of the new government. The fundamental difference of opinion which ran through Congress and the Cabinet became more pronounced with each decision made by the new government. The followers of Jefferson and Madison regarded the Federalists as aristocrats and monarchists at heart.

Why political parties are formed. Men group themselves into parties because they believe that their own interests will be served by the government's pursuit of a certain policy; they identify the best interests of the country with their own interests. To accomplish their purpose it becomes necessary to control the agencies of government; hence men organize political parties and campaign to put themselves in power. (Reread the quotation from *The Federalist*, page 104.)



Brown Brothers

The first Bank of the United States had its main office in this building in Philadelphia. The controversy over the chartering of the first Bank of the United States, 1791–1811, led to the development of the theory of implied powers in the interpretation of the Constitution.

For the Independent Journal.

The FŒDERALIST. No. I.

To the People of the State of New-York.

AFTER an unequivocal experience of the inefficacy of the subsisting Fœderal Government, you are called upon to deliberate on a new Constitution for the United States of America. The subject speaks its own importance; comprehending in its consequences, nothing less than the existence of the UNION, the safety and welfare of the parts of which it is composed, the fate of an empire, in many respects, the most interesting in the world. It has been frequently remarked, that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend, for their political constitutions, on accident and force. If there be any truth in the remark, the crisis, at which we are arrived, may with propriety be regarded as the æra in which that decision is to be made; and a wrong election of the part we shall act, may, in this view, deserve to be considered as the general misfortune of mankind.

This idea will add the inducements of philanthropy to those of patriotism to heighten the follicitude, which all considerate and good men must feel for the event. Happy will it be if our choice should be de-

☞ Last night arrived his Britannic Majesty's Packet the Antelope, Captain Curtis, in 46 days from Falmouth—but the letters could not be delivered early enough for us to afford our readers any intelligence respecting European occurrences in this day's paper. All we learn, in general, is, that matters have not arrived at the last extremities with the contending parties in Holland; some say they are likely to be compromized, and that peace will again resume her reign in those lately disunited Provinces.

In the packet came passenger, the Honorable Mr. COCHRANE.

☞ *His Britannic Majesty's Packet, Halifax, Captain Boulderson, will positively sail with the Mail for Falmouth, on Thursday the 9th of November.*

MR. HARDIE

RESPECTFULLY informs his Friends and the Public, that he has removed his School from No. 3, Broad-Street, to a large and commodious Room next door to the Methodist Church in John-Street—where he will continue to teach the GREEK and LATIN Languages. 8

Following the Constitutional Convention, New York newspapers printed articles urging the adoption of the Constitution (as above). As political parties developed, most newspapers supported one or the other party in political controversies. Some of them descended to the use of language and charges which modern newspapers usually avoid.

Hamilton, the spokesman of the propertied classes. In struggling against each other, Hamilton and Jefferson were the spokesmen of their respective groups. Hamilton, as we have seen, wished to promote the welfare of those with large business interests. Therefore he had advocated a strong national government, thinking that interstate restrictions on commerce and lack of uniformity in laws concerning currency, banking, and contracts weakened the commercial activities of the wealthy. Furthermore, he believed that unless this group were given adequate protection by national laws, the masses of the people, ignorant and easily swayed by passion, would use the agencies of government to tear down distinctions based on wealth and property. Therefore it was part of his political philosophy that the masters of the state should be those who had large and vital interests at stake (page 96).

Jefferson, the spokesman of the masses. Jefferson's philosophy was directly opposed. He believed that the government should be controlled by the mass of the people — small farmers, small businessmen, and laborers. This group was numerically stronger than Hamilton's; but it was disorganized, and it lacked both the education and power to take a very active part in politics. Since the economic interests of Jefferson's group were for the most part purely local, he became an ardent advocate of local self-government. He thought that there was little necessity for federal action save in matters of general defense. Therefore he became a champion of the theory of states' rights.

The controversy over "implied powers." The debate over the chartering of the Bank led Jefferson to oppose Hamilton's "loose" construction of the Constitution (pages 142–143). Those who looked to Jefferson or Hamilton for leadership may not have clearly understood the controversy between strict and loose construction, but they did perceive that their economic interests were somehow involved in the argument. Farmers and small businessmen believed that the moneyed interests were using the government to suit their own selfish purposes. Consequently the masses of the people welcomed the political argument that the propertied classes had no authority under the Constitution to do the things that they were doing.

This conflict between strict and loose construction, or between the nation and the states, is at bottom a conflict between the individual and his government, or between individualism and collectivism. If there is any governmental interference with the liberty of the individual, as is frequently necessary where men live together in society, the individualist protests that his rights are in danger, while the collectivist argues that it is necessary to safeguard the rights of the greater number. If the national government trespasses upon the rights of the states, the nationalists, or loose constructionists, will argue, as Hamilton did, that it is necessary and proper, while the advocates of state sovereignty will say that it is an unwarranted interference with the liberty and freedom of

the states. The same economic groups jump from one side of the fence to the other as it suits their immediate purpose. Neither the doctrine of strict construction nor loose construction has been the consistent policy of any one political party. This controversy runs throughout our history and is still present today.

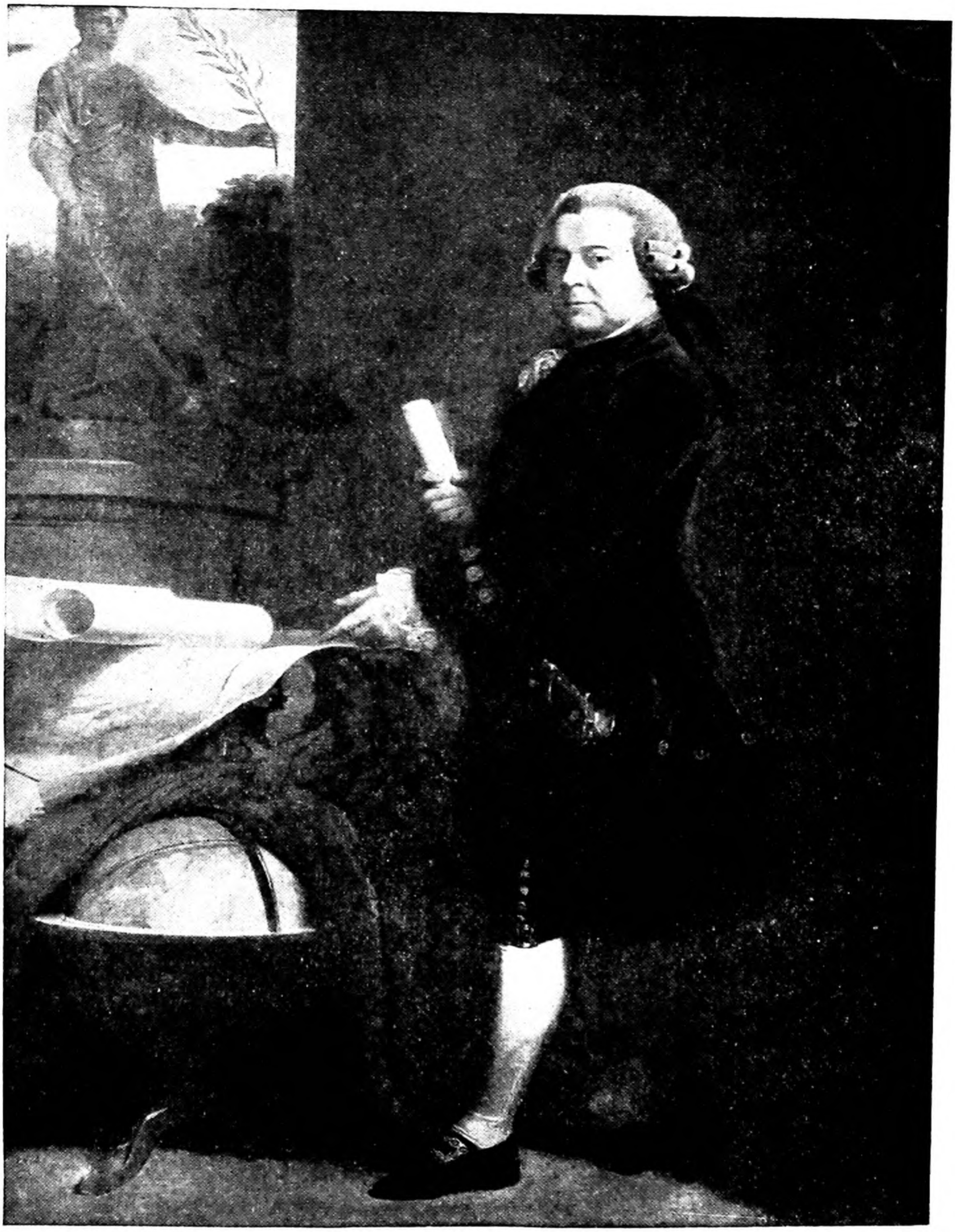
Federalists and Republicans. The followers of Hamilton called themselves Federalists and remained in control of the government until 1801. Jefferson and Madison, leaders of the party of opposition, were first known as Democratic-Republicans. But in a few years, because of the bad odor attached to the term "democratic" as a result of the excesses of the French Revolution, Jefferson's followers referred to themselves as Republicans. This first Republican party was the beginning of the present-day Democratic party. The present Republican party was not founded until just before the War between the States.

Washington found it increasingly difficult to carry on the administration with such bitter antagonists as Hamilton and Jefferson in his Cabinet. Jefferson was the first to resign (December, 1793), and in retirement he undertook the organization of a party of opposition. Hamilton left the Cabinet in 1794, but continued until his death ten years later to be the leader of his party. Before the end of Washington's second administration, the party system of government had been developed.

Party organization. When the third Congress met on December 2, 1793, the Republicans had a majority in the House of Representatives. Jefferson, now in retirement, set to work to create a party organization. Popular interest in public affairs made the work of organization easier. Soon all important cities had Republican groups, such as the Tammany Society in New York. These groups kept in touch with one another by correspondence committees. Resolutions adopted at their meetings denounced almost everything the Federalists did. Newspapers were established to give expression to the views of the rising party. Washington was bitterly assailed. He was scornfully referred to as the "Stepfather of his country." Stung by such attacks, Washington once exclaimed that he would rather be in his grave than in the presidency. Of course, the Federalist newspapers retaliated by attacking Jefferson and other Republican leaders.

At informal meetings of a few leaders in a town or county, or of the party members of a legislature, a list of candidates for office would be prepared. Such a meeting of party members was known as a *caucus.* The highly developed nominating systems with which we are familiar today — party conventions and direct primaries — were unknown.

The election of 1796. As the presidential election of 1796 approached, a caucus of leading Federalists in Congress nominated John Adams for the presidency and Thomas Pinckney for the vice-presidency. By a similar caucus the Republicans nominated Jefferson and Aaron



Painting by John Singleton Copley. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

John Adams (1735–1826) served as Vice-President under Washington. He was the second President, 1797–1801, and had as Vice-President his political rival, Jefferson. Political controversy and strained relations with France marked his presidency. Earlier in his career he was a member of the Continental congresses and represented the United States abroad, 1778–88. He lived to see his son, John Quincy Adams, become the sixth President.

Burr. The election which followed was so close that the Federalist Adams was chosen President, and the Republican Jefferson became Vice-President. This was brought about by the provision of the original Constitution that the man with the highest number of votes would become President and the man with the second largest number would become Vice-President. Thus we have in this case the unusual spectacle of a President and Vice-President belonging to different political parties. During Adams's administration (1797–1801) Vice-President Jefferson worked constantly to further the interests of the Republicans, and eventually secured his own election as President (pages 162–164).

Words and Phrases

assumption, caucus, doctrine of implied powers, domestic debt, Eleventh Amendment, excise, Federalist, funding, loose construction, note issue, party organization, Republicans, strict construction, Whiskey Rebellion

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. In what respects was the government of the new nation "undemocratic"?
2. What actions or procedures of the new government established precedents which have become features of our unwritten constitution?
3. How does the Eleventh Amendment affect the federal structure?
4. Why was there little objection to Hamilton's proposal to pay the foreign debt and considerable objection to his proposal to pay the domestic debt?
5. How would the assumption of the state debts by the national government tend to strengthen the national government?
6. Why did Jefferson refer to the members of Congress who supported Hamilton's program as a "corrupt squadron"?
7. Why was the Whiskey Rebellion a test of the new government? How would the government of the Confederation have solved the problem?
8. With regard to the first Bank of the United States, make clear and definite answers to the following questions: (a) Was the Bank a private corporation? (b) How did the deposit of government funds help the Bank and its stockholders? (c) What is a bank note? (d) Why is the note-issuing privilege important? (e) What control did the government have over the Bank?
9. What were the political motives back of Hamilton's economic program? Explain how the creation of the first Bank of the United States was in keeping with Hamilton's political ideals.
10. What were Hamilton's tariff theories? Reasons for your agreement or disagreement with them. Does it make any difference in your answer if you think of conditions as they were in 1789 or as they are now?
11. Contrast the fundamental differences in theory between Hamilton and Jefferson. On what specific issues did they differ?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Prepare a brief supporting or attacking the constitutionality of the first Bank of the United States. (Consult the arguments of Hamilton and Jefferson in Commager's *Documents*, Nos. 93 and 94.)

2. Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement with Hamilton's political theory that men of substance and property must be "won over to the support of the government."
3. Consult other books and prepare a special report on the question of ceremonials, the suppression of the "Whiskey Rebellion," and the "deal" concerning the location of the capital.
4. Would you have been a supporter of Hamilton or Jefferson? Why?
5. "The most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property." (Madison) Do you agree or disagree with this statement? To what extent was it a cause of difference of opinion about the Revolution, or the ratification of the Constitution? To what extent was it the cause of differences between Hamilton and Jefferson? To what extent does it affect political parties today?

Suggested Reading

LAUNCHING THE NEW GOVERNMENT: Bassett, *The Federalist System* (A.N.S.), pp. 3–26; Beard and Beard, I, 336–341; Hart, III, 255–282; Johnson, *Readings in American Constitutional History*, pp. 151–197; Ogg, *Builders of the Republic* (Pageant), Chap. VII.

HAMILTON'S FINANCIAL PROGRAM: Bassett, *The Federalist System* (A.N.S.), pp. 27–41, 101–116; Beard and Beard, I, 341–349; Carman, I, 365–374; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, pp. 75–117; Faulkner, pp. 158–163; Krout, J. A. and Fox, D. R., *The Completion of Independence* (A.L.S.), pp. 47–73; MacDonald, No. 55 – Hamilton's First Report on Public Credit; Commager, Nos. 93–94 – Hamilton and Jefferson on the Constitutionality of the United States Bank; Amherst Readings, *Hamilton and the National Debt*.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Disentangling the United States from Europe

FOREIGN PROBLEMS PERPLEX THE NEW NATION

The origin of our isolation policy. A characteristic feature of American foreign policy has been the attitude of unconcern toward other nations and their problems. This "policy of isolation" had its roots in Washington's administration and found its great expression in the Monroe Doctrine (1823). Washington firmly believed that the nation was too young, too unstable, too much in need of time to set its own house in order to become involved in European affairs. In the face of great difficulty he steered the nation clear of foreign entanglements and left a legacy in the form of a farewell address which is still quoted as proof that the United States should keep itself aloof from international politics.

Difficulties with England. When Washington was inaugurated, there was trouble with the English, the Indians, and the Spanish. The treaty of peace which concluded the Revolutionary War had declared that the state governments should not place any difficulties in the way of English creditors who used the state courts to collect debts owed them by American citizens. But English creditors found it practically impossible to collect their debts. The English government used that fact as an excuse for keeping garrisons along the frontier. The presence of the British garrisons on the frontier weakened the influence of the United States in the West. They interfered with our trade and settlement of that area. Furthermore, Americans had good reason to believe that England was maintaining the posts at the request of Canadian merchants who were carrying on a very profitable fur trade with the Indians south of the Great Lakes. To make matters worse, Congress provided only a small force of undisciplined troops for the defense of the entire West. Bands of Indians raided white settlements, and Americans claimed that England was urging the Indians to revolt.

Difficulties with Spain. Trouble with the English was not the only cause of discontent. The settlers occupying the land north and south of the Ohio wanted a market for their products. The Allegheny Mountains made it unprofitable to transport goods to the Atlantic seaboard. But another outlet was available. Products could be floated down the

Ohio and Mississippi on barges or flatboats to New Orleans. There the cargoes could be transferred to ocean-going vessels bound for the West Indies or for Europe. However, when the goods reached New Orleans, Spain imposed such heavy taxes that there were no profits.

Everywhere in the West leaders were beginning to talk of setting up a government of their own which would give them free use of the Mississippi, by force of arms if need be. The national government at Philadelphia seemed remote indeed to the Western settlers. Washington realized how urgent was the settlement of these difficulties. He was well aware of the danger that the West might leave the Union when he said, "The Western states . . . stand, as it were, upon a pivot. A touch of a feather would turn them either way."

The French Revolution. Difficulties with the Indians, the English, and the Spaniards in the West did not cause so much worry as the problems which developed out of the French Revolution.

Five days after Washington's inauguration, the *Estates-General* (or French National Assembly) met in Versailles, near Paris. It was hoped that the Assembly might rescue the country from bankruptcy and inaugurate a series of reforms. When the French people became convinced that the king and the privileged classes were opposed to genuine changes, they rose in revolt. Americans followed with special interest the course of events — the storming of the Bastille (July 14, 1789), the publication of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," the drafting of a national constitution, the proclamation of a republic (1792), the execution of the king, and the efforts to extend the revolution to neighboring lands. In 1793 the French Revolution turned into a general European war; England and France renewed their old struggle. The contest did not end until the defeat of Napoleon in 1815.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars exercised a profound influence on the new republic. 1. American sympathies. Thomas Jefferson had been in France at the beginning of the Revolution and shared the enthusiasm for many of the reforms that were under way. More conservative men, like Washington, watched the course of events in France with dismay. Nevertheless, a revival of republicanism swept America. Jacobin clubs, in imitation of the Paris club of republican enthusiasts, were organized in different places. The craze for all things French extended to the adoption of simpler dress for men; powdered wigs and velvet and silk were laid aside.

Throughout the country passions were aroused; when France and England went to war, some sympathized with France, others with England. In general, Hamilton and the Federalists favored England, whereas Jefferson and the Republicans supported France. Hamilton and his followers thought that the credit and financial stability of the new nation were closely identified with English success, because the revenue of the country depended on our trade with England. On the

other hand, Jefferson's party argued that France was merely trying to establish the American ideals of government, while an old enemy, England, was endeavoring to crush the principles of liberty and democracy. They argued that since France had so generously assisted us, we should now help her. They pointed to the English garrisons along the northern border as evidence of England's bad faith.

2. Citizen Edmond Genêt. In order to secure American help in the war against England, the French government in 1793 sent Citizen Edmond Genêt to this country. He was received everywhere, especially in the Middle states, with enthusiastic demonstrations. He soon began to think that the common people of America would influence the national government to assist France against England. Since he believed that the Treaty of Alliance of 1778 was still in force, he argued that France had the privilege of selling prizes of war and fitting out privateers in American ports. He did these things without the consent of the federal government. Approval by the government would have been a breach of neutrality, and might have led to war against England.

3. Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality. When Genêt landed at Charleston and began his activities, Washington summoned a conference of his cabinet. While all agreed that something should be done to keep the people from plunging the nation into war, there was some difference of opinion as to the policy the new nation should pursue. Jefferson sought a friendly understanding with France, Hamilton with Great Britain. Both saw the interests of America bound up with one or the other of the dominant powers of western Europe. Neither, however, wished his sympathy for England or France to draw the United States into the European conflict. Washington adopted a middle course. He received Citizen Genêt as the ambassador from France, remained silent concerning the Treaty of 1778, and issued a Proclamation of Neutrality, April 22, 1793. Avoiding the use of the word "neutral," Washington urged the United States to "adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial to the belligerent powers."

The Proclamation of Neutrality was Washington's method of keeping the United States out of "the labyrinth of European politics," and so gaining time for national development. The element of caution, so characteristic of every act of Washington, was no small part of the foreign policy that was taking shape. To Gouverneur Morris, minister to France, Washington said: "Nothing short of self-respect, and that justice which is essential to national character, ought to involve us in war; for sure I am, if this country is preserved in tranquillity twenty years longer, it may bid defiance in a just cause to any power whatever, such in time will be its population, wealth, and resources."

4. Reception of the neutrality policy. Washington's foreign policy was not popular with the American friends of either England or France. The commercial classes generally accepted it, for it really promoted

their opportunities for trade and profits. The majority of the people, however, seem to have been dissatisfied. Hamilton, as might be expected, took up the defense of Washington. In articles to the newspapers he denied that the cause of France was the cause of liberty. He was answered by Madison, who was urged to the attack on Hamilton and neutrality by Secretary of State Jefferson. Foreign policies, like financial policies, became an issue of party politics. In December, 1793, Jefferson resigned from the Cabinet, largely because he felt that Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury was meddling in the affairs which properly belonged to the Department of State.

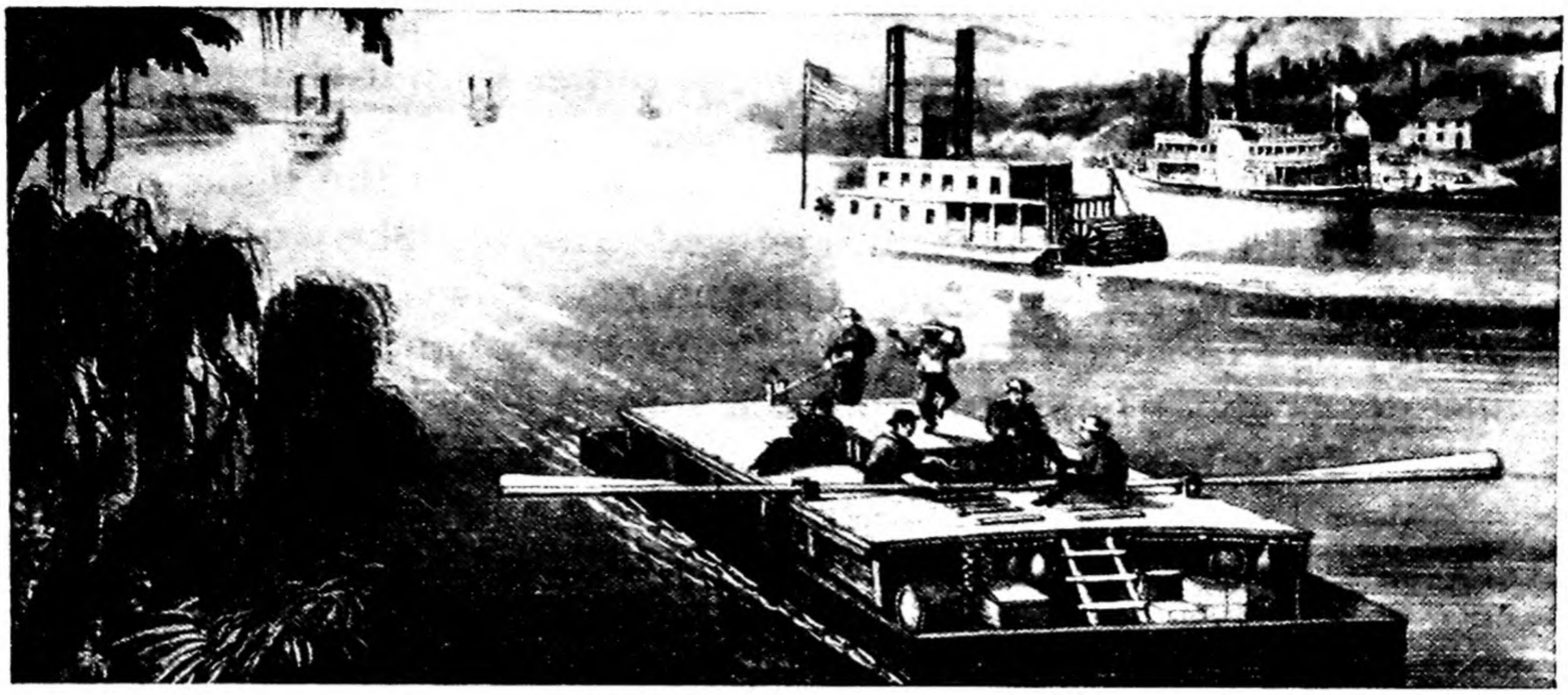
WASHINGTON SUCCEEDS IN "ISOLATING" THE UNITED STATES

Efforts to solve foreign problems. Whichever way it turned, the United States found its interests entangled with those of another nation. This was the case to the south, west, and north, where Indian, Spanish, and British interests seemed hopelessly entangled with ours.

The year 1794 seems to mark an epoch in American history. It was Hamilton's last year as Secretary of the Treasury and marked the climax of his influence in the Cabinet. Jefferson had withdrawn at the close of 1793, and the duel between the State Department and the Treasury had come to an end. The decks of the administration were cleared for united action. It was high time. British and Spanish authorities, by their control of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, had stifled all frontier trade from Vermont to Georgia. Indian raids were checking the westward movement of settlers. Washington carefully chose some new envoys. James Monroe, known for his sympathy with the French, was sent as ambassador to France. John Jay was sent as special envoy to England, and Thomas Pinckney was sent to Spain.

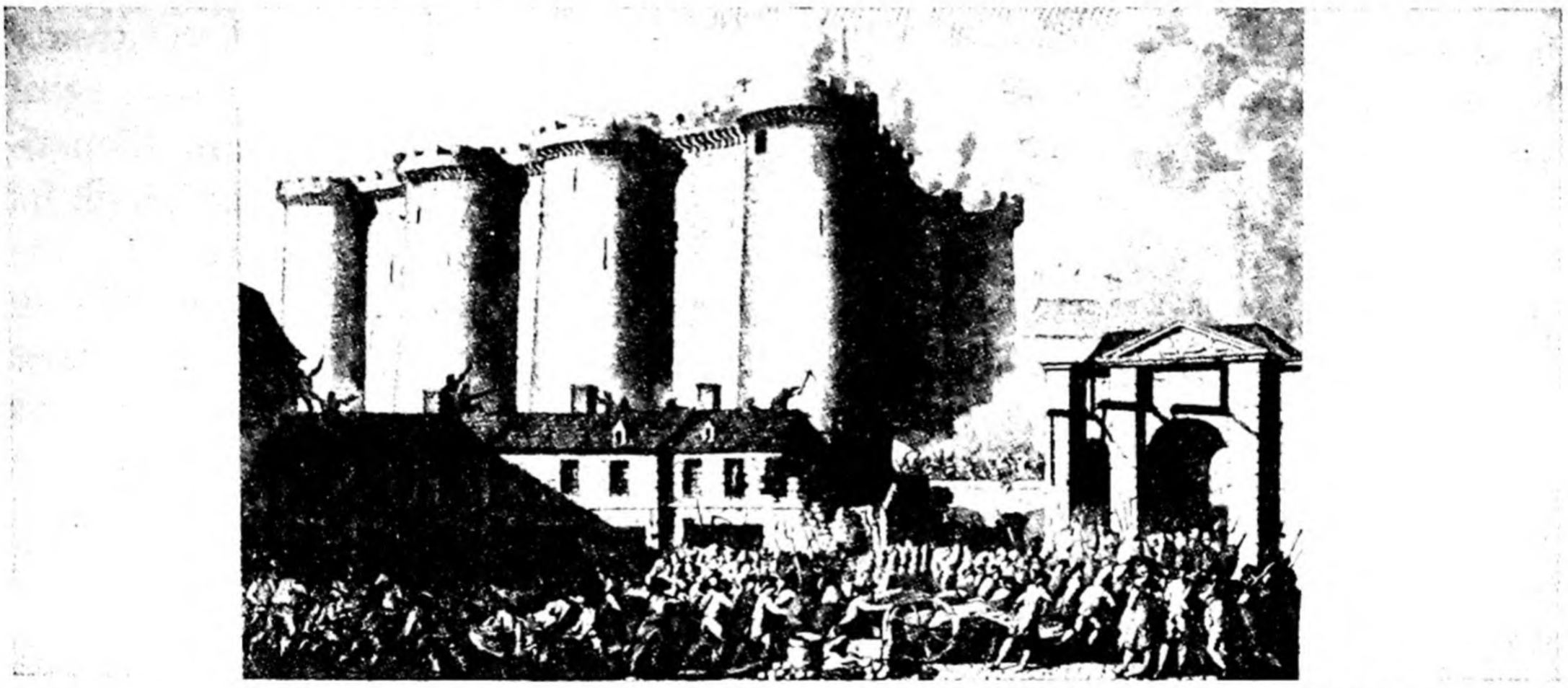
Jay's Treaty with England. Much was expected of Jay's mission to England, and he succeeded in negotiating a treaty which settled many difficulties. 1. Arbitration agreements. The treaty provided for the creation of a number of "mixed commissions" (that is, commissions composed of English and American citizens) to settle a number of important disputes. Thus, Jay's Treaty provided for the use of arbitration, an important contribution to the peaceful settlement of disputes. Commissions were set up to arbitrate questions involving (a) the boundary between Canada and the United States; (b) pre-Revolutionary debts owed to British citizens by Americans; and (c) damages due Americans whose ships were seized by the British during the war with France. England agreed to withdraw her soldiers from all frontier posts on United States soil.

2. Commercial privileges. Upon the subject of commercial relations the diplomats agreed upon equal trading privileges between the two countries. Both nations, however, reserved coastal trade as national



From lithograph *Bound down the River*, by Currier and Ives, 1870

Before the advent of the railroads, rivers were the great arteries of inland commerce. Flatboats such as this carried freight on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.



From *Collection Complète des Tableaux*, 1789

The storming of the Bastille, the Paris prison where political and other prisoners were kept, on July 14, 1789, marked the beginning of the great French Revolution.



Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

The Treaty of Fort Greenville, 1795, ended one of the troublesome problems of Washington's administration — warfare with the Indians in the Northwest.

monopolies, and the United States continued to charge foreign ships entering American ports higher tonnage duties than it charged American ships.

3. Unsatisfactory clauses. Upon the question of the rights of neutrals during the war, Great Britain refused to move. She would concede nothing which would weaken the advantages a powerful navy gave her. Thus Jay had to accept the British list of contraband, which included foodstuffs as goods liable to capture if sent to France. The treaty was silent on the subject of impressment, or the forcible seizure of American sailors for service on British ships. Jay also failed to secure for American ships full privileges of trading with the English West Indies.

4. Ratification by the Senate. When the details of Jay's Treaty became known, they provoked a storm of criticism in Congress and in the press. Public assemblies burned Jay in effigy. When Hamilton, who was largely responsible for Jay's mission and the instructions he received, attempted to speak in defense of the treaty, he was stoned. Washington was vehemently criticized. The Senate ratified the treaty by a bare two-thirds vote in June, 1795, only at the insistent urging of Washington. Even the House of Representatives, which by the Constitution has no part in the treaty-making process, attempted to block its adoption by refusing to appropriate the necessary money for the expenses of the commissions created by the treaty. In the end the House of Representatives appropriated the necessary funds with only three votes to spare. (Part of this opposition was partisan, and part of it was deliberately fomented by French agents, who felt that the treaty was hostile to the interests of France.) The treaty, unsatisfactory as it was, served the main purpose of avoiding war. Its unpopularity resulted from the fact that it did not contain all that was expected.

Pinckney's Treaty with Spain. Less was expected of Thomas Pinckney, the special envoy to Spain. He was fortunate enough, however, to obtain all that he had been sent to ask. In Pinckney's Treaty (1795), Spain (1) agreed to the claim of the United States that its southern boundary should be the thirty-first degree of latitude; (2) granted the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi; and (3) extended the right to land the goods of the Western farmers at New Orleans free of duty while awaiting ocean-going ships, a privilege commonly called "the right of deposit."

Pacification of the northwestern Indians. While diplomats were negotiating in Europe, an armed expedition under the direction of General Anthony Wayne, "Mad Anthony" of Revolutionary fame, crushed the Indians at Fallen Timbers in northwestern Ohio. After this battle the Indians, by the Treaty of Greenville (1795), ceded to the United States southern and eastern Ohio. The rest of the old Northwest was left to the Indians. Together with Jay's Treaty, this success marked the beginning of the ascendancy of the United States over the Indians

of the West. For the first time in a generation the inhabitants of the West enjoyed a rest from Indian warfare.

The treaties with the British, the Spanish, and the Indians were the first important achievements of the United States in diplomacy — steps by which Washington led the new republic to an important place in the family of nations. These treaties have their domestic as well as their international significance. They proved that the United States was looking after the interests of the West as well as those of the East, that the new nation was indeed becoming "Mississippi-minded."

Washington's "Farewell Address." Partly because of the criticism to which he had been subjected, and partly because he was weary of the cares of public office, Washington refused to be considered a candidate for a third term. Indeed, he was induced to accept a second term only on the urging of Jefferson and Hamilton, who had argued that his strength and popularity were necessary to enable the new government to endure. In September, 1796, as his second term was drawing to a close, he issued his famous "Farewell Address," one of the most remarkable and influential of presidential addresses.

He announced his decision not to succeed himself and endeavored to lay down certain policies which he thought should guide the new nation. Worried by the sectional and partisan strife that had arisen, he warned his countrymen against splitting the country on selfish issues. He pleaded with them to sustain the Union as an agency which benefited all sections. He urged the new nation to conserve its energies and not to concern itself with the interests of Europe. He said:

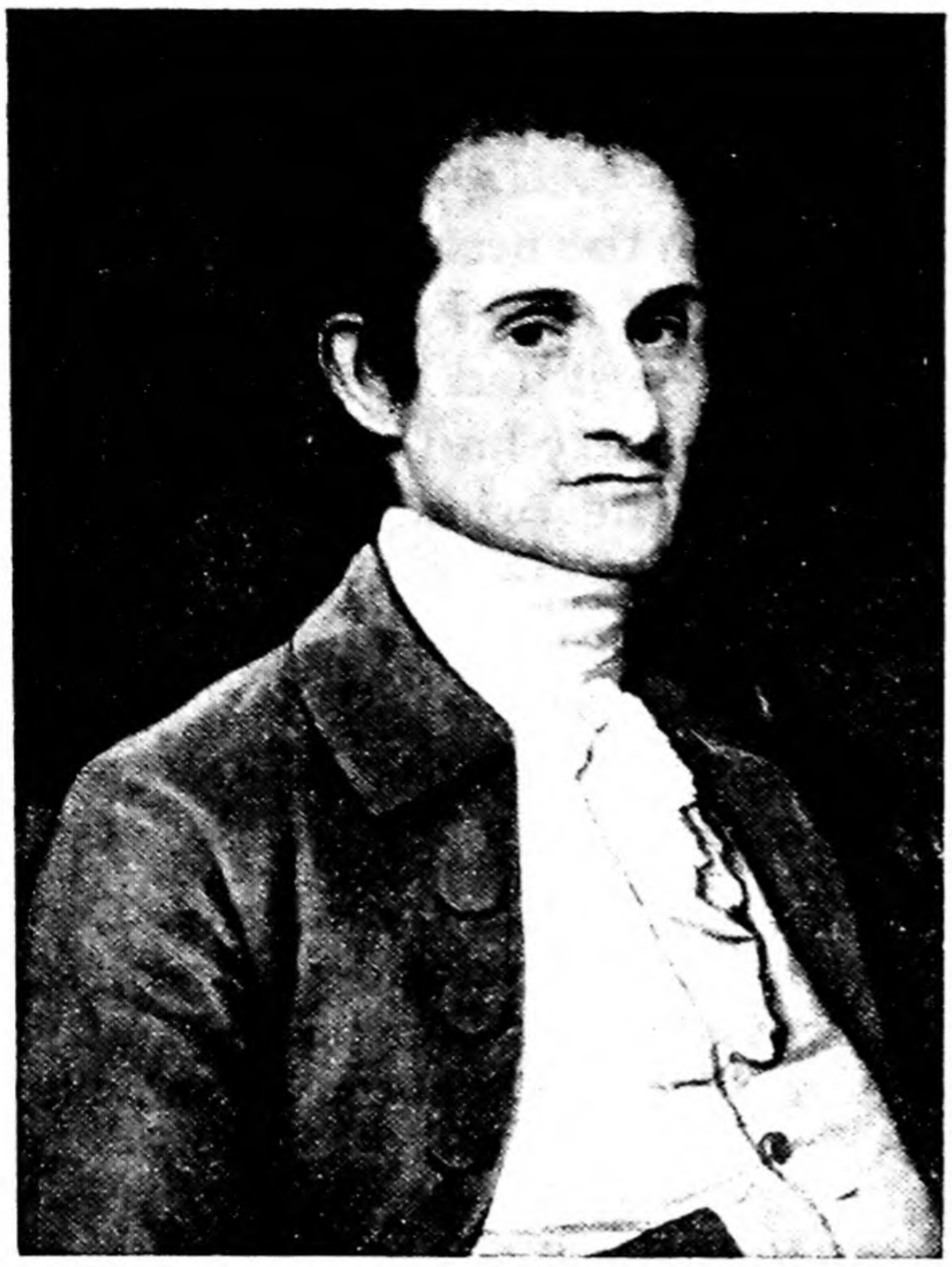
> Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence . . . the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. . . . The great rule of conduct for us, in foreign relations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. . . .
>
> Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.
>
> Our detached and distant situation invites us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance. . . .
>
> Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

Relations with France during the administration of John Adams. While Washington was smoothing out, temporarily at least, our difficulties with England, efforts to find a common ground of agreement with France failed. The French were particularly annoyed by the Jay Treaty. They thought that the clause in the treaty which allowed England to continue seizing food supplies bound for France was proof that England and the United States were about to form an alliance hostile to French interests. France permitted her ships to seize some American ships on the high seas. The French government adopted the policy of refusing to receive ministers sent by Washington. It was at this point that Adams succeeded Washington as President. To reconcile France to American neutrality was the almost superhuman task that fell to him.

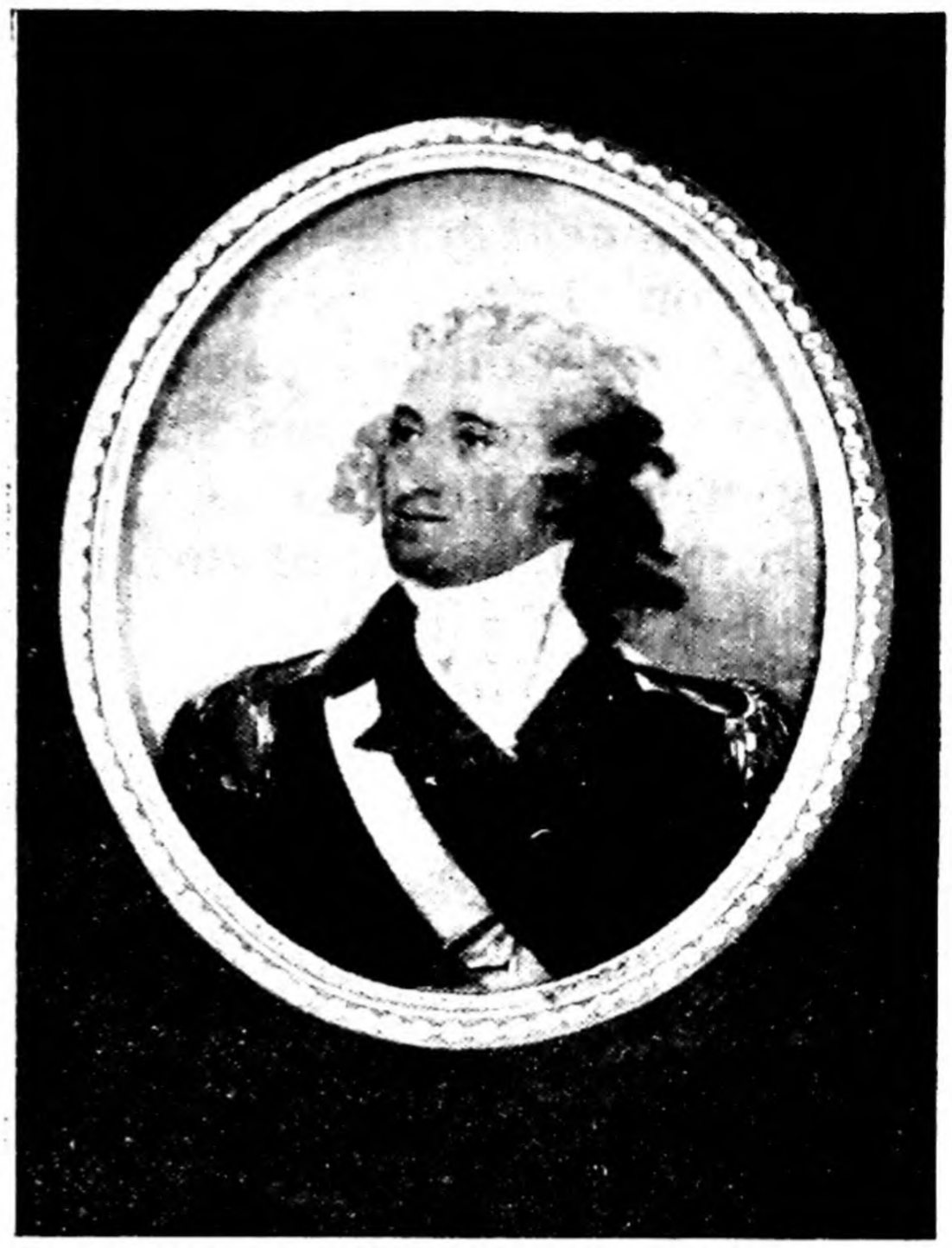
The XYZ Affair. When special envoys were sent to France, Talleyrand, the French secretary of foreign affairs, refused to receive them unless they agreed to advance a sum of money for the private pockets of the French government officials and to make a substantial loan to France. To every demand for money the American commissioners answered, "No, not a sixpence." C. C. Pinckney is reputed to have exclaimed, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" When further overtures seemed hopeless, the commissioners withdrew from France. In the dispatches from Paris the names of the French "go-betweens" were referred to as X, Y, and Z, and hence this episode in our diplomacy is known as the XYZ Affair.

The undeclared naval war with France, 1798. The story of the French insult, added to other grievances, had the effect of creating a wave of resentment toward France. Under Adams's lead, Congress began to prepare to use force to maintain what we considered to be American rights. A Department of the Navy was created. New ships were built, and both warships and merchant craft were authorized to attack French vessels that interfered with American commerce. For more than two years the American sailors gave a good account of themselves, capturing altogether eighty-five armed French vessels. Only one American vessel was lost in battle.

Rise of Napoleon; the temporary removal of friction. Presently Adams received word that France was in a repentant mood and willing to enter into honorable negotiations with the United States. Disregarding the advice of Hamilton's friends in the cabinet, Adams appointed commissioners to reopen matters with France. A few days after they set sail, Napoleon overthrew the French Directory and set himself up as dictator of France. The American commission on September 30, 1800, signed an agreement with Napoleon's government by which France and



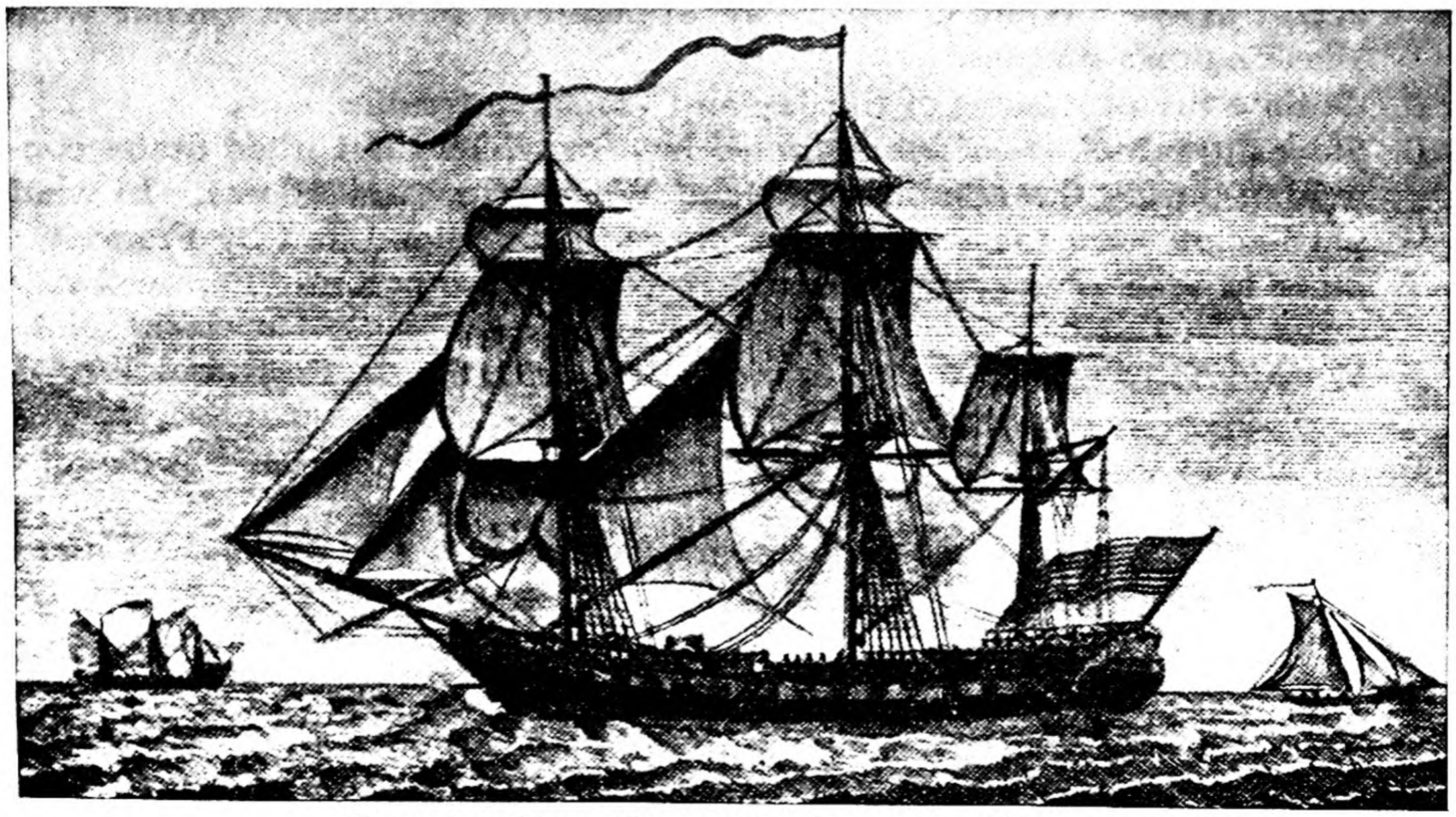
Painting by Joseph Wright. Courtesy New York Historical Society



Painting by John Trumbull. Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery

Left: John Jay (1745–1829), sent by Washington as a special envoy to England, served his country in many ways. He wrote five numbers of *The Federalist* and was the first chief justice of the Supreme Court.

Right: Thomas Pinckney (1750–1828), special commissioner to Spain, was supported for the vice-presidency in 1796 by Hamilton. Hamilton, who did not get along very well with the strong-willed Adams, hoped that the close contest between Adams and Jefferson might give him a chance to maneuver Pinckney into the presidency, but his plans miscarried.



Reproduced from *The Pageant of America.* Copyright Yale University Press

The frigate *United States* (shown above), the *Constitution,* and the *Constellation* were the first ships of the United States Navy under the Constitution. They were begun in 1794 and completed in time for the "naval war" with France.

the United States canceled the Treaty of Alliance of 1778. They promised to restore all public ships which had been captured and to treat each other's citizens fairly.

Achievement of the new republic. Thus, in the first few years of the new nation's history, peace with both England and France had been achieved under difficult circumstances. The West had been freed from the menace of Indians and Spaniards. The country had established the policy of neutrality and friendly relations. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes had been accepted by the United States and England. The credit of the United States had been soundly established, both at home and abroad.

Words and Phrases

arbitration, Battle of Fallen Timbers, Citizen Genêt, contraband, Declaration of the Rights of Man, French Revolution, impressment, isolation, Jay's Treaty, mixed commission, naval war with France, Pinckney's Treaty, Proclamation of Neutrality, reprisal, right of deposit, Treaty of Greenville, Washington's "Farewell Address," XYZ Affair

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. State the foreign problems which confronted Washington and indicate how he dealt with each of them.
2. Why was the West an important factor in determining the foreign policy of the new nation?
3. What is international law? Why were Genêt's actions considered contrary to international law?
4. Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality has been called a "courageous act." Why? What groups were opposed to neutrality? What were Washington's motives?
5. Outline the provisions of the Jay and Pinckney treaties.
6. State the principles of international law for which the United States contended during the administrations of Washington and Adams. In what particulars were these principles ignored by England and by France?
7. State in your own words the substance of Washington's "Farewell Address." (The full text is in Commager's *Documents*, No. 100. Note Washington's appeal to the interests of North, South, East, and West.)
8. Explain what is meant by the "third-term tradition."
9. What was the XYZ Affair? Is it correct to refer to the naval operations of 1798 as a war?
10. How did Napoleon's rise to power affect the relations between the United States and France?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. "Washington steered the new nation clear of foreign entanglements and left a legacy to the nation in the form of a farewell address which is still invoked as proof that the United States need not actively concern itself with world affairs." Do you think Washington's policy was a sound one?

Do you think the general outlines of his policy should be pursued today? Reasons.

2. **"The controversy over the Jay treaty was merely a phase of the conflict between the propertied business class and the small farmer and nonpropertied group; in short, between capitalism and agrarianism." Explain fully. State why you agree or disagree with this interpretation.**
3. **Argue for or against the proposition that a nation's foreign policies are determined by its dominant economic interests.**
4. **The problem of neutrality has been a serious one for the United States at several periods in its history (pages 182–186). Compare our attitude toward the right of neutrals in Washington's time, during World War I, and as reflected by the neutrality legislation before and during World War II.**
5. **Is the pursuit of the policy of isolation related to the existence of a "frontier"? Reasons.**

Suggested Reading

NEUTRALITY: Bailey, pp. 56–62; Bassett, *The Federalist System* (A.N.S.), pp. 84–100; Beard and Beard, I, 358–369; Bemis, pp. 85–99; Carman, I, 380–386; Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues* (Y.C.S.), pp. 115–146; Hart, III, 303–312; Commager, Nos. 96, 100 — Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality and Farewell Address.

THE JAY AND PINCKNEY TREATIES: Bailey, pp. 62–69; Bassett, *The Federalist System* (A.N.S.), pp. 117–135; Bemis, pp. 99–110; Carman, I, 386–388; Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues* (Y.C.S.), pp. 147–163; Hart, III, 315–319; Commager, Nos. 98, 99 — Jay and Pinckney Treaties.

DIFFICULTIES WITH FRANCE: Bailey, pp. 71–89; Bassett, *The Federalist System* (A.N.S.), pp. 218–251; Beard and Beard, I, 373–376; Bemis, pp. 111–125; Carman, I, 388–392; Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues* (Y.C.S.), pp. 195–226; Hart, III, 322–329.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Triumph of Jefferson

MISTAKES LEAD TO THE DOWNFALL OF THE FEDERALISTS

Adams's unhappy presidency. In the last two chapters we have noted some of the obstacles which John Adams encountered after he became President in 1797. He was barely elected against a very strong opposition party, which continued to obstruct his policies. His foremost political adversary, Thomas Jefferson, held the office of Vice-President. He was harassed by diplomatic troubles with France. In addition to all these handicaps, he lacked the united support of his own party. Hamilton exercised less influence over Adams than he had over Washington, for Adams was notably independent, even stubborn, at times. So Hamilton and Adams were frequently at odds, thus tending to split the Federalist party.

The Alien and Sedition Laws, 1798. While the Federalists were thus divided and uncertain in their leadership, they were frightened by the criticism directed against them by the Republicans. In 1798, during the near-war with France, they passed a series of laws which helped prepare the way for their own downfall. These laws are commonly known as the Alien and Sedition Laws. They were really four in number: (1) a Naturalization Act, lengthening the term of residence required for citizenship from five to fourteen years. This law, it was hoped, would make it impossible for the Republicans to increase their voting power with the new immigrants, who for the most part were sympathetic with Republican ideals. (2) An Alien Act empowered the President to deport any foreigner whom he considered dangerous to the peace. (3) An Alien Enemies Act, which never went into effect because it was to apply only to war conditions, empowered the President to deport subjects of any power with whom the United States might be at war. (4) The Sedition Act, the worst of the laws, was aimed directly at the critical Republicans. It provided for the punishment of "those who wrote, printed, or uttered any false, scandalous, and malicious statements against the government of the United States or either House of Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States." This law was a clear violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech and press. Ten Republican editors and printers were tried and convicted under the Sedition Act. Matthew Lyons of Vermont accused the President of "un-

bounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, and a selfish avarice." For his loose pen he paid a fine of $1000 and served four months in jail.

The Sedition Act was a law of an alarmed and leaderless Congress; its chief result was to alarm the country as to the insecurity of personal liberty under a Federalist government. Hamilton, as an anti-Adams Federalist, protested against the Sedition Act with the appeal: "Let us not establish tyranny. Energy is a very different thing from violence." The divided leadership of the Federalists was fast becoming a discredited leadership.

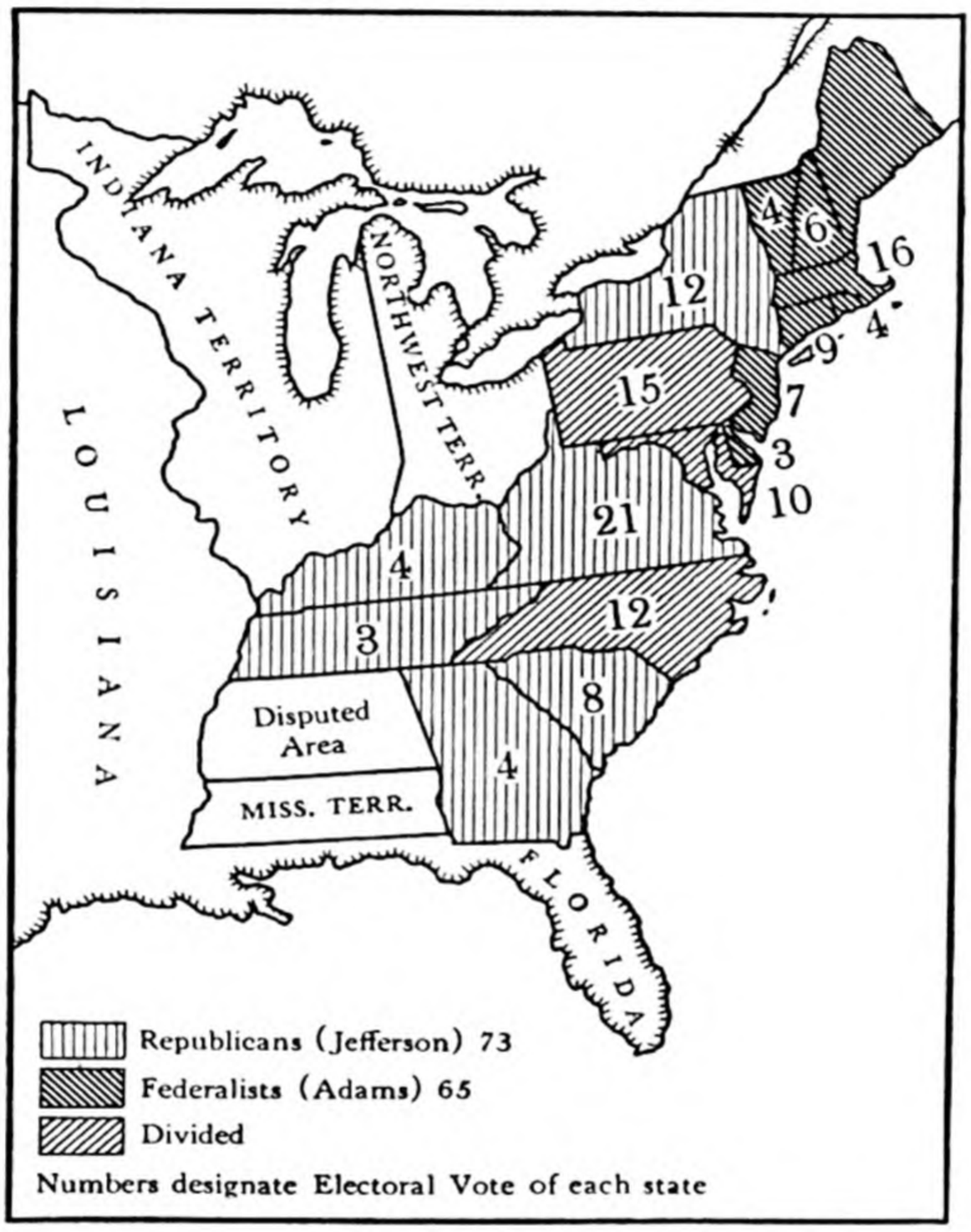
The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions. Jefferson saw his opportunity to make political use of the Federalist legislation. He prevailed upon the legislature of Kentucky to pass a series of resolutions condemning the Alien and Sedition Laws. Through the influence of his friend Madison, similar resolutions were adopted by the Virginia legislature. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions asserted that the Constitution was a compact, or treaty, between the several states, and that it was the right and duty of the state to object to the exercise of unconstitutional power by the nation. The Kentucky resolutions declared the laws to be void and of no effect. In 1799 these states passed a second set of resolutions stating "the rightful remedy for a state was nullification."

The Republican "sweep" in 1800. An immediate effect of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions was to arouse Republican fervor and to create hope for success in the campaign of 1800. 1. The issues. The issues in the campaign were those which had been developing for nearly ten years. (a) The Federalists championed loose construction and a strong national government. The Republicans advocated strict construction and strong state governments. (b) The Federalists sought to further the economic interests of the industrial, financial, and commercial classes, while the Republicans sought to develop the interests of the agricultural South and West. (c) In foreign affairs the Federalists leaned toward sympathy with England, and the Republicans toward sympathy with France. (d) The Federalists were conservative, distrusting the masses of the people; the Republicans were radical for their day, believing in liberty, equality, and democracy. In large measure the issues can be summed up by saying that in 1800 the contest was between the hard-headed, practical materialism of Hamilton and the practical idealism of Jefferson. These two men, Hamilton and Jefferson, properly stand forth as symbols of two opposing tendencies — variously referred to as capitalism and agrarianism, materialism and idealism, conservatism and radicalism — which have profoundly influenced the whole course of American history.

2. The candidates. The Republicans nominated Jefferson of Virginia and Burr of New York, thereby giving representation to different sections, a custom which politicians have since followed. Adams,

despite much Federalist opposition, succeeded in securing his party's nomination, while C. C. Pinckney was given second place on the ticket.

3. The House elects Jefferson. Although the Republicans had a majority in the Electoral College, it was not certain who would be President, for both Jefferson and Burr had the same number of votes, since each Republican elector cast two votes — one for each man. Because of this tie, it became the duty of the House of Representatives to choose the President. Since the election was by states, the outcome was uncertain, for the Republicans controlled eight of the state delegations, the Federalists six, while two were evenly divided. Some Federalists



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1800

boldly schemed to prevent Jefferson's election; a party caucus was held and they decided to throw their support to Burr. A deadlock ensued for thirty-five ballots. It was finally broken when Hamilton, who despised Burr and disagreed with Jefferson but respected his integrity, influenced his party followers to give their votes to Jefferson. On the thirty-sixth ballot some Federalists refrained from voting, the evenly divided states cast their ballots for Jefferson, and thus he was elected.

Adoption of the Twelfth Amendment. In the presidential election of 1796 a Federalist had been elected President and a Republican, Vice-President. Now in 1800 the electoral system had failed again. An amendment to the Constitution was needed, because the Constitution did not provide for the rise of political parties. The new Republican Congress proposed the Twelfth Amendment, which went into effect in

1804. By it electors were to cast separate ballots for President and Vice-President.

The Federalist "rush" for the judiciary. Before the Federalists surrendered control of the legislative and executive branches of the government, they entrenched themselves in the judicial branch. In February, 1801, Adams appointed his Secretary of State, John Marshall, to the chief-justiceship of the Supreme Court, where for a third of a century he expounded Federalist theories of government (pages 207–212).

By a new judiciary act the Federalists enlarged the number and membership of the Circuit and District courts. Adams was busy appointing judges to the newly created offices until the night before his retirement. The judges then appointed were for the most part defeated Federalist members of Congress and are often referred to as the "midnight judges." In the language of Randolph, the judiciary was turned into "a hospital for decayed politicians."

The accomplishments of the Federalist party, 1789–1801. The Federalists in their twelve years of power (George Washington, 1789–97, John Adams, 1797–1801) had served the country well. They had organized the new government, created a judicial system, established the credit of the country at home and abroad, suppressed domestic insurrections, placated the West, fostered commerce and industry, and maintained peace with England, France, and Spain.

Causes for the downfall of Federalism. The Federalists' weakness consisted chiefly in their inability to keep step with the leveling influence of the times. The pioneer West was democratic, standing for the Jeffersonian idea of equality and popular government. Fisher Ames, one of the chief publicists for the Federalists, declared: "Our country is too big for union, too sordid for patriotism, too democratic for liberty." Apart from their misgivings as to the value of democracy, the chief causes of the Federalist failure were internal dissension, especially the quarrel between Adams and Hamilton, and the futile Alien and Sedition Laws. Their inability to regain control of the government was due fundamentally to the fact that Jefferson and the Republicans did not tear down the structure that the Federalists had built up. Indeed, it is a great tribute to Federalist statesmanship that, when their bitter critics achieved power, they continued so large a number of Federalist policies and practices.

Republican principles. Nevertheless, it is possible to speak of the election of 1800 as a "revolution," for a thoroughgoing democrat was in power. The democratic doctrine, which placed full confidence in the judgment of the people, supplanted the aristocratic theory that the people were incompetent.

The Republican party was dedicated to the principles of the Revolution — equality, personal liberty, and popular government. Neither Shays's Rebellion nor the French Revolution had shaken the faith of

its leaders in those ideals. Both parties were supporters of the federal plan of government. The Federalists, however, were convinced that the way to promote the general welfare was through enlarging the powers of the central government; the Republicans, in contrast, felt that human liberty and prosperity would be best served by restricting the powers of the central government. Jefferson said:

> Let the general government be reduced to foreign concerns only, and let our affairs be disentangled from those of all other nations, except as to commerce, which the merchants will manage for themselves, and our general government may be reduced to a very simple organization and a very inexpensive one — a few plain duties to be performed by a few servants.

THE "REVOLUTION OF 1800" SIGNIFIES DEMOCRACY'S TRIUMPH OVER CONSERVATISM

The new capital. The new capital had been moved from Philadelphia to Washington in June, 1800. Jefferson was the first President to be inaugurated at Washington. At the time the new national capital was hardly more than a village, with only thirty-two hundred inhabitants. Only one wing of the capital building was ready for use. The White House was unfinished, partly unplastered, and the principal staircase was not even begun. The streets were rough roads through swamps and underbrush, which covered most of the site of the future city. A few stone chips from some of the public buildings, thrown into the worst mudholes, were the only signs of sidewalks.

Jefferson's simplicity. Conditions in the new capital fitted into Jefferson's desire that the forms and customs of government be of the simplest kind, befitting a republic. There would be none of the city ways and the Old World customs which had been dear to the Federalists while the government was in New York and Philadelphia. His official guests were all perfectly equal, whatever the name or power of the country they represented. At dinner parties or receptions Jefferson tried the experiment of letting his guests sit where they chose. One ambassador called this the "rule of pell-mell," which might leave the wife of the British minister in the drawing room without an escort, or the Spanish minister far from a place of honor by the President.

The White House during Jefferson's occupancy was as open to visitors as a Virginia planter's mansion. His hospitality was elaborate and his table was always bountifully supplied. Two or three times a week Jefferson went to the market to purchase supplies for his own table.

At the time of his inauguration Jefferson was fifty-eight years old. His contemporaries have described him as "tall in stature and rather spare in flesh. His dress and manners are very plain; he is grave, or rather sedate, but without tincture of pomp, ostentation, or pride. His



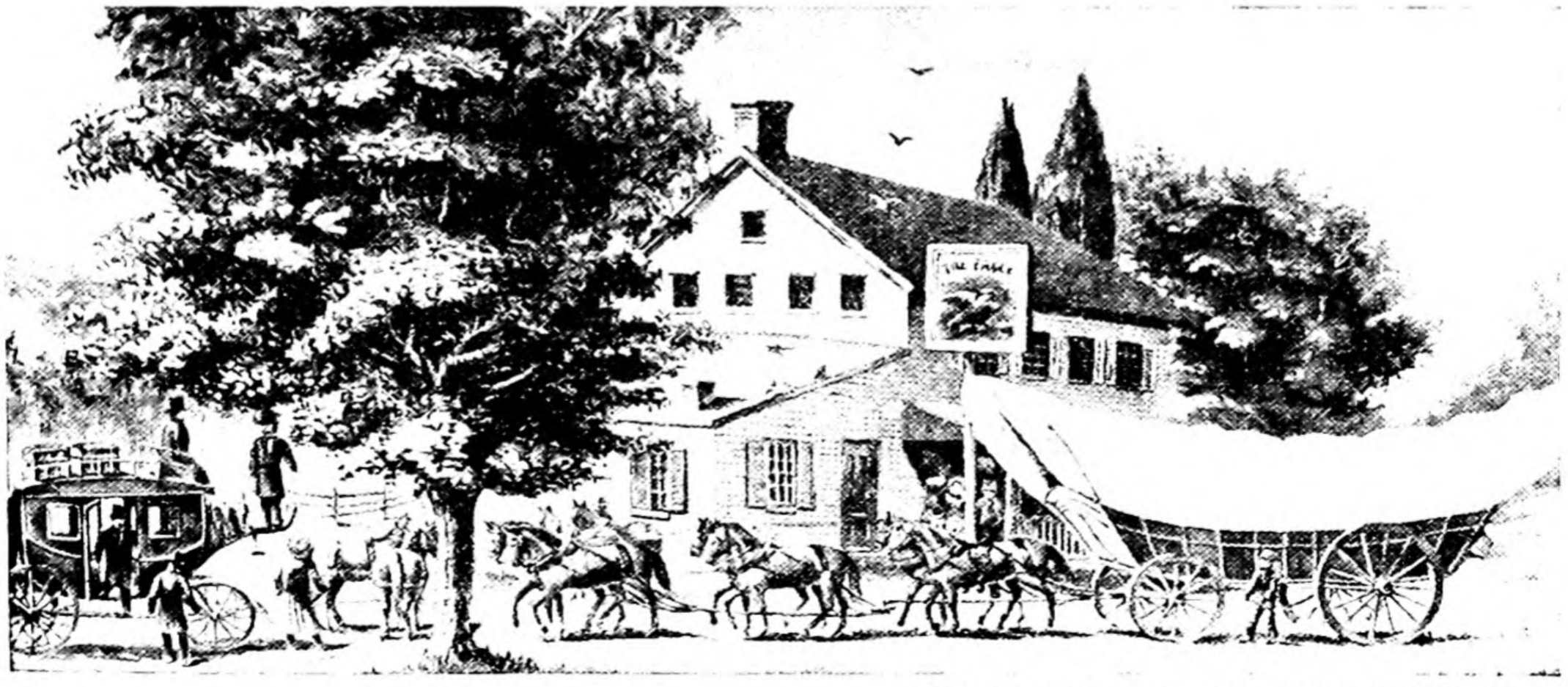
Sketch by N. King. Courtesy Library of Congress

The White House in 1799 is shown at the right in this picture. The seat of government was moved from Philadelphia to Washington, D.C., in 1800.



From *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, December, 1885–May, 1886.

This toll gate on the Harrodsburg Pike is characteristic of the era when roads were built by private corporations. The toll rates were usually set by the company.



Photograph from U.S. National Museum

The picturesque Conestoga wagons, so named after a small stream in southeastern Pennsylvania, were first used in hauling freight over the roads of that state.

face has a sunny aspect." Since Jefferson was not a good public orator, he sent his messages to Congress instead of reading them in person. The custom of Presidents appearing before Congress to read their annual message was not revived until Wilson returned to it in 1913.

Jefferson, like Franklin, was "many-sided." Jefferson practiced law after graduating from William and Mary College and managed his father's plantation in western Virginia. He was a member of the Second Continental Congress, drafted the Declaration of Independence, and served for several years in the Virginia legislature. He was governor of his native state and was for a short time a member of the Congress of the Confederation, where he suggested the decimal system of coinage and an ordinance for the Northwest Territory. He was ambassador to France, 1784 to 1789, Washington's Secretary of State from 1790 to 1793, and Vice-President, 1797 to 1801. As a gentleman-farmer of the upcountry, Jefferson hated city life, and extolled the virtues of farming. "Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty and interest by the most lasting bonds."

His later life. After his presidency Jefferson lived in retirement at Monticello, busy with his estate, his many intellectual pursuits, the writing of letters, and advising his successors in the presidency. He was for many years president of the American Philosophical Society, the most important organization of the time in the promotion of science. He was the founder of the University of Virginia. He carried on an extensive correspondence with learned men in Europe regarding scientific matters. Whatever information he could obtain regarding inventions of value to farmers in the raising of crops or in caring for livestock, he passed on in laboriously written letters to agricultural societies or to those who he knew would make use of the knowledge.

Jefferson's political philosophy. Jefferson was America's great champion of liberty, freedom, and democracy. He left to America a great heritage. He was author of the statute for religious freedom in the state of Virginia. There are many famous quotations from his writings, but probably none sums up his philosophy better than the words he wrote at the time the University of Virginia was founded. The university, he said, was based "on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow the truth wheresoever it may lead or to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it."

His first inaugural address. The Republican policies that Jefferson intended to pursue as President are stated in his first inaugural:

> Equal and exact justice to all men; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense that labor

> may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion, freedom of press, and freedom of the person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected.

In an appeal to all to forget the enmities of the preceding years he declared: "We have called by different names brethren of the same principles. We are all Republicans! We are all Federalists!"

Gallatin, an economical Secretary of the Treasury. To allay Federalist fears, Jefferson selected as many Northerners as Southerners for his Cabinet. He picked a fellow Virginian, Madison, for the position of Secretary of State. Probably his most important appointment was that of Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania as Secretary of the Treasury. The thrifty Gallatin was born in Switzerland and had become naturalized. He rivals Hamilton as one of the ablest Secretaries of the Treasury in our entire history. The Republicans had promised to repeal the unpopular excise taxes and to bring about economy in national expenditures. The excise tax on whiskey was promptly repealed. This action cost the government a million dollars a year in revenue, but it also reduced the number of federal tax officials. President Adams, after making peace with France in 1800, had already taken steps to reduce the size of the Army and Navy. Jefferson carried out these measures. He planned to build a dock where the Navy could be "laid up dry and under cover from the sun," so that its costs might be reduced to the lowest figure. Under the activities of the Federalists the national debt had grown from $76,000,000 to $80,000,000. Secretary Gallatin adjusted the expenditures and receipts so that there was a balance left for the reduction of the national debt. Gallatin reduced the debt to $52,500,000 in eight years, in spite of the financial burden imposed by the purchase of Louisiana.

Moderate policies of the Republicans. The Federalists, in their last moments of power, had increased the number of judges by passing the Judiciary Act of 1801. Jefferson resented the Federalists' "death clutch on the patronage" and ordered that those officials who had not actually been handed their commissions before Adams's term expired should not be appointed to office. He prevailed upon Congress to repeal the Judiciary Act of 1801 and other Federalist acts. Federalists holding office in the federal service were not discharged, although Jefferson complained that they neither died nor resigned. The Republicans did, however, start impeachment proceedings against several Federalist judges. The most famous impeachment trial was that of Justice Samuel Chase, who had been particularly harsh toward Republicans when they came before him for violating the Sedition Act. Chase was acquitted in his trial before the Senate, for he had not been guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Most Federalist policies went on as under Washington and Adams. By making only a few changes in officeholders and in policies Jefferson hoped to reconcile to Republican rule the Federalist voters of the Northern states. But circumstances soon led Jefferson into policies to which he had objected when they were advocated by the Federalists.

NEW PROBLEMS CHANGE THE REPUBLICAN POLICIES

The Tripolitan "War." Jefferson's counsel about a small navy had scarcely been read when the people learned that they were at war with the Barbary States of North Africa. The rulers of the Barbary States seized ships entering the Mediterranean and demanded ransom payments. European countries had been in the habit of paying tribute, and since 1790 the United States had distributed about two million dollars in "presents." The United States decided to put an end to this piracy, and for more than four years the little Navy of the United States struggled bravely with the difficult problem of war in distant seas. It learned many lessons of naval warfare, and a group of young naval officers acquired valuable practical experience. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, one of the heroes of this struggle, achieved fame for his daring exploits in the harbor of Tripoli. In January, 1805, the Barbary war came to an end with the assurance that American merchant ships could sail unmolested in the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, the Republicans looked upon the Navy with more favor and even increased its strength.

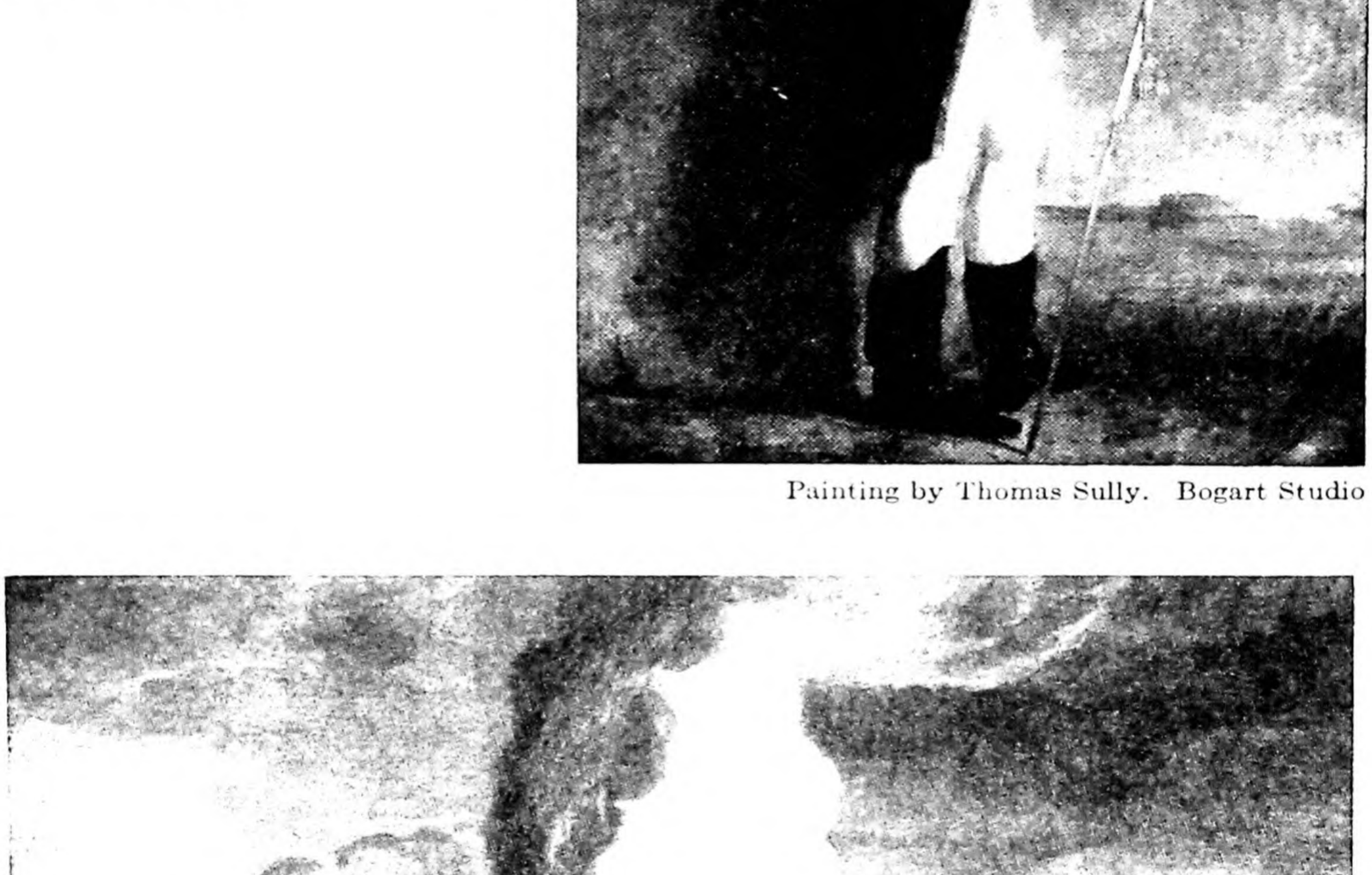
The problem of internal improvements. The population west of the Appalachian Mountains had increased from 100,000 in 1790 to 400,000 in 1801. The rapid settlement of the new West led Jefferson to reconsider another of his early ideas. The people of Tennessee and Kentucky, which were already states, and of Ohio, which wanted to become one, could not raise enough by taxes to meet the many needs of a new area, such as roads, bridges, public buildings, schools. The settlers, therefore, looked to the national government for help. In the older states private companies were being chartered and were being given rights of way on liberal terms, as well as the right to charge tolls for the use of the roads or turnpikes they constructed. The state governments aided the companies with grants from the proceeds of the sale of the state lands, or authorized lotteries to raise money, or made the privileges of the companies look so attractive that men with money were eager to lend the necessary capital. By 1811 New York, for example, had chartered 137 turnpike companies.

The Ohio Compact and the Cumberland Road. It seemed clear that private companies would not be willing to build roads for the newer and as yet sparsely inhabited communities of the West. Jefferson therefore thought that the federal government should assist the states west of the Alleghenies. Gallatin agreed, especially because he realized improve-

Stephen Decatur (1779–1820), one of the naval heroes of the war with the Barbary pirates, is also famous for his statement: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!"



Painting by Thomas Sully. Bogart Studio



Courtesy Peabody Museum of Salem

One of the famous exploits of Stephen Decatur was the burning of the frigate *Philadelphia*, an American ship which had been captured by the Barbary pirates, to prevent her use by the enemy.

ments would push forward the sale of the public lands and bring increased revenue to the government. The federal government agreed to set aside one twentieth of the income from the land sales within Ohio as a special fund for the construction of roads, and to connect the Ohio River with the eastern rivers which flowed toward the Atlantic seaboard. A committee of Congress recommended the construction of a road to extend from Cumberland on the Potomac to Wheeling on the Ohio. In 1806 Congress appropriated $30,000, but the work of construction was not started until 1811. Ultimately this National Road (also called the Cumberland Road) was extended from Wheeling across Ohio and Indiana to Vandalia in Illinois (1838). In thus recommending and encouraging internal improvements, the Republicans were adopting the Federalist policy of loose construction. But these roads suited the economic needs of the agricultural classes whom the party was serving — another illustration of how economic interests have a way of making light of constitutional scruples.

Westward migration. The admission of Ohio into the Union (1803) and the road projects of the federal government increased the great migration to the West. The population of the trans-Allegheny country grew by leaps and bounds. The population of Ohio in 1803 was not much more than 50,000, but by the next census, 1810, it had grown to 230,000. Kentucky, with 220,000 people in 1800, had 406,000 in 1810, and the population of Tennessee increased from 105,000 to 260,000 in the same ten-year period. Land companies spread pamphlets describing the value of their lands. So great was the rush of westward-bound settlers that the landowners of the East raised a protest against the "plots to drain the East of its best blood." The lure of the West overcame every effort to stop the migration. It did not stop even at the Mississippi River, but went on beyond the territorial limits of the United States into what was then Spanish territory.

THE PURCHASE OF THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY DETERMINES THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

The importance of free navigation of the Mississippi to Western settlers. The treaty with Spain granting the free navigation of the Mississippi and the privilege of deposit at New Orleans opened Spanish Louisiana to American settlers. "The Mississippi is to them everything," said Madison. "It is the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, and all the navigable rivers of the Atlantic formed into one stream." Two thirds of the commerce that passed through New Orleans was in American hands. By 1800 Americans formed the majority of the inhabitants along the east side of the Mississippi above New Orleans. They formed the majority in the settlements beyond the Mississippi in upper Louisiana near the mouth of the Missouri River.

Napoleon's acquisition of Louisiana. Spanish officials at New Orleans, alarmed by the flood of American traders and planters, discouraged their invasion by all kinds of restrictions. On October 16, 1802, the Spanish government of New Orleans sought to stop it altogether by suspending the privilege of deposit which the Western people enjoyed under Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 (page 156). Two years earlier, in October, 1800, Napoleon had persuaded the king of Spain secretly to cede Louisiana to France, promising never to deed the territory to another power. Napoleon, who then looked forward to peace in Europe, seems to have been planning to set up new colonies in the ancient French colony of Louisiana. But a war with the natives in Santo Domingo and the threatening war clouds in Europe caused him to reconsider his colonial schemes. Would it not be wise to sell Louisiana while he could? Would not Great Britain seize it if war came? Were not American settlers taking it, anyway? Whence, if not from the sale of Louisiana, would money come for the urgent needs of France? There was but one answer for Napoleon. That he had no power to sell a colony of France without the consent of the French legislature, that he was pledged by the treaty with Spain not to sell it at all, and that he had not taken possession of the territory he was going to sell were not obstacles to him. In April, 1803, Napoleon instructed his finance minister to offer to sell all Louisiana to the United States.

Jefferson's warning to France. Meanwhile, the rumor which reached the United States in 1801 that Louisiana was to pass to France, and the suspension of the privilege of deposit by Spanish authorities forced Jefferson to act in defense of the Western settlers or see their discontent ripen into secession. It mattered little that he had just said that the United States already had enough land for the thousandth and thousandth generation, and that he doubted the power of the federal government to acquire new territory. The West demanded action. Many even urged the forcible seizure of Louisiana. Jefferson instructed Robert Livingston, our minister to France, to tell the French government that the acquisition of Louisiana by France would destroy the friendship which the United States had for France. Jefferson thus wrote:

> There is only one single spot on the globe the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three eighths of our territory must pass to market. . . . The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. . . . From that moment, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. . . .

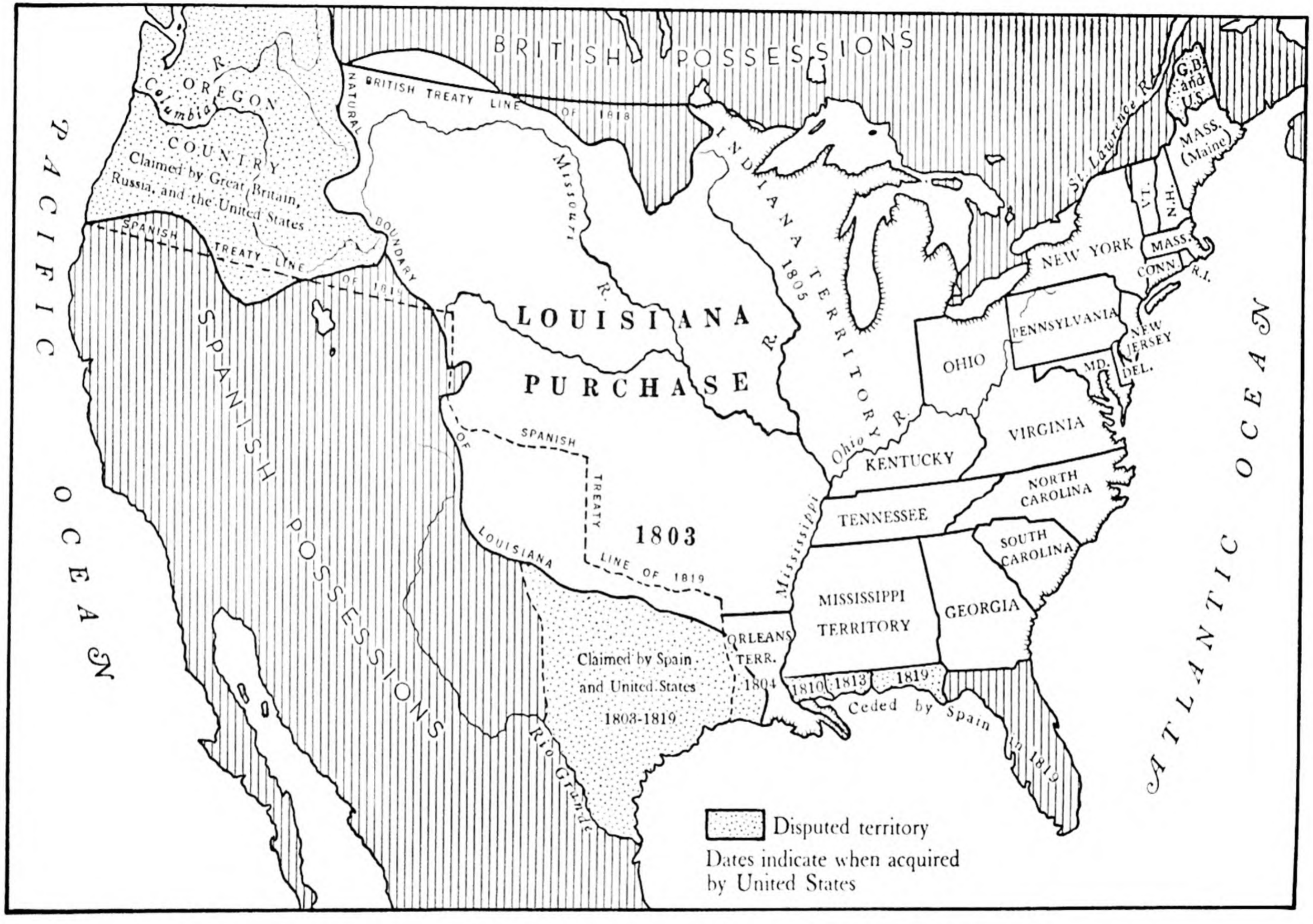
In order that the French government might be impressed by the seriousness of the United States, James Monroe was sent on a special mission to Paris to assist Livingston.

Purchase of Louisiana. The representatives of the United States were instructed to purchase New Orleans and also the Floridas, if they were included in the French territory; if they were not, Monroe was to proceed to Spain and negotiate a treaty for the purchase of Florida. Monroe arrived in Paris in time to be told of Napoleon's offer. Although Monroe and Livingston were instructed to purchase only New Orleans and the Floridas, they agreed to Napoleon's offer to take the whole of the Louisiana territory. They accepted the French figure of 80,000,000 francs, or $15,000,000. The American government promised to admit the inhabitants of Louisiana into the Union as soon as possible. The promise meant that the method of extending the federal Union adopted for the old Northwest and the old Southwest would also apply to the Louisiana territory. Spain alone of the nations concerned thought she had been cheated, and well she might. Napoleon's cession of Louisiana was an act of broken faith. Spain protested to France and the United States, but to no avail.

The indefinite boundary of Louisiana. President Jefferson, with the help of Madison, his Secretary of State, and Livingston and Monroe, had concluded with France "the biggest real-estate deal in history." Thereby he assumed new difficulties in place of old ones. Among the lesser ones was a boundary dispute which disturbed the relations of Spain and the United States for nearly twenty years, for the treaty left unsettled the question as to whether the Louisiana territory included West Florida and Texas. According to the treaty of purchase the United States obtained "the colony or province of Louisiana with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states." Jefferson and his successors later used the vague words describing the boundaries of the purchase to put forward a claim to West Florida. (See pages 200–201.)

Constitutional scruples cast aside. Other difficulties troubled Jefferson nearly as much as the boundary disputes. The treaty with France had to be ratified by the Senate, and the new territories had to be provided with governments. Did the federal government have power to acquire territory? Could a territory be incorporated into the Union without the consent of the American people given by an amendment to the Constitution? To make the situation more difficult for Jefferson, who believed that government "existed by the consent of the governed," Louisiana was acquired without the consent of either the French or Spanish inhabitants of New Orleans or the Indians in the interior of Louisiana.

Jefferson drafted an amendment to the Constitution that would avoid the necessity of accepting the Hamiltonian doctrine of implied powers. But his Republican associates urged that time was precious, that Napoleon might change his mind, and that any delay in concluding the



THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

matter might endanger the project. In the language of the President, they cast "behind them metaphysical subtleties . . . risked themselves like faithful servants," ratified the treaty annexing Louisiana, paid for the territory, and threw themselves on their country for doing unauthorized what they knew the people would have done for themselves. It was the frank adoption of loose construction.

The Federalists, conveniently ignoring their former interest in loose construction, were loud in their opposition to the purchase. Many objected to the clause in the treaty which promised future statehood to Louisiana. They feared that an increase in the number of Western states would weaken the influence of New England. Some feared that the development of economic and political ties between the South and the West would forever entrench the Jeffersonians in power.

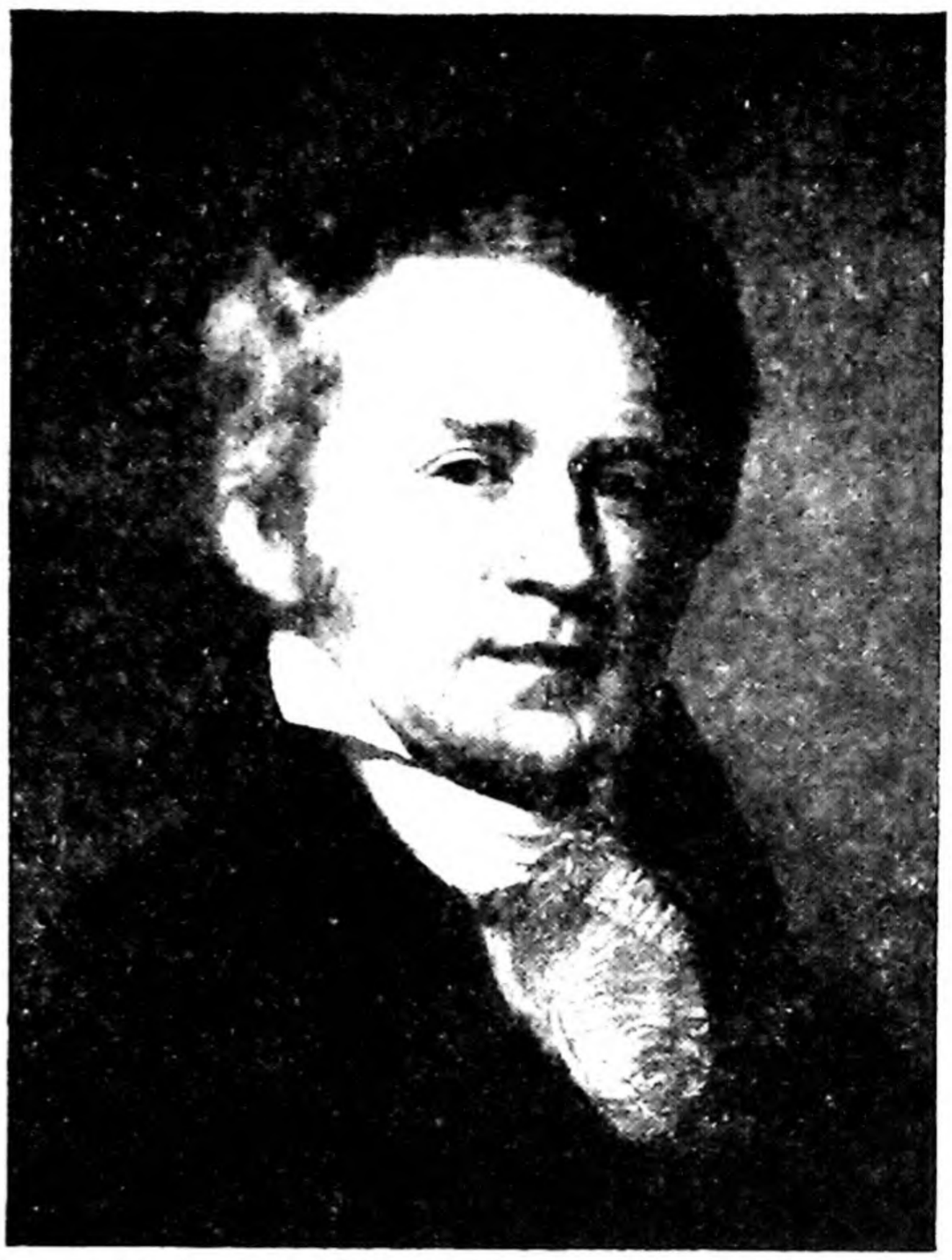
The importance of the Louisiana Purchase. The Louisiana Purchase doubled the area of the United States and gave the United States full possession of the Mississippi Valley, one of the most fertile regions in the world. Henry Adams states that "the annexation of Louisiana was an event so portentous as to defy measurement; it gave a new face to politics and ranked in international importance next to the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution." The population of the Louisiana Purchase Territory in 1804 was not much over fifty thousand; a century later it contained twenty million inhabitants. It has been the source of untold wealth to the United States. The development of its resources turned America away from European interests more effectively than Washington's farewell advice. It furnished the economic basis for a policy of isolation.

The Lewis and Clark expedition. Jefferson took great pride in the purchase of Louisiana. Before the purchase, before he had any thought of seeking more than New Orleans, he had arranged that his secretary, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark, a brother of George Rogers Clark, should lead an exploring expedition into upper Louisiana. After the purchase he carried out his plan, instructing them to follow the Missouri River to its source, find passes through the Rocky Mountains, and follow the Columbia River to the Pacific coast. Lewis and Clark accomplished all Jefferson expected of them. Their expedition revealed the extent of North America, and later helped to support our claim to the Pacific Northwest. (See pages 290–292, and map, page 219.)

The explorations of Pike. In the spring of 1804, soon after Lewis and Clark had started, Lieutenant Zebulon Pike and others were employed to trace the Mississippi and the Red rivers to their sources. These expeditions were instructed to report upon the climate, animal and plant life, and the Indian tribes. Pike followed the Mississippi nearly to its source, and later tried to explore the source of the Red River. In searching for it and for a pass through the mountains he discovered the Royal Gorge of the Arkansas and the mountain peak in



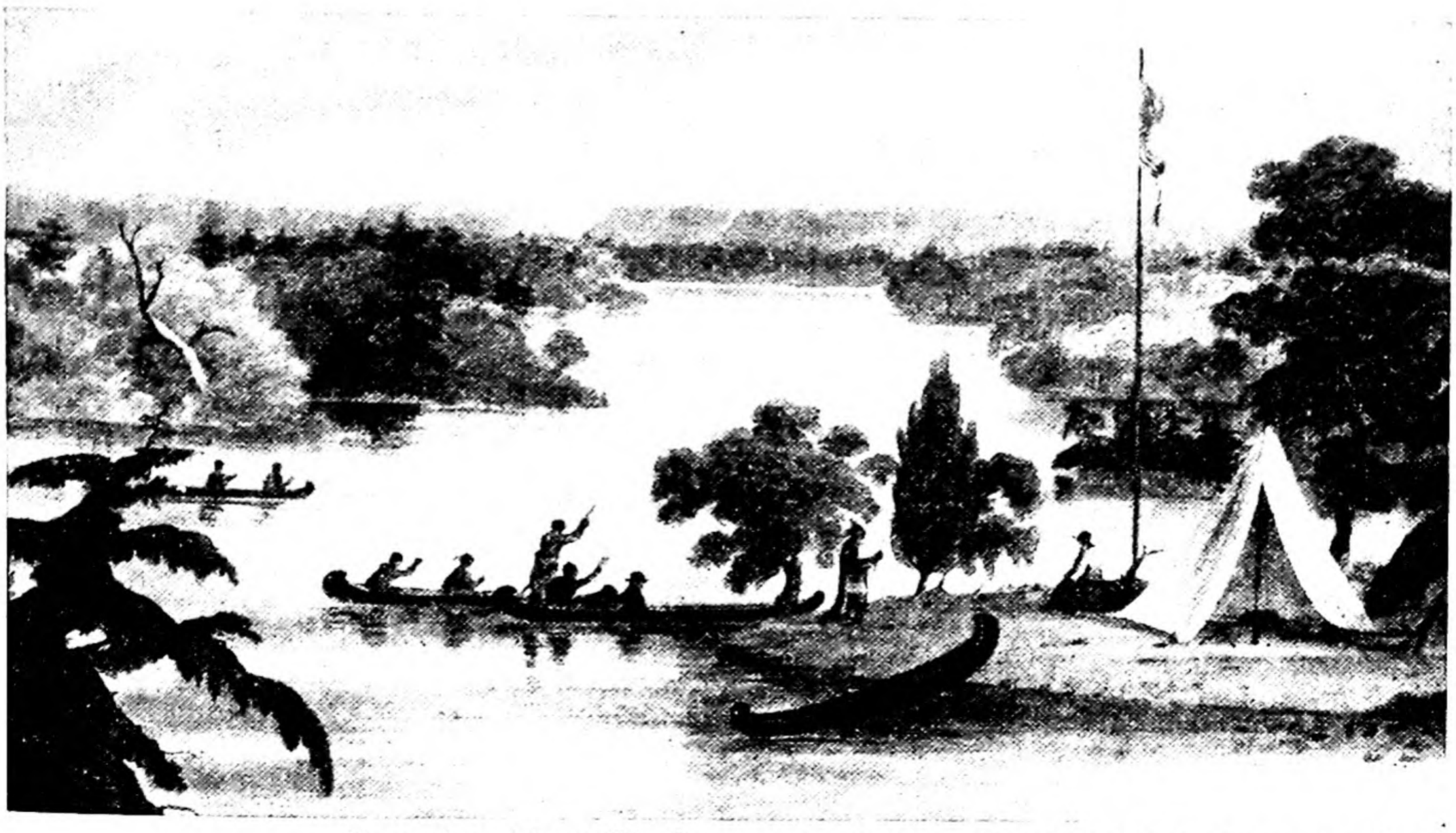
Courtesy Minnesota Historical Society



Painting by Charles Wilson Peale. Courtesy Custodian, Independence Hall

Left: Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike (1779–1813) explored the headwaters of the Mississippi in 1805; the next year he explored the Arkansas River region and reached the Rocky Mountains near the peak which bears his name. He lost his life at the capture of York during the War of 1812.

Right: William Clark (1770–1838) was coleader with Meriwether Lewis of the expedition which explored the Missouri and Columbia rivers, 1804–5. The expedition reached the Pacific on November 7, 1805, and on the return trip explored the Yellowstone region. The explorations of Lewis and Clark gave us the most important basis for our claims to Oregon.



Reproduced from *The Pageant of America*. Copyright Yale University Press

Itasca Lake in northern Minnesota is the source of the Mississippi River.

Colorado which bears his name. Lieutenant Pike, like Lewis and Clark, brought back with him a remarkable tale of hardship and adventure.

FEDERALIST OPPOSITION BEGINS TO CRUMBLE

Federalist criticism. The Federalist party took particular exception to the part of the Louisiana treaty which promised inhabitants of the new territory that they would be admitted to the Union. "They must remain," the Federalists said, "in the condition of colonies." They began to ask whether new territory could be admitted without the consent of every state. The opposition came chiefly from New England. Some were concerned about the migration of laborers from the shops and farms of the East; others were alarmed because the new territories would be opened to slavery. The Federalists feared that the unchecked extension of slavery by the admission of slave-holding communities like New Orleans would establish a permanent and powerful planter class. It was, of course, impossible to foresee at the time that a large immigration from Europe to the northeastern states would more than balance the advantages the Southern planters enjoyed. Federalist fears were regarded by their opponents as sectional jealousy. Against the Federalists it was argued that if the new territories were kept permanently as colonies, the country would be drifting away from the great ideals of the Revolution and the Ordinance of 1787.

Federalist scheming. Senator Timothy Pickering, formerly Secretary of State, turned to projects of secession. At the head of a Federalist faction which had lost faith in Hamilton's leadership, he proposed to establish a northern confederacy composed of New England and New York. If Aaron Burr, the Vice-President, were elected governor of New York in 1804, the conspirators, of whom Burr was one, proposed to proclaim their separation from the United States and leave the other states to their own devices. In the election in New York Hamilton opposed Burr with such success that the latter failed of election. With the defeat of Burr, Pickering's secession conspiracy broke down. To have his revenge Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel, and at Weehawken, on July 11, 1804, Hamilton fell, mortally wounded.

Burr's scheming with Pickering and his duel with Hamilton thoroughly discredited him with the Republicans. In 1805 and 1806 he engaged in a conspiracy with some discontented Westerners. Just what Burr hoped to accomplish is not definitely known; it is suggested that he sought either to set up an independent state on the Mississippi or to engage in an expedition against Mexico. Rumors were spread around to the effect that he was engaged in a plot to break up the Union. Jefferson ordered his arrest. Burr was tried for treason and acquitted.

The re-election of Jefferson, 1804. Events seemed to combine in favor of Jefferson and the Republicans. The beginning of internal im-

provements, the purchase of Louisiana, and Gallatin's businesslike management of federal finances were popular. The blunder of Pickering's group of Federalists and the death of Hamilton helped to turn the rank and file of voters into the Republican party. Moreover, there were signs of prosperity on every side. The exports of the United States nearly doubled in the four-year period from 1803 to 1807. The income of the United States government from tariff duties increased in the same years by one half. In the election of 1804 only two states, Connecticut and Delaware, gave their votes for the Federalist candidate, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. The President, who in 1800 had only eight electoral votes more than Adams, four years later won 162 out of the 176 electoral votes. In the Congressional elections two years later (1806), the Republicans elected nearly four fifths of the senators and five sixths of the representatives. The triumph of the philosopher-statesman from Monticello was complete.

Words and Phrases

Alien and Sedition Laws, Burr conspiracy, internal improvements, Lewis and Clark expedition, "midnight judges," National Road, Ohio Compact, "Revolution of 1800," right of deposit, toll road, Tripolitan War, turnpike, Twelfth Amendment, Virginia and Kentucky resolutions

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What were the Alien and Sedition Laws? How did they prove to be a boomerang to the Federalists?
2. What were the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions?
3. Why has the election of 1800 been referred to as an agrarian triumph?
4. What were the accomplishments of the Federalists?
5. Why did the Republican party triumph over the Federalist party?
6. How did the program of the Republicans as announced in Jefferson's inaugural differ from the program of the Federalists? (See pages 164–166; also Commager's *Documents*, No. 106.)
7. To what extent did Jefferson and the Republicans adhere to his program?
8. Was the Ohio Compact in keeping with Jefferson's earlier ideas of the relation of the nation and the states?
9. Describe the circumstances which prompted France to sell and the United States to buy the Louisiana territory.
10. What did Jefferson mean when he wrote that "the day France takes possession of New Orleans . . . we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation"?
11. "The purchase of Louisiana meant that the Republicans were willing to embrace the hated doctrine of loose construction when it suited their purposes." What has the purchase of Louisiana got to do with loose or strict construction? How do you explain the Republicans' abandonment of their theory?
12. What were the reasons for westward migration in the early years of the nineteenth century? What problems did westward migration create both

for the national government and the states? How did these problems affect the policies of the Republicans?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. As special research topics investigate the Tripolitan War; Gallatin's policy as Secretary of the Treasury; the Lewis and Clark expedition; the exploration of Pike; Burr's duel with Hamilton; Burr's "conspiracy" and trial. (See Commager's *Documents*, No. 111.)
2. Explain the meaning of the statement that the purchase of Louisiana was profoundly significant for the future development of the United States.
3. Since Jefferson was nominated by a party caucus, it has been suggested that this method of nomination made him the chosen leader of Congress as effectively as a choice of prime minister in England makes that official the leader of Parliament. Explain fully. Does the same condition exist today? Reasons. Should the President be the leader of his party in Congress?
4. Prepare a brief biographical sketch of Hamilton's political activities from 1800 till his death in 1804. How did Hamilton's death affect the fortunes of the Federalist party? (Consult several detailed accounts.)
5. "Every heart . . . ought to beat high with exultation that the name of Washington from this day ceases to give a currency to political iniquity and to legalized corruption." How do you account for this criticism of Washington? Was it a just criticism? Reasons. As a special research topic obtain examples of Federalist and Republican criticism of each other. Compare with political criticisms in the time of Jackson, Lincoln, and the present.

Suggested Reading

POLITICAL PARTIES: Bassett, *The Federalist System* (A.N.S.), pp. 42–55, 136–162; Beard and Beard, I, 349–352, 378–390; Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton;* Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues* (Y.C.S.), pp. 164–194; Hart, III, 282–301; Ogg, *Builders of the Republic* (Pageant), Chap. VIII.

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS: Bassett, *The Federalist System* (A.N.S.), pp. 252–264; Bassett, pp. 283–298; Beard and Beard, I, 376–378; Carman, I, 392–394; Hart, III, 329–331; Commager, Nos. 101, 102 – Alien and Sedition Laws and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

THE "REVOLUTION OF 1800": Beard and Beard, I, 378–386; Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (A.N.S.), pp. 3–35; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, pp. 118–142; Hart, III, 322–363; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, I, 54–86; Commager, No. 106 – Jefferson's First Inaugural Address.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE: Bailey, pp. 91–106; Bemis, pp. 126–137; Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton;* Carman, I, 534–539; Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (A.N.S.), pp. 47–86; Hart, III, 363–385; Krout, J. A. and Fox, D. R., *The Completion of Independence* (A.L.S.), pp. 185–194; Commager, Nos. 107, 108 – Jefferson on the Importance of New Orleans and the Cession of Louisiana.

WAR WITH TRIPOLI: Bassett, pp. 295–296; Bemis, pp. 67–68, 176–179; Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (A.N.S.), pp. 36–46; Johnson, *Jefferson and*

His Colleagues (Y.C.S.), pp. 35–57; Wood and Gabriel, *The Winning of Freedom* (Pageant), Chap. XI.

LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION: Bassett, pp. 355–357; Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (A.N.S.), pp. 86–99; Gabriel, *Lure of the Frontier* (Pageant), Chap. VII.

BURR CONSPIRACY: Bassett, pp. 303–306; Bemis, pp. 216–218; Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (A.N.S.), pp. 155–168; Corwin, *John Marshall and the Constitution* (Y.C.S.), pp. 86–120; Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues* (Y.C.S.), pp. 102–127; Commager, No. 110 – Jefferson's Message on the Conspiracy.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The War of 1812

THE UNITED STATES STRUGGLES TO DEFINE AND DEFEND THE "RIGHTS OF NEUTRALS"

England's fleet versus Napoleon's armies. Throughout Jefferson's first administration, the geographic isolation of the United States and the Napoleonic Wars seemed to offer distinct advantages to the United States. The wartime trade of American merchants brought increasing revenues to the government and prosperity to Americans. But as the war continued, the United States, as in Washington's administration, became increasingly concerned with English and French interference with our rights as a neutral. The war became a titanic struggle for supremacy between a great sea power and a great land power. In such a struggle the need of supplies for armies and navies and for the civilian population was a major problem. Both England and France hoped to ruin each other by stopping the trade with neutrals.

Neutral rights. In any contest over neutral rights the economic well-being of nations is at stake. Neutral countries frequently enjoy the large profits of trade with belligerents, and therefore they try to force belligerents to respect the so-called "rights of neutrals." But just what the "rights of neutrals" are is difficult to determine in any specific case, partly because they can only be regarded as "rights" when approved by the custom of nations and actually respected by a belligerent. Roughly speaking, in Washington's time, in Jefferson's time, and in Wilson's time, the United States contended for these rights: (1) Free ships make free goods. (2) Neutrals have freedom to trade with enemy ports in both contraband and noncontraband goods; (generally speaking contraband goods are those used in the prosecution of the war, such as munitions and war materials). (3) Contraband goods do not include foodstuffs or naval stores. (4) A belligerent in visiting and searching neutral vessels for contraband must not endanger or destroy the lives of the crew and passengers. What usually happens is that a powerful neutral insists on the observance of these "rights"; but not infrequently their observance by a belligerent would mean its defeat in war.

Whenever a belligerent ignores the protests of a neutral, the neutral can do one of two things: (1) submit to violations of its "rights" after diplomatic protest, and hope that after the war settlement will be made for all damages; or (2) go to war in defense of its "rights" as a neutral.

But Jefferson, from 1805 to 1809, and Madison, who succeeded him, were reluctant to choose this second alternative.

Napoleon's "Continental System." Napoleon argued that if he could ruin England's trade, he could ruin the source of her wealth, her power, and her efficiency against him. He therefore worked out what was called a "Continental System," the chief elements of which are contained in a decree promulgated at Berlin (November, 1806). The Berlin Decree declared, among other things, (1) that the British Isles were in a state of blockade; (2) that all trade in the goods of Great Britain or her colonies was prohibited; (3) that vessels coming from Great Britain or her colonies, or which stopped at British ports, could not enter continental ports. This and other decrees of Napoleon are sometimes called "paper blockades," because he did not have sufficient ships with which to enforce them. He did, however, attempt to enforce them by controlling the ports of Europe.

The British treatment of neutrals. The naval policy of Great Britain toward France and neutral trade was outlined in a series of "orders-in-council" (that is, rules formulated by the Cabinet or some executive under the authority of a law of Parliament). The British orders-in-council, insofar as they affected neutral trade, may be summarized as follows: (1) application of the "Rule of 1756," namely, that neutrals could not trade with French colonies in time of war if France did not permit trade with these colonies in time of peace; (2) the doctrine of the continuous voyage, namely, that goods from the West Indies, for example, which first came to an American port, and were then reshipped to Europe, did not become neutral goods because the voyage had been "broken" by stoppage at an American port; (3) neutral vessels could not carry goods to the ports of Napoleon unless they first paid duties in an English port.

If the decrees of Napoleon and the orders-in-council of England could be enforced, it would mean the end of all neutral trade with both Great Britain and France. But Napoleon did not have absolute control over all ports of Europe, and England could not so effectively patrol the seas that neutral vessels would refrain from attempting to "run the blockade." In any case, the profits of wartime trade encouraged American shipowners to run the risk of seizure.

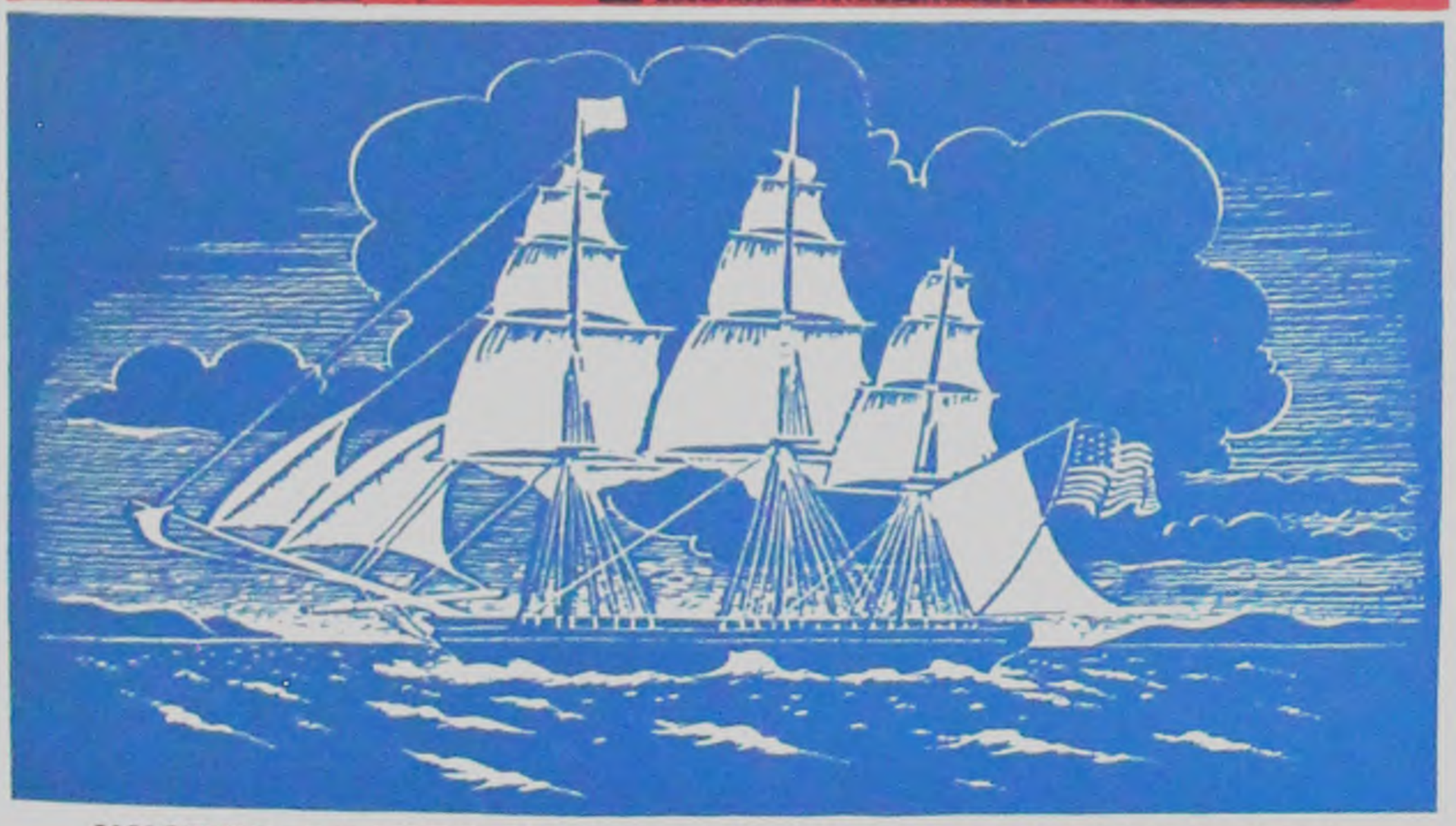
The impressment of seamen. Apart from their interference with neutral trade, France and Great Britain were guilty of another practice which in 1807 began to outweigh all others in the view of Americans. This was the impressment, or conscription, of seamen for naval service. To secure recruits for their navies both the British and the French resorted to drastic methods. "Press gangs" went about the ports of Great Britain and France drafting seamen. It happened frequently that sailors forced into the British naval service claimed to be naturalized American citizens. Sometimes they were seized in a British port while on leave of absence from an American merchant ship; sometimes they

were taken off American merchant ships on the high seas. Among the seamen of the American merchant ships were great numbers of emigrants from the British Isles. Some had taken out naturalization papers in the United States, but others had not. In any case, the British government denied the right of an individual to change his citizenship through the process of naturalization, for it was claimed that "once an Englishman, always an Englishman." Both the British and the French seized their seamen wherever they found them, and the seizures of the British particularly affected Americans. It is certain that many mistakes were made, even some native-born Americans being taken. Estimates of the number of impressments vary; one estimate tells us that Great Britain forcibly removed about ten thousand men from American ships and that only about one tenth of these were actually British subjects.

The Chesapeake-Leopard *affair, an act of war.* In both Great Britain and France, American trade with the enemy and the employment of emigrants as seamen was regarded as a "war in disguise." When foreign ships interfered with what Americans considered the rights of neutrals, Americans also regarded it as a "war in disguise." Bitterness became intense when a British man-of-war, the *Leopard,* in June, 1807, undertook to stop an American frigate, the *Chesapeake,* claiming that British deserters were aboard. When the American captain denied that there were deserters aboard, the *Leopard* fired upon the *Chesapeake,* wounding eighteen American sailors and killing three. Officers of the *Leopard* boarded the *Chesapeake* and took four so-called deserters. Only one of them was a British deserter; the other three were native Americans who had been impressed before and had escaped from a British warship. The act of firing on an American ship of war and taking off individuals by force was a very serious matter. President Jefferson would have had the American people with him had he then and there declared it an act of war.

Jefferson's attempts to avoid war by economic coercion. After the *Chesapeake* affair most American officials despaired of avoiding a war with Great Britain. The President wrote to his son-in-law: "If England does us ample justice in the *Chesapeake* affair, it will be a war saved. But I do not expect it." After a few weeks of reflection the President decided to make a heroic effort to avoid war. He urged Congress to keep American goods, ships, and sailors at home, where they would not serve the purpose of the belligerents or be the occasion of drawing the United States into a war. Accordingly, an Embargo Act was passed (December 22, 1807), which stopped all American trade with foreign ports. The Embargo Act was popular with the farmers and planters generally, for they had little apparent interest in European commerce. Quite different, however, was the attitude of New England merchants and shipbuilders, who found a source of large profits taken away from them.





UNITED STATES NAVAL ATTACK AT TRIPOLI, 1804

The effect of the embargo. Napoleon looked upon the embargo as a useful ally, for his navy was so weak that he could not keep American ships from sailing to British ports. Now that the American government forbade them to go, he pretended that any ships which found their way into European harbors were not American at all but British ships in disguise. So he confiscated them. Whether the embargo was enforced or not, Napoleon gained an advantage. If it were enforced, his enemies, the British, could receive no supplies from America. If it were not enforced, French officials seized all American ships found in continental ports. Moreover, if shipowners violated the embargo, they were lawbreakers and could not expect the protection of the United States.

The embargo brought the wartime prosperity of the United States to a sudden end. Exports for the year 1808 dropped to $22,000,000 from $108,000,000 in 1807; customs revenue fell from $16,000,000 to $7,000,000. It has been estimated that more than 150,000 men (mostly sailors, merchants, and laborers) lost their jobs as a result of the embargo. Some merchants reverted to the colonial practice of smuggling to avoid a law they thought unjust.

The Nonintercourse Act. So disastrous were the results and so violent the criticism of New England that within fourteen months Congress repealed the Embargo Act and substituted for it a "Nonintercourse Act" (March 1, 1809). This permitted American ships to trade with all foreign countries except Great Britain and France. The Nonintercourse Act expired in 1810, and our foreign trade rapidly revived.

The election of the "Father of the Constitution." Meanwhile, Jefferson's term of office had expired (three days after the passage of the Nonintercourse Act). Although Jefferson could easily have been reelected, he deliberately refused a third term because he believed in the principle of rotation in office and desired to continue Washington's precedent. Thus, early in our history the tradition against a third term for the President became fixed. Jefferson was in such control of the Republican party that he could and did dictate the nomination of his successor. His choice fell upon James Madison, his Secretary of State, who was nominated by a caucus of the Republican members of Congress. Madison defeated C. C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate, by 122 electoral votes to 47 (1808). The South and West supported Madison, but every New England state, except Vermont, voted for Pinckney.

Napoleon outwits the British. Madison cast about for a substitute for the embargo and Nonintercourse Act which would force both the British and the French to abandon the entire system of blockades, searches, and impressment. In 1810 an act of Congress offered, if either Great Britain or France would agree to abandon her system of commercial warfare, to stop all commercial relations with the other country. Napoleon shrewdly took advantage of this offer. He announced to President Madison that after November 1, 1810, the block-

ade of Great Britain by France would cease, "it being understood that in consequence of this declaration the English are to revoke their orders-in-council, and renounce the new principles of blockade which they have wished to establish; or that the United States, conformably to the act you have just communicated, cause their rights to be respected by the English." Napoleon had so managed the situation that if the British abandoned the blockade their navy would be of little value, for the United States stood ready to trade with France, and if the English did not abandon the blockade, a possible war with the United States would keep a part of England's navy from fighting France. The American government regarded Napoleon's repeal of his decrees as final, not conditional. Subsequent efforts to induce the British to abandon their blockade turned public opinion in the United States against Great Britain as the only power whose rules of warfare injured the United States. (Compare this situation with that which developed during World War I when Germany "conditionally" complied with Wilson's demands.)

THE "WAR HAWKS" FORCE THE ISSUE OF WAR

The war "boys." At this juncture the Congressional elections of 1810 brought defeat to many of the older members of Congress who had supported the administration policy of avoiding war. New and younger men, who had not yet developed the caution of their elders, and whose memories could not carry them back to the days of the Revolution, took their place. They were dissatisfied with the policy of peace and clamored for war. With youthful enthusiasm they asserted that it would be easy for America to overpower England. They hinted at the opportunity which war presented of acquiring Canada and Florida. Among this group of young men were two destined to influence profoundly American politics for the next two generations – John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Henry Clay of Kentucky. Calhoun and Clay and their aggressive followers were dubbed the "boys" and the "War Hawks" by the veteran John Randolph, who had long been noted for his sharp tongue and independent action. Events conspired to help the "War Hawks" just at the moment when a little delay might have avoided war altogether. Madison was not aware that Great Britain was getting ready to abandon her blockade rather than have another war on her hands, and he seemed unwilling to see the evidence that Napoleon was actually continuing his blockade.

The expansionist spirit in Congress. An uprising of the Indians under Tecumseh in the Wabash Valley in 1811 was the prelude to a war with Great Britain. General Harrison defeated Tecumseh at the Battle of Tippecanoe. The inhabitants of the West believed that "British intrigue and British gold" had encouraged the Indian attacks. Their forefathers had believed that the French were behind the earlier In-

dian wars and that there could be no peace while they remained on the American continent; they now thought that Canada must be conquered in order to insure the safety of the frontier. Nor did they think that the conquest of Canada would be a difficult matter. Henry Clay, while Speaker of the House of Representatives, declared: "The conquest of Canada is in your power; the militia of Kentucky alone are competent to place Montreal and Upper Canada at your feet."

The declaration of war. At last those who thought that war was better than enduring the obstruction of commerce, and that the conquest of Canada would bring peace to the frontier, won a majority in Congress. Either because the current of opinion was drifting toward war, or because he was threatened with the loss of the Republican nomination in 1812, Madison yielded to the demand for war. By a vote which illustrated the close division of opinion — 79 to 49 in the House, and 19 to 13 in the Senate — Congress declared war on England, June 18, 1812. Some of the Congressmen who voted for war were moved by the old hatred for Great Britain which had survived from the Revolution; others by the long struggle over neutral rights on the sea; still others by the desire to clear the West of whatever forces, whether Indian or Canadian, hindered the frontiersmen from occupying it. John Randolph, without mincing words, told his fellow members of Congress which of the causes he thought the more decisive. "Agrarian cupidity," he said, "not maritime right, urges the war," and he could quote many speeches of the ardent advocates of war in support of this theory. "Ever since the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations came into the House," said Randolph, "we have heard but one word — like the whippoorwill, but one eternal, monotonous tone — Canada, Canada, Canada!"

Summary of causes. However, America had real grievances against Great Britain, and in appraising the causes of war we can summarize Madison's message to Congress: (1) impressment of American sailors; (2) the presence of British war vessels near our coast; (3) the paper or, as Madison called it, the mock blockade; (4) the Indian uprising, which Madison attributed to English prompting. All of these except the last might have been urged as a cause of war against France; but Great Britain had been the worse offender as regards impressment.

Sectional character of the war. Apart from the fact that France had befriended us in time of stress, and that Great Britain was viewed by many as our traditional enemy, there also remains the fact that war with England offered an opportunity for territorial expansion. The war has been termed the "second war for independence," and a war for commercial freedom; yet the commercial sections of the country did not want war. The War of 1812 was urged by the South and West, by the planters and farmers and the pioneers rather than by the commercial portions of New England. The Northwest wanted Canada; the South and Southwest sought an opportunity to acquire Florida from England's

ally, Spain. As events turned out, a few weeks more of patience on Madison's part would have avoided war altogether, for a few days after the American declaration of war the British Parliament (June 23, 1812) revoked the orders-in-council. Had cable communications been in existence at the time, war might have been prevented.

The War of 1812 was a sectional war. The election of 1812 was a kind of referendum on the justice of "Madison's War," as his enemies called it. Those who declared themselves the "Friends of Union, Peace, and Commerce" voted for DeWitt Clinton as President; those who wanted war, for Madison. Clinton carried Delaware and every state east of the Delaware except Vermont. A combination of the South and West had made the war and approved it. When the United States called upon the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut for militia to defend the coast, they refused to give assistance. The governor of Massachusetts proclaimed a public fast because the war would benefit Napoleon. Enlistments for military service and subscriptions to loans came slowly from a people that was not convinced of the need for war.

American disadvantages. The superior military organization of the enemy was only a part of the handicap faced by the United States. The American military forces could operate against Great Britain only by crossing the sea or by passing through the wilderness that stretched between the American frontier and Canada. Equally fatal for American plans was the loss of revenue that the country had suffered, and the reluctance of the Republicans to impose new taxes. Moreover, Congress had decided to allow the Bank of the United States to pass out of existence when its charter expired in 1811. Perhaps the most serious difficulty was the fact that the war did not have the wholehearted support of all sections.

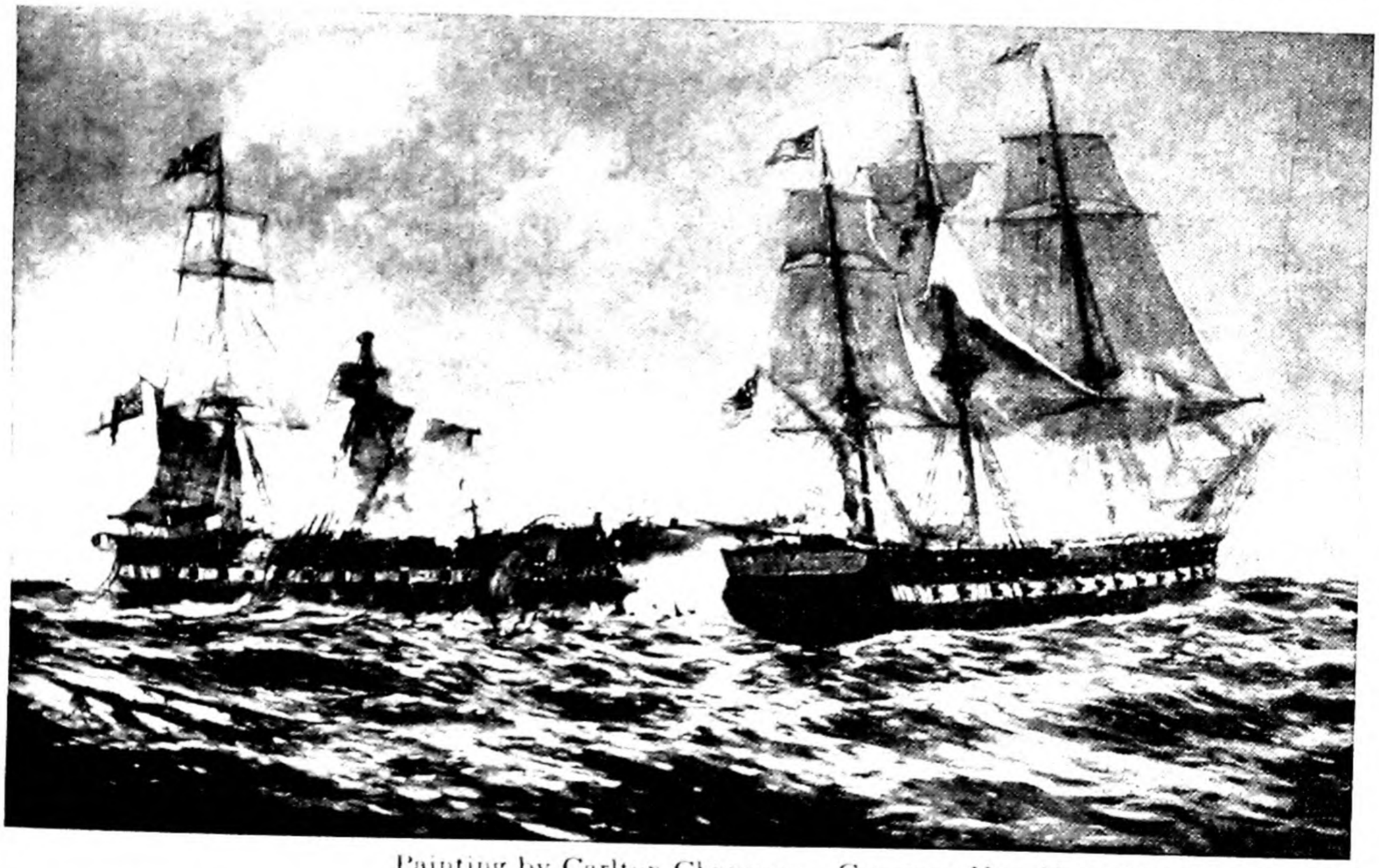
The Canadian fiasco. The "War Hawks" talked openly of the conquest of Canada as the first aim of the war. Even Jefferson thought that the acquisition of Canada as far as the neighborhood of Quebec would be a mere matter of marching. But nowhere did the army of the United States meet with success in 1812, although three expeditions were sent to capture strategic points on the Great Lakes. After losing Detroit and the entire Michigan country to the British in 1812, the Americans, under William Henry Harrison, regained this area in 1813, but failed to make any substantial advances into Canada. In western New York the British sent several raiding expeditions across the Niagara River.

The threat of secession in the Northeast. The opponents of the war became bolder as the struggle dragged on. In the elections in New York and New England in the spring of 1814 they were victorious. Some of the old Federalist leaders in New England talked openly of joining the British in order to stop a war they disapproved. A town meeting at Amherst, Massachusetts, over which Noah Webster presided, called upon its representatives to take vigorous measures and to



Cartoon by William Charles. Courtesy New York Public Library

This cartoon, entitled "The Hartford Convention, or Leap No Leap," shows three figures in the upper left-hand corner, representing Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts respectively, threatening to secede from the Union because of the War of 1812. The King of England sits at the right, welcoming them, and promising them riches, honors, and titles if they come over to his side. The Hartford Convention, held just as the war ended, was ridiculed by the victorious Americans.



Painting by Carlton Chapman. Courtesy New York Historical Society

The battle between the United States frigate *Constitution* and the British frigate *Java* was fought December 29, 1812, off the Brazilian coast. The *Java's* rigging soon became disabled and she surrendered to "Old Ironsides," as the *Constitution* was called.

end "the hopeless war." Forty other towns in Massachusetts adopted peace resolutions.

America's temporary success on the high seas. On the sea affairs went a little differently. At the beginning of the War of 1812 the small Navy of the United States gave a good account of itself, raiding and scattering British commerce and even attacking single warships, when separated from fleets. Three fast, heavy frigates, the *Constitution*, the *United States*, and the *President*, proved superior to the British ships of the same class. During the war the small American Navy, ably assisted by some five hundred privateers, brought in about 1500 prizes worth about $40,000,000. But after the defeat of Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig in October, 1813, the European struggle rapidly drew to a close. Napoleon abdicated, and England was free to turn her full attention to America. The coast of the United States was more closely blockaded. By 1814 all but one of the warships of the United States were either captured or shut up in port.

Everyone in the United States felt the blockade. The farmers grew crops which they could not sell and paid tenfold for the necessities which they bought. While the ravages of American privateers made the British people desire peace, the blockade made the American people no less eager for it.

The burning of Washington. American control of the inland lakes prevented England from accomplishing much in that direction, for in September, 1813, Lieutenant Oliver Hazard Perry defeated the British on Lake Erie, and a year later Captain Thomas Macdonough's small fleet on Lake Champlain stopped an invasion from the North much as Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga had checked a British invasion during the Revolution. Perry's victory on Lake Erie and Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain were probably the most decisive engagements in the whole war. The British fleet which blockaded the Atlantic coast, however, entered the waters of Chesapeake Bay and safely landed an army on the shore nearest Washington. It advanced inland to Washington without meeting any considerable army of defense. The President and his Cabinet fled toward the mountains of Virginia. The Capitol, the White House, and the navy yard were destroyed, in retaliation, it was said, for the destruction of the government buildings at Toronto (then called York) by Americans the previous year. Having had this revenge the British army withdrew to the fleet in the Chesapeake. An attempt to take Baltimore was abandoned after a terrific, but unsuccessful, bombardment of Fort McHenry. During this engagement Francis Scott Key found the inspiration for the "Star Spangled Banner" (which Congress in 1931 declared the national anthem).

The United States almost bankrupt. A visitor who saw President Madison in the fall of 1814 described him as miserably shattered and woebegone, his mind full of reports of "sedition" in New England. The

Secretary of War reported that the army ranks could be filled only by conscription, but Congress turned a deaf ear to a remedy that resembled impressment of seamen. The Secretary of the Treasury was obliged to announce that the government could not pay the interest upon its debts and that the Treasury was bankrupt. To meet these obligations, to keep the armies even halfway supplied with necessities, and to provide an agency to help the government in financing the war, he recommended that taxes be doubled and the Bank of the United States be rechartered. Congress in desperation accepted his remedies, but President Madison vetoed the bank bill. Government bonds sank in value to fifty or sixty cents on the dollar. To make matters worse, the tax collectors reported from many parts of the country that taxes were unpaid, or paid in worthless money. Since it looked as though the United States would be utterly unable to defend itself, the states began establishing state armies. New York authorized an army of twelve thousand to be raised by conscription. In December, 1814, a convention of delegates met at Hartford to advocate a separate peace for the Northern states even if it broke up the Union (pages 192, 194). With the Union showing signs of disruption, with British squadrons commanding the entrance to our ports, with much of Maine under British rule, and with an army of veterans of many wars preparing for an attack on New Orleans, there were good reasons why Americans wanted peace.

The Treaty of Ghent. Events brought the British equally to desire peace. More than twenty years of war had exhausted their resources. About sixty of the leading manufacturing towns petitioned Parliament to make peace. The Duke of Wellington warned the ministers that there was likely to be a renewal of war in Europe and that it would be fatal if the British armies were held in America. Early in the war Madison had sent a commission abroad to be ready to make peace if the opportunity came. Finally, in August, 1814, they met British representatives at Ghent. Among the American members, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin were the foremost. After nearly five months of discussion the peace commissioners agreed on Christmas Eve to a "peace without victory" which required no concessions on either side. The Americans did not press a settlement of the questions of impressment, search, and blockades, trusting that peace in Europe would settle these questions. The British gave up any claim to territories their armies occupied and their demand for a neutral Indian country in the West; the treaty provided that the disputes concerning the Canadian boundary would be referred to three commissions to arbitrate. Thus on the "causes" of the war — impressment and the rights of neutrals — the treaty was silent. The final drafts of the treaty were signed at Ghent on the afternoon of December 24, 1814. At nine that night an American envoy set out for Ostend by coach with the treaty, and traveling by way of England arrived in the United States forty-nine days later.

Jackson's victory at New Orleans. While the news that a treaty had been signed was borne slowly across the Atlantic, the campaign of the British against New Orleans came to an end — in a battle which would never have been fought if oceanic cables had been in existence. General Andrew Jackson, who had become the popular leader of the Southwest because of his successful attacks on the Creek Indians, was given command of the army of defense. The British advanced from the seacoast against New Orleans over a marshy region cut up with bayous, canals, and shallow lakes. The attempt to advance over the last open ground before New Orleans proved their undoing. In an attack on January 8, 1815, just two weeks after the peace treaty had been signed, the British lost some two thousand, killed or wounded, while Jackson sustained a loss of only seventy-one men. The British abandoned the attack and retreated to their ships. Jackson became the hero of the war. News of his brilliant victory and of the signing of the peace led to a great outburst of national enthusiasm and joy.

Jackson's victory at New Orleans caused Americans to forget the incompetent fashion in which the war had been waged and to look back upon the war as a "second war of independence." The "sectional war" of 1812 ended in a great upsurge of national confidence and pride.

THE WAR COMPLETES A STRANGE SHIFT IN THE POLITICAL POLICIES OF FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS

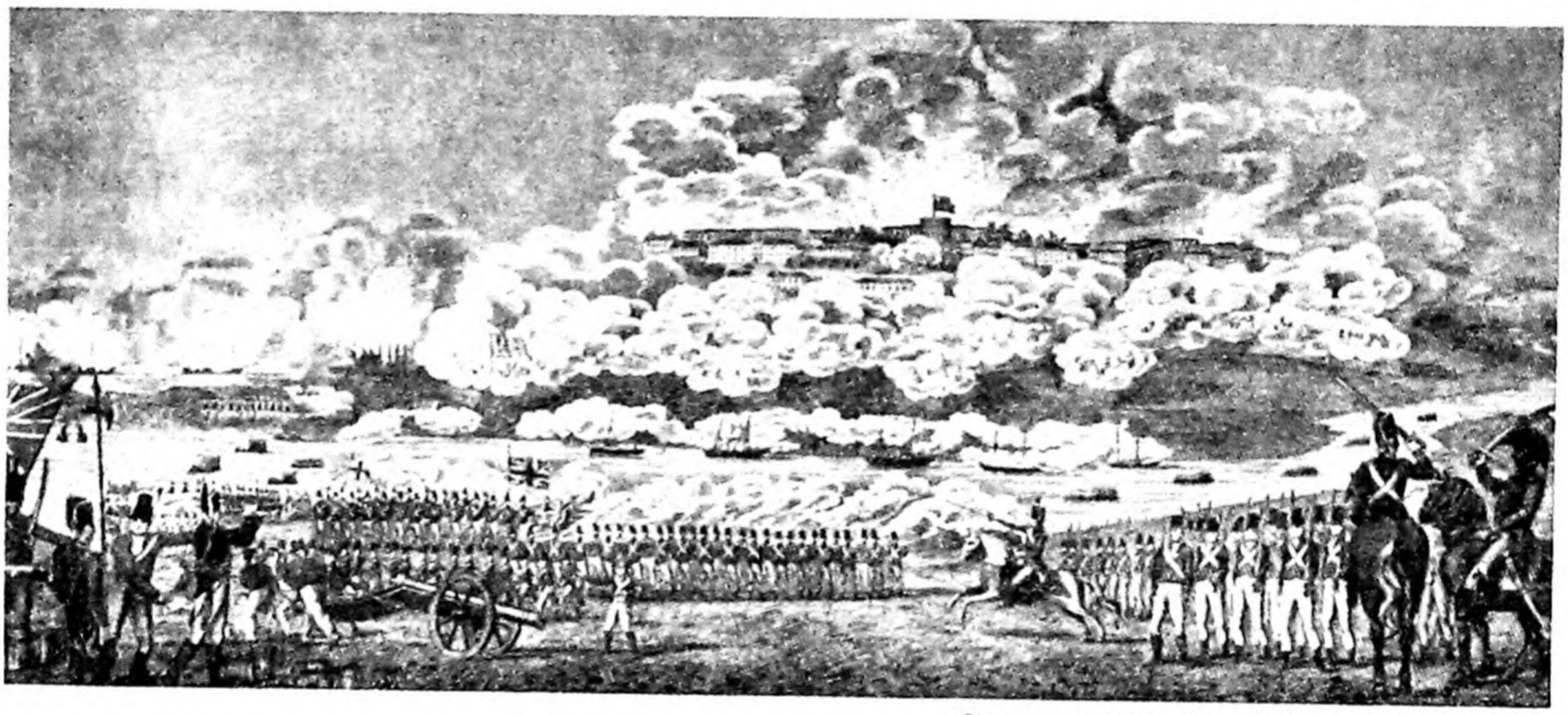
The revival of states' rights. One incident of the war, already referred to, merits further consideration. The war was unpopular in the Northeastern states from the outset; most of the votes against the declaration of war had come from that section. We have mentioned that some of the New England states refused to supply troops and to help in financing the war. Many leaders of opinion openly protested against the war. Strangely enough, the legislatures of the states in this Federalist stronghold imitated the action of Virginia and Kentucky fifteen years before; they passed resolutions criticizing the acts of the federal government. New England and the Federalists reversed their traditional policy and advocated strict construction of the Constitution.

The constitutional changes proposed by New England. As the war drew to a close, New England discontent reached a climax in a convention held at Hartford, at which Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and some counties of New Hampshire were represented. The purpose of the convention was alleged to be the desire to secure "such amendments to the Constitution as may secure them equal advantages," but the words of some of the leaders gave good grounds for the belief that secession was contemplated. The demands of the delegates were embodied in a series of proposed amendments: the abolition of the three-fifths rule in the apportionment of taxes and representatives;



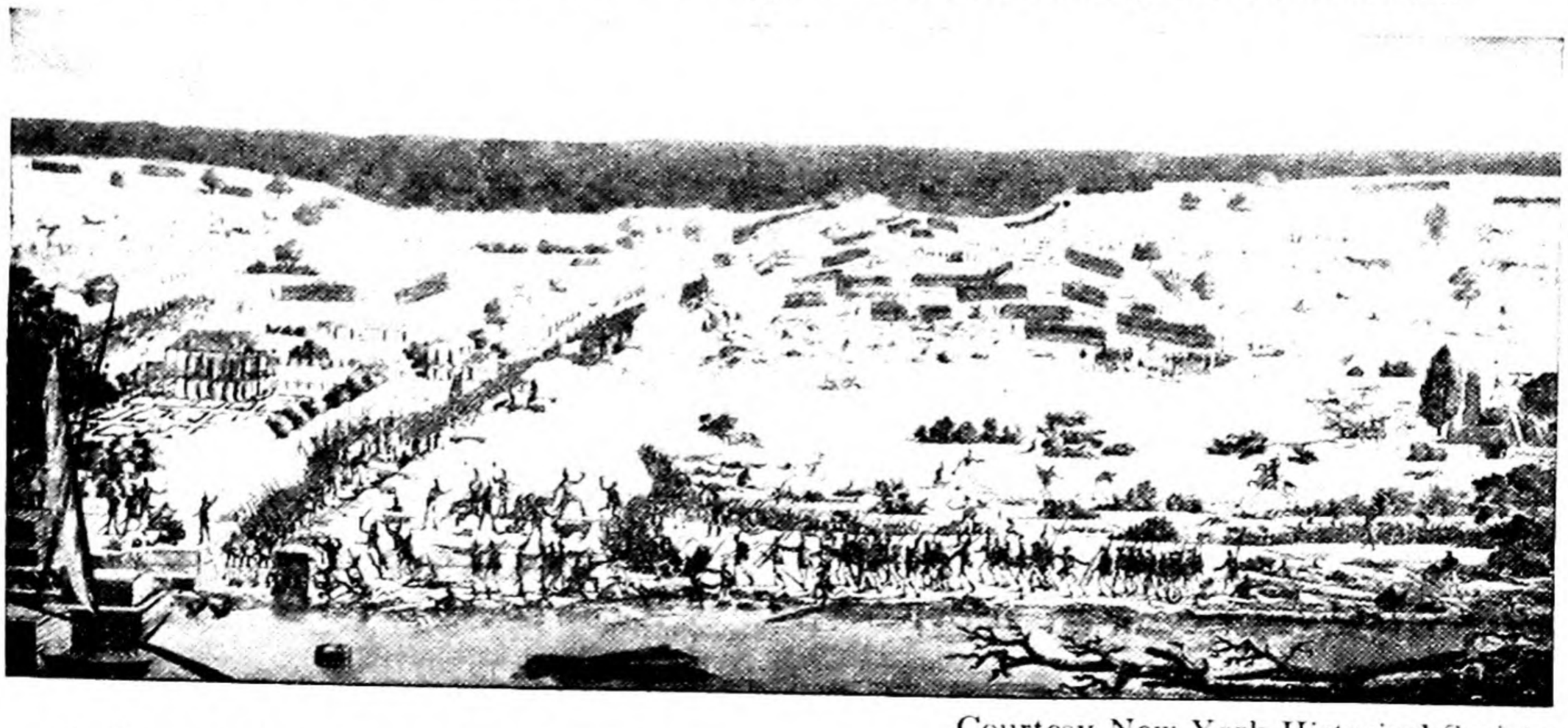
Painting by Alonzo Chappel for *Battles of the United States*, New York, 1858

The Battle of Lundy's Lane, 1814, was fought in Canada near Niagara Falls. Both sides claimed a victory. This battle ended American efforts to take Canada.



Courtesy New York Historical Society

British forces captured Washington, D.C., August 24, 1814, setting fire to public buildings. A heavy thunderstorm saved the city from complete destruction.



Courtesy New York Historical Society

At the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, the Americans under Jackson forced the British from the city. Jackson entered New Orleans on January 21.

a two-thirds vote for the declaration of war; the restriction of the President's tenure of office to one term, with the further condition that no two successive Presidents should come from the same state; and several others.

Ridicule of the Hartford protest. Commissioners were appointed to take their proposals to Washington, but on their way news came that the war was over, and the commissioners forgot their mission and turned back. To protest against a war that was over at a time when the people were particularly jubilant and proud of the success at New Orleans was indeed a hopeless task. The Hartford Convention was laughed at and ridiculed.

The change in Republican policies. This episode is another illustration of the principle that political ideas and theories are subject to reversal when they no longer suit the purposes of the various economic groups involved. The Federalist party could not survive the humiliation and ridicule which the Hartford Convention brought down on its head. The Federalists put forth a feeble effort in the campaign for the presidency in 1816, but James Monroe, another Virginian and a Republican, was easily elected. As the Federalists had become the advocates of states' rights and localism, the Republicans gradually veered round to the principles of a strong national government. The Republicans, for example, chartered a second Bank of the United States (1816) and even adopted a protective tariff (1816), measures which they had once bitterly denounced.

Words and Phrases

Berlin Decree, broken voyage, *Chesapeake* affair, contraband, embargo, Hartford Convention, impressment, Nonintercourse Act, orders-in-council, "War Hawks"

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. How did the British orders-in-council and Napoleon's Continental System affect the United States?
2. Outline the rights of neutrals for which America contended in the period 1803–1812.
3. What were the purpose and effects of the Embargo Act and the Nonintercourse Act?
4. "Agrarian cupidity, not maritime right, urges the war." What justification is there for this statement? What besides "agrarian cupidity" brought on the conflict?
5. "The War of 1812 did not have the wholehearted support of all the sections." Why? In general, what was the attitude of the North, South, and West to the War of 1812? What factors help to explain these sectional differences?
6. Were the actions of those opposed to the war treasonable?
7. How did the War of 1812 affect Federalist and Republican policies?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. "The War of 1812 was inconclusive from a military and diplomatic point of view." Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement.
2. Summarize the reasons for the War of 1812 as stated in Madison's war message. (Commager's *Documents*, No. 114.)
3. Summarize in parallel columns the essential principles of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions and the Hartford Convention. (Commager's *Documents*, Nos. 102, 103, 115.)
4. Explain the statement of Gouverneur Morris: "By downright demonstration it is shown that the Republican party was not dissatisfied because the power of the government was too great, but because it was not in their hands."
5. Appoint special committees to study the important facts, and to present their findings for analysis and discussion on the following topic: Why was it difficult for the United States to remain neutral from 1805–1812, 1914–1917, and 1939–1941?

Suggested Reading

DIFFICULTIES OF NEUTRALITY: Bailey, pp. 108–117; Bemis, pp. 138–151; Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (A.N.S.), pp. 195–208; Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues* (Y.C.S.), pp. 128–188; Mahan, *Sea Power in the War of 1812*, pp. 89–180; Commager, No. 112 – Commercial Warfare.

THE EMBARGO: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (A.N.S.), pp. 22–49; Bailey, pp. 117–123; Beard and Beard, I, 409–416; Bemis, pp. 151–158; Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (A.N.S.), pp. 209–223; Hart, III, 400–409; Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues* (Y.C.S.), pp. 144–170; Mahan, *Sea Power in the War of 1812*, pp. 181–282; MacDonald, Nos. 66, 67 – Embargo and Nonintercourse Acts.

THE WAR HAWKS: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (A.N.S.), pp. 84–105; Bailey, pp. 131–134; Hart, III, 417–420; Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues* (Y.C.S.), pp. 189–212.

WAR OF 1812: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (A.N.S.), pp. 106–127; Beard and Beard, I, 416–420; Bemis, pp. 159–176; Commager and Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America*, pp. 233–253; Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues* (Y.C.S.), pp. 213–265; Krout, J. A., and Fox, D. R., *The Completion of Independence* (A.L.S.), pp. 194–211; Mahan, *Sea Power in the War of 1812*, pp. 314–350, 386–423; Wood and Gabriel, *The Winning of Freedom* (Pageant), Chaps. XIII, XIV; Commager, No. 114 – Madison's War Message; MacDonald, No. 69 – Treaty of Ghent.

NEW ENGLAND AND THE WAR: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (A.N.S.), pp. 150–167; Beard and Beard, I, 420–428; Carman, I, 552–554; Hart, III, 410–416; Commager, No. 115 – Hartford Convention.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

A Nation Free to Work Out Its Own Destiny

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY "OUT-FEDERALIZES" THE FEDERALISTS

Indirect results of the War of 1812. Some writers have referred to the War of 1812 as our "second war of independence," because it marked the beginning of a strong spirit of national feeling. From 1789 to 1815 the interests of the national government were largely absorbed by the problems growing out of the long struggle between England and France. The reason for our nationalism after the War of 1812 is simple: we were busy with the acquisition, the settlement, and development of the resources of a vast continent.

The nationalism of the period is evidenced by the almost complete surrender of the Republican party to Hamilton's political principles. The Republicans wanted to encourage the growing manufactures which the embargo and the war had stimulated, so they accepted the once-hated Federalist doctrine of a protective tariff. They even rechartered a second Bank of the United States and began to appropriate national funds for internal improvements. In the interest of the Western pioneers, they pushed the Indians farther west either by the sword or by treaty, acquired Florida, and settled boundary disputes. Through the Monroe Doctrine they closed the Western Hemisphere to any further European expansion. In the wave of nationalist sentiment that swept the country, Federalism died, and an "era of good feeling" ensued.

The coming of the Industrial Revolution to the United States. During the last half of the eighteenth century a series of inventions in England had ushered in an industrial revolution. England, in Napoleon's contemptuous phrase, had become "the workshop of the world." In a jealous effort to guard her monopoly of machine production, England forbade the export of her machines. But in 1789 Samuel Slater, an Englishman who had worked in the English cotton mills, migrated to this country. In 1791 he set up a manufacturing business with five machines constructed from memory. But manufacturing made slow progress, primarily because land was cheap and profits from agriculture were abundant. In 1803 there were four spinning mills in the United States making yarn; in 1808 there were fifteen turning about eight thousand spindles. We have noted that the embargo was disastrous to New

England. Ships and shipyards were idle; so, too, were capital and labor. New England began to turn its idle capital into factories for the production of those commodities which the embargo and blockades kept out of the country. The increase of prices during the two and a half years of war was another stimulus to manufacturing.

When the war came to an end, there were eighty mills and half a million spindles. In 1805 American manufacturers used one thousand bales of cotton, while in 1815 they were using ninety thousand bales!

Hand and machine manufacturing, side by side. These changes came during a time of great need and when labor was very scarce. However, the use of machinery did not at once take work away from the old-type manufacturers. The weavers' shops by the roadside were still kept busy producing what war prices made profitable. Housewives' spinning wheels were never idle.

The attempt to "nip manufactures in the bud." The War of 1812 gave the makers of iron products, hardware, woolen and cotton goods, and many other products a monopoly of the American market. But when the war ended, English merchants sought to recapture the American market. Imports in 1813 were valued at $22,000,000 and in 1814 at $12,000,000; in 1815 they amounted to $113,000,000 and in 1816 to $147,000,000. England deliberately "dumped" her goods on America.

The Tariff of 1816. The American manufacturers besieged Congress for protection, and in 1816 Congress enacted what was really the first purposefully protective tariff in our history. The law continued the increased war taxes and raised them slightly. The general level of duties was about 20 per cent; cotton and woolen goods were taxed about 25 per cent and manufactured iron a little more.

The tariff bill passed by a substantial majority. However, some Northern congressmen, representing the mercantile interests, which felt that their prosperity depended upon European imports, voted against the bill. In this group was Daniel Webster. On the other hand, Southern representatives gave a large number of votes for the bill. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina defended the tariff as ably as Webster of Massachusetts attacked it. The attitude of Calhoun at this time and that of the South is partly explained by their belief that the South would also turn to manufacturing. They also argued that economic independence was essential to political independence. Even Jefferson wrote: "We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturalist. . . . He . . . who is now against domestic manufacture must be for reducing us either to dependence . . . or to be clothed in skins and to live like wild beasts in the dens and caverns." (Compare with quotation on page 168.)

State banks inadequate. If the tariff of 1816 represents the nationalism of the Republican party, so too does the chartering of the second Bank of the United States. When the charter of the first bank expired

in 1811, the Republicans, in power, refused to recharter it. For the next few years the banking business was in the hands of state-chartered banks. These increased rapidly, taking advantage of the business that came to them when the first Bank of the United States ceased operating. When they issued currency in amounts beyond their ability to redeem them, great confusion followed. There was a loss of confidence in the notes issued by many of the state banks; as a result, prices were uncertain, and the merchants found it difficult to transact business. Experiences from 1811 to 1815 seemed to make it clear that the state banks could not provide the country with a uniform and stable currency.

The second Bank of the United States. Madison finally recommended to Congress the chartering of a second United States Bank. For Madison this must have been a humiliating recommendation. As a member of the House of Representatives in 1791 he had been the chief opponent of Hamilton's proposal to charter the first Bank, and he had already while President vetoed an act of Congress establishing a national bank (page 188). But by 1816 there seemed to be no other way to restore the currency to a sound basis. The second Bank of the United States was similar to the first. Its charter was to run for twenty years, and it was to be capitalized at $35,000,000, one fifth of which was to be subscribed by the government. The bank, however, was to pay the federal government a bonus of $1,500,000 for its charter. Clay and Calhoun, who had opposed the rechartering of the first Bank in 1811, supported this bill.

THE REPUBLICANS ARE UNCERTAIN ABOUT INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

The federal government's interest in improvements before the War of 1812. There was one issue, however, on which the older Republicans did not follow the younger Republicans — the subject of internal improvements. There was no doubt as to the need for wharves, lighthouses, bridges, roads, and canals. The question was: Should they be undertaken at the expense of the federal government or should the states and local communities finance them? Early in Jefferson's administration a small beginning was made in the direction of having the national government assist in the building of roads (pages 170–172). In his second inaugural address Jefferson urged the construction of roads and canals, suggesting that the Constitution should be amended to give Congress the necessary power. However, the Constitution was not amended and little was actually done. By the end of the war only twenty miles had been built on the National Road, running west from Cumberland, Maryland. In 1816 Congress appropriated $300,000 for the project, and by 1820 it reached Wheeling on the upper Ohio.

Calhoun's "bonus bill." In his message to Congress in 1816, Madi-

son urged a Constitutional amendment which would permit the government to use its surplus funds for roads and canals. Without bothering about an amendment, Calhoun introduced what is known as the "bonus bill," providing that the $1,500,000 which the government was to receive from chartering the second Bank of the United States should be spent for the building of roads and canals. "Let us conquer space. . . . The mails and the press are the nerves of the body politic. . . . We are under the most imperious obligation to counteract every tendency to disunion. . . . If we permit a low sectional spirit to take possession of the House, this happy scene will vanish." Congress passed the bill; but on his last day of office Madison vetoed it, not because he disapproved of its purposes, but because he thought it went beyond the powers of Congress. Strange it is that Madison should have given way on the tariff and the bank, and yet have held to his original views on the question of internal improvements.

NATIONALISM INFLUENCES THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Unsettled foreign problems. As the West became increasingly important in our domestic economy and in party politics, it also became influential in shaping our foreign policy. In the years immediately following the Treaty of Ghent (1814), the most pressing foreign problems were (1) the determination of our Northern and Western boundaries; (2) the treatment of the Indians who held the land the white man wanted; and (3) the settlement of the controversy with Spain concerning the ownership of West Florida.

Agreements with England. 1. A commercial treaty. In the summer of 1815 a commercial treaty was concluded with Great Britain. The ports of the United States and the British Isles were opened to American and British merchants on equal terms, except that the British could not trade from port to port along the coast of the United States, and Americans could not trade with the British West Indies. (The restrictions on the West Indian trade were modified in 1830.)

2. The Rush-Bagot agreement. In 1817 an agreement was reached by the United States and Great Britain concerning the maintenance of navies in the Great Lakes. The British and American governments agreed to limit their armed vessels on the lakes to four small ships of less than one hundred tons, to be used for preventing violation of revenue laws. The British government dismantled, sold, or scuttled and sank about a score of armed ships, while the American government disposed of nearly twice as many. This famous Rush-Bagot agreement, which prohibited naval armament on the Great Lakes, became an example for land disarmament on the Canadian border as well.

3. Fisheries. By similar friendly agreements several other questions were settled in 1818. The British government renewed the privi-

leges allowed New England fishermen in 1783 to take fish along the coasts of Canada and Newfoundland and to land on the unsettled portions of these coasts for the purpose of drying and curing their fish.

4. The northern boundary to the Rocky Mountains. The northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase was definitely fixed. The treaty of peace of 1783, ending the Revolutionary War, placed the northern boundary at the Lake of the Woods. In 1818 this boundary was extended a thousand miles through a noninhabited region along the forty-ninth parallel to the "Stony (Rocky) Mountains."

5. Oregon Territory. Efforts to settle the boundary west of the Rocky Mountains were more difficult. Fur-trading companies, both British and American, were beginning to penetrate the Oregon country. It was a vast territory, extending from Spanish California to Russian Alaska. To avoid a conflict between the pioneers entering the territory, the United States and England agreed upon a joint occupation for ten years. At the end of the ten years the northwestern boundary dispute was no nearer settlement, and the period of joint ownership was continued. (For final settlement in 1846, see pages 296–297.)

Acquisition of the land east of the Mississippi from the Indians. By the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 (pages 156–157), the Indians were forced to surrender lands in Ohio, and as a result of the crushing of Tecumseh's conspiracy by Harrison's victory at Tippecanoe (1811), the Indians of the Great Lakes region gave up their territory and moved farther west. In the region about the Gulf of Mexico, Indian wars were common. General Andrew Jackson in 1814 defeated the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend and forced them to cede their lands, with the exception of some territory in Alabama and Georgia, to the United States. In the quarter century after 1815 the Indian tribes were deprived of practically all their land east of the Mississippi. They were moved intermittently — always away from the lands the white man wanted. This removal of the Indians was not accomplished without legal battles over land titles and frequent military skirmishes between the federal government and the Indians. (See the map on page 253; see also pages 252–254.)

The purchase of Florida, 1819. 1. Conflicting claims to East and West Florida. Ever since the purchase of Louisiana the United States had put forward a claim to West Florida; that is, the narrow strip along the Gulf from the Perdido River to the Mississippi. In 1810, acting under orders from Washington, the governor of the Orleans territory incorporated this area into his own territory, and when Louisiana entered the Union in 1812, this occupied territory was included. The action was defended on the ground that this region had been included in the Louisiana Purchase. Spain was too weak for effective protest. But the United States wanted East Florida as well, not only because it thought the peninsula would round out its possessions, but also because the riv-

ers reaching to the Gulf were of economic value to Southern farmers. Both Jefferson and Madison had made several attempts to secure Florida. Monroe's Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, who had had long diplomatic experience in Europe, began in 1817 negotiations not only to purchase Florida but also to solve all the boundary disputes between Spain and the United States.

2. Andrew Jackson in Florida. In 1818 an army under General Jackson was sent to the defense of the frontiersmen in the Southwest. At the approach of an overwhelming force the Indians broke and fled, as they had done before, across the boundary to Florida. To Jackson an international boundary was no barrier if he thought the interests of his country required him to cross it. Nor is it certain that he was not encouraged to do so by his own government. Jackson not only pursued the Indians into Spanish territory but he also seized and held the principal Spanish posts. Besides, he caught and hanged two British subjects, one of whom was engaged in inciting the Indians to border attacks. The Spanish authorities could not offer resistance, but they did demand an apology, and hoped that England would somehow help them in resisting American aggression. But after the long Napoleonic wars, England wanted peace and refused to intervene. Monroe recalled General Jackson's troops, apparently believing Jackson's show of force prepared the way for a peaceable acquisition of Florida.

Monroe refused to yield to the Spanish government's request that Jackson be punished. In the Cabinet discussion of Jackson's actions, Calhoun, then Secretary of War, sought to rebuke Jackson. Jackson knew that some of the Cabinet had urged that he be criticized, but for a long time he thought that his enemy in the Cabinet was John Q. Adams. Several years passed before he learned that it was Calhoun and not Adams who had advocated his censure. This episode helps to explain both Jackson's hatred for Adams and his later split with Calhoun.

After the Jackson incident in 1818 Adams asked Spain to choose between protecting Americans from border raiders and ceding the Floridas to the United States. Spain finally accepted the second alternative.

3. The treaty with Spain, 1819. Spain agreed to cede the Floridas to the United States, and the United States agreed to pay the claims of American citizens against Spain to the amount of $5,000,000, and to abandon its claim to Texas. Both Clay and Adams tried to prevent the United States from giving up its strong but uncertain claims to Texas. But President Monroe allowed the advice of the men of the South, Jackson among them, to outweigh their objections. There was a great anxiety in the far South for peace on the frontier and for control of the rivers which flowed from the South through Florida to the Gulf. (Later there was a demand for the reannexation of Texas, pages 289–293.)

4. The "Line of 1819." In dividing the West between the United States and the Spanish colonies in Texas and California, the boundary

(the so-called "Line of 1819") was run from the Sabine River east of Texas in a northwesterly direction as far as the forty-second parallel, and along that line to the Pacific. (Study the map on page 175.) This boundary line meant that the United States had surrendered its doubtful claim to Texas, and also that Spain surrendered her somewhat valid claims to the Oregon country. By the Treaty of 1818 with England and that of 1819 with Spain, Adams had laid the foundations for American expansion to the Pacific.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE CHECKS EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

The Russian advance on the Pacific coast. Those who were planning to win an outlet for the United States upon the Pacific were alarmed at the Russian advance into North America. Russian fur traders had pushed through Siberia and across Bering Strait into Alaska. During the War of 1812 the Russian-American Fur Company built a fortified village near San Francisco. In 1821 the czar announced that Russia claimed the Pacific coast of North America as far south as the fifty-first parallel. Adams, anxious to outlaw European expansion on this continent, protested vigorously. In a letter to the Russian ambassador in July, 1823, Adams asserted that "the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments."

Fear of British aggression in Latin America. The problem of the Pacific coast and the converging of the expansion movement of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States in faraway Oregon was only one of a series of problems which had arisen. In South and Central America most of Spain's colonies had established themselves as independent republics in the dozen years preceding 1822. In 1823 Mexico was in revolt against Spain. There were rumors that Cuba would also revolt. Great Britain sent a fleet to Cuba and Puerto Rico to guard her commerce and prevent annexation by the United States. It was now the turn of the United States to suspect the British were planning annexation.

The danger of European intervention in the Western Hemisphere. At about the same time a third problem confronted the United States. It came in the form of a rumor that Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia were united in a league to put down republican uprisings everywhere, and that they were planning to aid Spain to reconquer its American colonies. In England this proposal alarmed businessmen and merchants who had been able to establish trade with South American republics, for they feared their trade would be cut off.

In the United States the conquest by a European force of a half-dozen republics that had won their freedom by revolution and had copied the American constitution was regarded as a direct attack upon republican governments everywhere. To a lesser degree there was con-



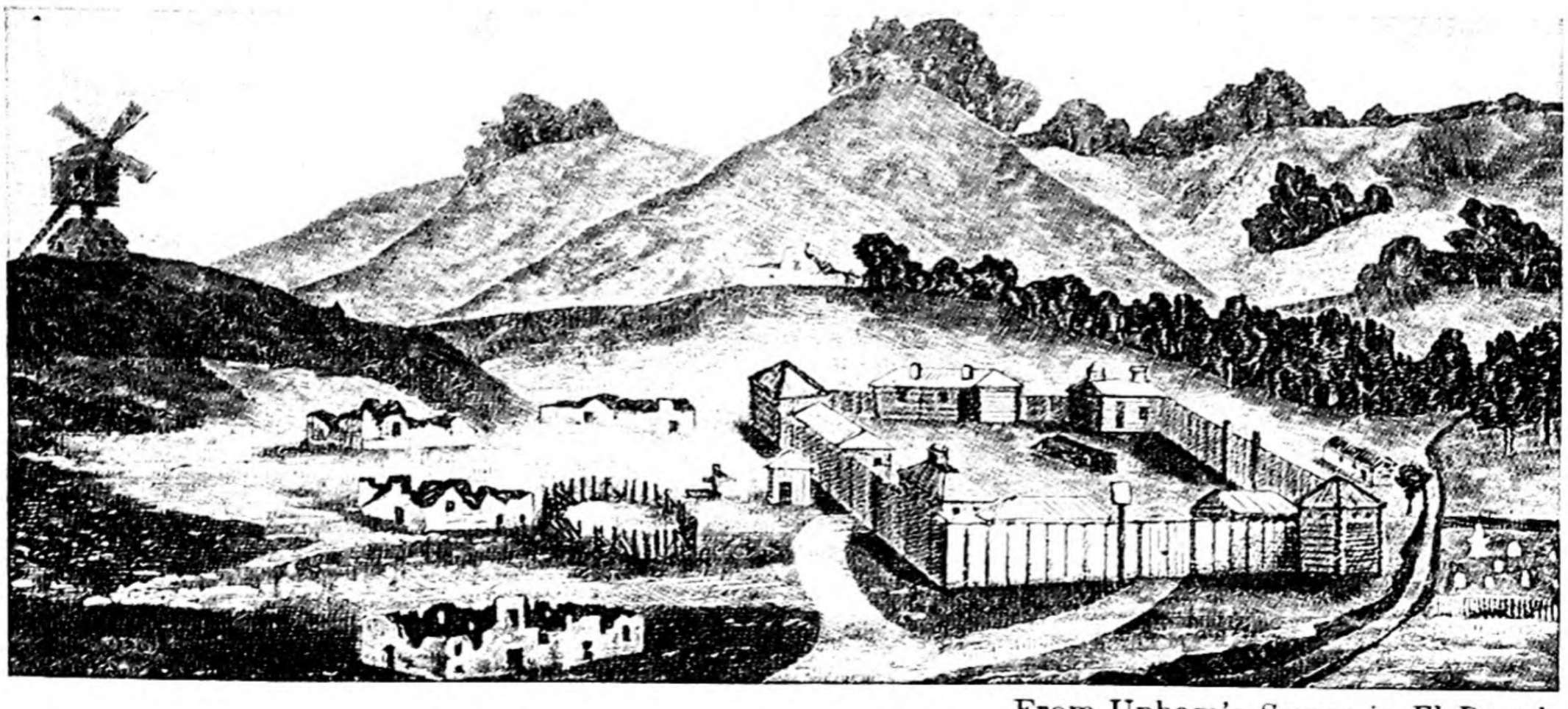
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

The Creek Indians, who were defeated by General Andrew Jackson in 1814, lived in villages consisting of huts of this type clustered around a public square.



Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art

The dugout, used universally by the Indians and adopted by the white man, was made by hollowing out a log. Long journeys were made in this type of craft.



From Upham's *Scenes in El Dorado*

Fort Ross, built in 1809, was a base for the Russian-American Fur Company In 1843 (above) it was probably the strongest fortification on the Pacific coast.

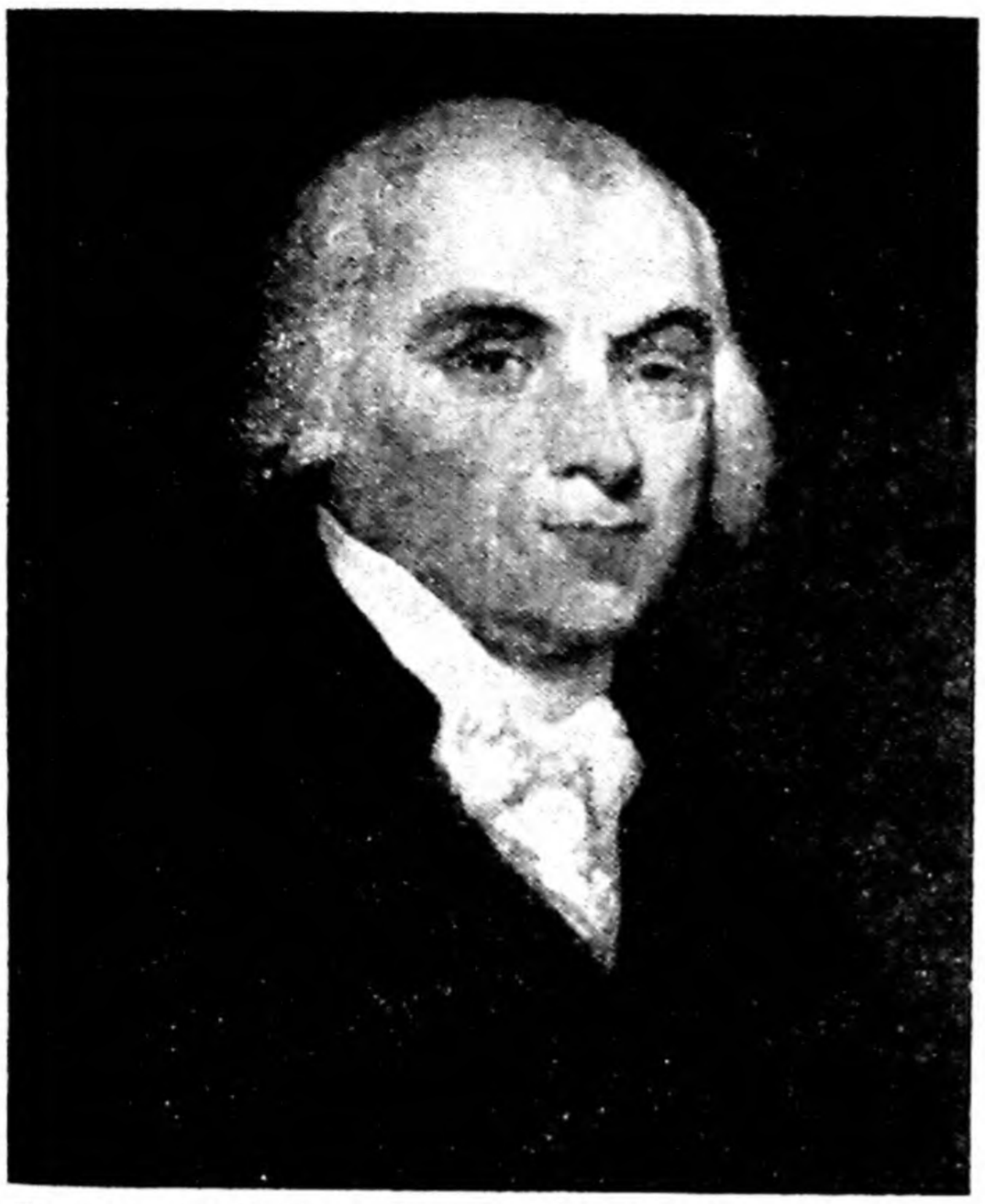
cern over the loss of the small commercial relations that merchants had been successful in building up in South America. Common interests drove the United States and Great Britain to talk of co-operation.

The British proposal for joint action. Four times George Canning, Prime Minister of Great Britain, proposed to the United States a joint declaration against any plan to subjugate the Spanish republics. President Monroe's first impulse was to agree. The ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison were consulted, and they also agreed. Madison wanted co-operation to go further and take the form of joint intervention in behalf of the liberals in Spain and the Greeks struggling for freedom from Turkey. Others favored intervention in behalf of republican government wherever there was a hope of success. All the ideas of foreign policy held in the United States up to this time — aloofness, isolation, nonentangling alliances — were in danger of being thrown overboard.

Adams's insistence on individual action. Monroe's Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, however, believed the United States ought to act separately: "The ground I wish to take is that of earnest remonstrance against the interference of European policy by force with South America, but to disclaim all interference on our part with Europe; to make an American cause and adhere inflexibly to that." Such a policy had the added advantage that it might block further territorial acquisitions by Great Britain without preventing the expansion of the United States.

Monroe's message to Congress, December, 1823. Monroe finally accepted the views of his Secretary of State. The foreign policy of John Quincy Adams thus became the Monroe Doctrine, which was formulated in Monroe's annual message to Congress (December, 1823).

> *With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere.* But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, *we could not view any interposition* for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any manner their destiny, *by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly* disposition toward the United States. . . . Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, *not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers;* to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. *It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and*



Painting by Gilbert Stuart. Virginia State Library



From a portrait

Left: James Madison (1751–1836), known as the "father of the Constitution," became the fourth President of the United States.

Right: General William Henry Harrison (1773–1841) was governor of the Indiana Territory when he defeated the Indians at Tippecanoe.



Copy of painting by Thomas Sully. Courtesy Virginia State Capitol

James Monroe (1758–1831), served his country as governor of Virginia, ambassador to France, Secretary of State, and as fifth President of the United States.

happiness; nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference.

The policies expressed in the Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine included the following principles: 1. The Americas were not open to further colonization by European powers. 2. Any effort of the European powers to intervene in any portion of the Western Hemisphere would be regarded as "dangerous to our peace and safety." 3. The United States would not interfere with the internal concerns of any European power.

The arguments of the opponents. The "Monroe Doctrine" did not meet with universal approval at the time of its announcement. John Randolph, who represented the opponents of the Monroe Doctrine in Congress, declared that it would "put the peace of the nation into peril. And for whom? For a people about whom we know almost as little as we do about the Greeks. . . . For to entangling alliances we must come if you once embark in such projects as this." Henry Clay, the popular Speaker of the House of Representatives, failed in his attempt to place Congress upon record in favor of Monroe's Doctrine. Thus the Monroe Doctrine was, in its origin, nothing more than an expressed opinion of the President of the United States.

The effectiveness of the Doctrine. Despite criticism, the Monroe Doctrine survived as a persistent principle of American foreign policy. Its apparent immediate success in keeping European countries out of Latin America was due in part to the fact that they were well aware of England's attitude and that they probably did not have as serious intentions of intervening as was supposed.

We shall leave the question of the full meaning and significance of the Monroe Doctrine to unfold itself at the proper time (pages 672–678). In 1824 the United States concluded a treaty with Russia, fixing the southernmost limit of Russian colonization at the parallel 54° 40′.

American isolation firmly established. The Monroe Doctrine was the high-water mark of the newer nationalism and the spirit of aloofness and independence engendered by the War of 1812. In the field of foreign affairs the young nation had profited greatly by Europe's distress — it disentangled itself from European commitments, purchased Louisiana and Florida, prepared the way for transcontinental expansion, and through the Monroe Doctrine outlawed further European intervention in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere.

UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONALISM, POLITICS IS ADJOURNED

The "Era of Good Feeling." A brief review of political history will help to fix certain names and dates in our memory. For the first eight

years of our national history, 1789–97, George Washington, a Virginian and Federalist, was President. During his administration two political parties began to struggle for power. The election of 1796 revealed the closeness of the struggle between the two groups, for John Adams of Massachusetts, a Federalist, captured the presidency and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, the founder of the Republican party, became Vice-President. In 1800 Jefferson was elected President, serving two terms, 1801–09. He chose as his successor his Secretary of State James Madison, who was elected and served for an eight-year period, 1809–17. During Madison's administration the War of 1812 was fought, and the Republican party, originally one of strict construction and states' rights, became thoroughly nationalized. Federalist opposition to the War of 1812, which led to the disastrous Hartford Convention, was the death-knell of the party. It lost strength rapidly and made but feeble attempts to prevent the election of another Virginian, James Monroe, as President in 1816. Monroe, too, had been Secretary of State. He likewise served as President for a period of eight years, 1817–25.

The absence of political rancor is shown by the almost unanimous re-election of Monroe in 1820. There was only one electoral vote cast against him, and that because the elector, for sentimental reasons, thought that only one man, Washington, deserved the honor of a unanimous vote of the Electoral College. Even the second President, John Adams, stanch Federalist that he had been, voted for Monroe. The *Boston Centinel,* which had appeared in mourning the day that Jefferson was inaugurated and had hailed the Hartford Convention as the beginning of a new revolution, coined the phrase the "Era of Good Feeling" to describe Monroe's triumphant tour of the country after his inauguration. Even in its stronghold Federalism had declined.

John Marshall, Chief Justice, 1801–35. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court came into its own. For the first dozen years of the country's history the Supreme Court was of little importance. Under Chief Justice John Marshall it achieved dominance.

Marshall, who was born in Virginia in 1755, had served as an officer in the Revolutionary War. Marshall studied law, and became a leader of the bar in Virginia. He served on the mission to France at the time of the XYZ episode, and was later elected to Congress. He was appointed chief justice by John Adams in the closing months of his administration, February, 1801. He served as chief justice for more than a third of a century until his death in 1835. Thus he presided over the Court during its formative period. Although he was but one member of the Court, Marshall's logic and powers of persuasion were so great that he soon won the other members to his way of thinking. Jefferson appointed Republicans to the bench in a deliberate attempt to offset the influence of Marshall's Federalist views; but in time Republican judges became "Marshallized" and were just as nationalistic as Marshall.

The position of the Supreme Court early in our history. During the entire Federalist period the Supreme Court considered only five or six matters of importance. During Jefferson's presidency, the Republicans looked upon the Supreme Court as a relic of the dying Federalist party and paid little heed to it. For some years after he became chief justice in 1801, Marshall seemed to be presiding over a useless branch of the government, for only a few important constitutional cases were decided in that period. It was in the years after 1815, when national sentiment waxed strong, that Marshall delivered some of his most important opinions. There was one decision, however, in this early period that was of major importance, probably the most far-reaching one of all: Marbury *vs.* Madison (1803).

THE SUPREME COURT ASSUMES THE RIGHT TO REVIEW THE ACTS OF CONGRESS AND THE STATES

Marbury vs. *Madison.* In the case of Marbury *vs.* Madison, decided in 1803, the Court ruled, Marshall writing the opinion, that the Supreme Court could review the acts of Congress and the President, and might declare a particular law void because it was not the exercise of a power given to Congress by the Constitution.

1. Origin of the case. Marbury and several others were among the Federalists who were appointed to office by Adams just before his term expired. The appointments had been ratified by the Senate and their commissions signed by Adams, but they had not been delivered before Jefferson's inauguration. Acting upon instructions from Jefferson, Madison, the new Secretary of State, refused the Federalist appointees their commissions, although everything had been done to legalize their appointment. The usual procedure for persons so discriminated against as Marbury was to obtain a writ of *mandamus*, or an order from a court compelling an official to perform those acts which in the ordinary administration of his office he ought to perform. Marbury applied to the Supreme Court for such a writ to compel Madison to deliver his commission. Marbury's suit was based upon the Judiciary Act of 1789, which gave the Supreme Court the power to issue a writ of mandamus "in cases warranted by the principles and usages of law to persons holding office under the authority of the United States."

Marshall recognized that the question involved in the case was greater than the immediate issue of Marbury's appointment. Jefferson, through Madison, had refused Marbury his commission because he wanted to check the Federalist influence in the judiciary. Marshall, as chief justice, used this opportunity to criticize Jefferson and to strengthen the judiciary. He first severely "lectured" Jefferson, declaring (a) that Marbury was properly and legally appointed to the office of justice of the peace, and (b) that a refusal to deliver to Marbury his commission

was a plain violation of his rights. Marshall went further and declared that Congress had exceeded its constitutional power by granting the Supreme Court *original jurisdiction* in a matter of this kind. He explained that the Constitution gave the Supreme Court *original* jurisdiction only in "all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls," and those in which a state shall be a party. The Court held that it was *beyond the power of Congress to add to cases in which the Supreme Court had original jurisdiction;* it therefore decided that the section of the Judiciary Act of 1789 which increased those powers was void and of no effect. Marbury, therefore, could not obtain relief in the Supreme Court, and his case was dismissed.

2. Marshall's argument for judicial review. Nowhere does the Constitution expressly confer upon the Supreme Court this power. The right of the Supreme Court to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional is called the power of "judicial review." It will be well to let Marshall state the reasoning by which he came to the conclusion that it was the function of the judiciary to declare acts of Congress null and void:

> [By the Constitution] the powers of the legislature are defined and limited; and *that those limited may not be mistaken or forgotten, the Constitution is written. To what purpose are powers limited — if these limits may at any time be passed by those intended to be restrained?* It is a proposition too plain to be contested; that the Constitution controls any legislative act repugnant to it; or that the legislature may alter the Constitution by an ordinary act. . . .
>
> The peculiar expressions of the Constitution furnish arguments in favor of the rejection of the theory that "courts must close their eyes on the Constitution, and see only the law." *The judicial power of the United States is extended to all cases arising under the Constitution. Could it be the intention of those who gave this power, to say that in using it the Constitution should not be looked into? That a case arising under the Constitution should be decided without examining the instrument under which it arises? This is too extravagant to be maintained.*
>
> In some cases, then, the Constitution must be looked into by the judges. And if they can open it at all, what part of it are they forbidden to read or to obey? There are many parts of the Constitution which serve to illustrate this subject. . . . "No person," says the Constitution, "shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court." Here the language of the Constitution is addressed especially to the courts. It prescribes, directly for them, a rule of evidence not to be departed from. *If the legislature should change that rule, and declare one witness, or a confession out of court, sufficient for conviction, must the Constitutional principle yield to the legislative act?*
>
> It is also not entirely unworthy of observation that in *declaring what shall be the supreme law of the land, the Constitution itself is*

first mentioned; and not the laws of the United States generally, but those only which shall be made in pursuance of the Constitution have that rank.

3. The effect of Marshall's doctrine on the future. The decision in this case marks the first instance in which the Court announced its right to declare a law of Congress "unconstitutional." Many have contended that Marshall's argument is flawless and that the conclusion is inescapable that the courts have the power of judicial review. Others disagree with this viewpoint and claim that Marshall was boldly endeavoring to set up a check upon the actions of the executive and the legislature. Jefferson complained that if the courts exercised this power the Constitution would be "a mere thing of wax in the hands of the judiciary, which they may twist and shape into any form they please." A half century passed before the Supreme Court again declared a federal law unconstitutional. In all, about seventy-five federal laws have been declared unconstitutional by the Court, two in the period before the War between the States, twenty-five between 1865 and 1900, and approximately fifty in the twentieth century (pages 590–591).

The principle of judicial review applied to state legislation. In two other decisions Marshall carried the doctrine of judicial review still further. In Fletcher *vs.* Peck, decided in 1810, Marshall applied the doctrine of judicial review to *the act of a state legislature.* Boldly he proclaimed that Georgia was "part of a large empire . . . a member of the American union . . . and that union has a Constitution which imposes limits to the legislation of the several states." Six years later, in Martin *vs.* Hunter's Lessee, Associate Justice Story, delivering the opinion of the Court, asserted the right of the Supreme Court to hear *appeals from state courts,* although in this particular case the highest court in Virginia had denied such right of appeal. This decision was criticized by Virginia judges. A few years later Marshall himself had a chance to answer the Virginia critics of the Supreme Court. In 1821, in Cohens *vs.* Virginia, Marshall wrote an even stronger opinion than Story's, declaring that the Supreme Court of the United States had the right to review the actions of state courts. "The Constitution and laws of a state, so far as they are repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States, are absolutely void. These states are constituent parts of one great empire . . . for some purposes sovereign, for some purposes subordinate." In these three cases the Supreme Court, under Marshall, brushed aside the states' rights arguments.

The Dartmouth College case. In still another case Marshall and the Supreme Court found fault with another state legislature (New Hampshire) for impairing the obligation of contracts. This occurred in Dartmourth College *vs.* Woodward (1819). Dartmouth College had originally obtained a charter from the colonial government of New

Hampshire. When the state legislature in 1816 passed a law to bring the college under state control, contrary to the college's charter, a suit arose which eventually came before the Supreme Court. In the decision Marshall ruled the original charter was a contract and the new law impaired, or violated, the contract between the state and the college.

THE SUPREME COURT ADOPTS THE LOOSE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

McCulloch vs. *Maryland.* In McCulloch *vs.* Maryland (1819) the question which had agitated Hamilton and Jefferson — whether the Bank of the United States was constitutional — came before the Supreme Court. Maryland passed a law taxing the business of the second Bank, and when McCulloch, treasurer of the Maryland branch of the Bank, refused to pay the state tax, the state sued to recover. In deciding the case the Supreme Court distinguished between two questions. First: Was the Bank constitutional? Second: Granting that the Bank was constitutional, did Maryland have the right to tax its business?

1. A broad interpretation of "implied powers." To the first question the Supreme Court replied in the affirmative, thus siding with Hamilton in his broad interpretation of the "implied-power clause." Said Marshall, in defining the interpretation to be placed on the words "necessary and proper": "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited but consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional."

2. Limiting the power of the state to tax. In answer to the second question — did Maryland have the right to tax the business of the Bank? — Marshall replied in the negative. He based his answer on two points: first, the powers of the national government, and incidentally the means it uses to carry out its powers, "are not given by the people of a particular state, but by the people of all the states. They are given by all for the benefit of all." Therefore Maryland did not have the right to interfere with the exercise of a power that was for the benefit of all. Secondly, and with devastating force, Marshall argued:

> *That the power to tax involves the power to destroy, that the power to destroy may defeat and render useless the power to create* — are propositions not to be denied. The question is in truth a question of supremacy, and if the right of the states to tax the measures employed by the general government be conceded, the declaration that the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof shall be the supreme law of the land is empty and unmeaning declamation.

Thus in one case, regarded by some as Marshall's ablest opinion, the Supreme Court exalted the power of the national government and

crushed the contention that a state could in any way interfere with the exercise of its powers.

Gibbons vs. *Ogden.* In a series of other cases of almost equal importance Marshall continued to interpret the Constitution in keeping with his belief in the desirability of a strong central government. In Gibbons *vs.* Ogden (1824), sometimes known as the "Steamboat Case," he placed the broadest possible interpretation upon the power of Congress to regulate commerce. The New York State legislature had given Robert Livingston and Robert Fulton a monopoly of steamboat transportation on the Hudson. Livingston and Fulton had in turn granted a license to Ogden to operate steamboats on that river. Ogden brought suit to prevent Gibbons, who was operating steamers in the coastwise trade *under authority of a law of Congress,* from engaging in trade between points on the New York and New Jersey banks of the Hudson River. The Supreme Court ruled that the Livingston-Fulton monopoly granted by the state of New York was void because it interfered with the commerce clause in the Constitution.

Marshall's "judicial statesmanship." Marshall's long term (thirty-four years) and the fact that he was not influenced by precedent gave him an influence in the development of American Constitutional law unequaled by any of his successors. In the cases we have reviewed we have seen that Marshall established the following principles: (1) the right of the Supreme Court to review the acts of Congress; (2) the right of the Supreme Court to review the acts of state legislatures and the decisions of state courts; (3) the judicial acceptance of Hamilton's loose-construction theories of the Constitution by a broad interpretation of the implied powers of Congress and of the power to regulate interstate commerce; (4) the effort to safeguard property rights against legislative encroachment by a broad interpretation of the clauses in the Constitution concerning contracts.

In some particulars Marshall's fundamental principles have been modified and clarified by subsequent decisions. Shortly after his death, "states' rights" judges dominated the Court, and the Court tended to weaken some of the precedents Marshall had established. But later, particularly after the War between the States, there was a return to Marshall's ideas. Marshall founded American constitutional law. Despite the changes that have taken place in the structure that Marshall erected "there is no fame among American statesmen more strongly bulwarked by great and still vital institutions."

Words and Phrases

bonus bill, dumping, East and West Florida, Fletcher *vs.* Peck, Gibbons *vs.* Ogden, isolation, joint occupation, judicial legislation, judicial review, Line of 1819, mandamus, Marbury *vs.* Madison, McCulloch *vs.* Maryland, nationalism, protective tariff, Rush-Bagot agreement

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What Federalist principles were adopted by the Republicans in the years following the War of 1812?
2. What groups and sections favored and opposed the tariff of 1816?
3. "I will not agree to lay a duty on the cultivators of the soil to encourage exotic manufacturers, because after all we should only get much worse things at a higher price." (Randolph in criticism of the tariff of 1816.) Are you in sympathy with Randolph's argument? Reasons.
4. Compare the second Bank of the United States, 1816–36, with the first Bank of the United States, 1791–1811.
5. What claims did the United States have to West Florida?
6. Under what circumstances did the United States acquire Florida? What boundary disputes were settled by the Florida Purchase Treaty?
7. What conditions led to the issuance of the Monroe Doctrine?
8. Outline the provisions of the Monroe Doctrine.
9. What favorable conditions made the Monroe Doctrine successful?
10. What is meant by the "Virginia dynasty"?
11. State the facts in Marbury *vs.* Madison.
12. "The logic of Marshall's argument in the case of Marbury *vs.* Madison is flawless." State the reasoning by which Marshall established the principle of judicial review. Is the argument flawless?
13. State the significance of the decisions of the Supreme Court in Fletcher *vs.* Peck; Gibbons *vs.* Ogden; and McCulloch *vs.* Maryland. How did the decisions increase the sphere of action of the federal government?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Should internal improvements be undertaken at the expense of the federal government, or should the states and local communities finance them? Reasons for your opinion. What bearing did the discussion of this question have upon the theories of the nature of the federal government? Are there any evidences that this question is a matter for debate in the twentieth century?
2. Should Jackson have been reprimanded for his actions in Florida? (Before attempting to answer, study other accounts of his activities.)
3. Make a special investigation of the part played by Monroe, Jefferson, Adams, and others in the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine.
4. Discuss the reasons why the Monroe Doctrine has been widely accepted by the American people as a sound foreign policy. Should the Monroe Doctrine continue to be a main feature of our foreign policy in the twentieth century? (Pages 672–678.)
5. Should the practice of the Supreme Court in declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional be restricted or abolished? Why, or why not?
6. How would limitation of the practice of judicial review be a step toward a parliamentary form of government?
7. Investigate and report on the statement that Marshall used Marbury *vs.* Madison as a political platform to criticize Jefferson.
8. Why may McCulloch *vs.* Maryland be regarded as one of the most important judicial decisions in our history?

9. The writs of *habeas corpus*, *injunction*, and *mandamus* are three powerful equity writs safeguarding life and property. Carefully define each, and illustrate how these writs protect the rights of persons and property.

Suggested Reading

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (A.N.S.), pp. 216–258; Carman, I, 489–557; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, pp. 143–171; Hart, III, 436–441, 561–574; Commager, Nos. 116, 125 – Madison's Veto of Bonus Bill and Monroe's Veto of the Cumberland Road Bill; MacDonald, No. 71 – Act for a National Bank.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (A.N.S.), pp. 271–289; Bailey, pp. 161–170; Bemis, pp. 180–195; Commager, No. 117 – Rush-Bagot Agreement; MacDonald, No. 72 – Florida Treaty.

MONROE DOCTRINE: Bailey, pp. 178–192; Beard and Beard, I, 431–436; Bemis, pp. 196–211; Hart, III, 494–502; Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues* (Y.C.S.), pp. 286–308; Turner, *Rise of the New West* (A.N.S.), pp. 199–223; Commager, Nos. 126, 127 – English Background of the Monroe Doctrine and the Monroe Doctrine.

CLAY'S AMERICAN SYSTEM: Bassett, pp. 384–385; Faulkner, pp. 169–173; Mayo, *Henry Clay: Spokesman of the West*.

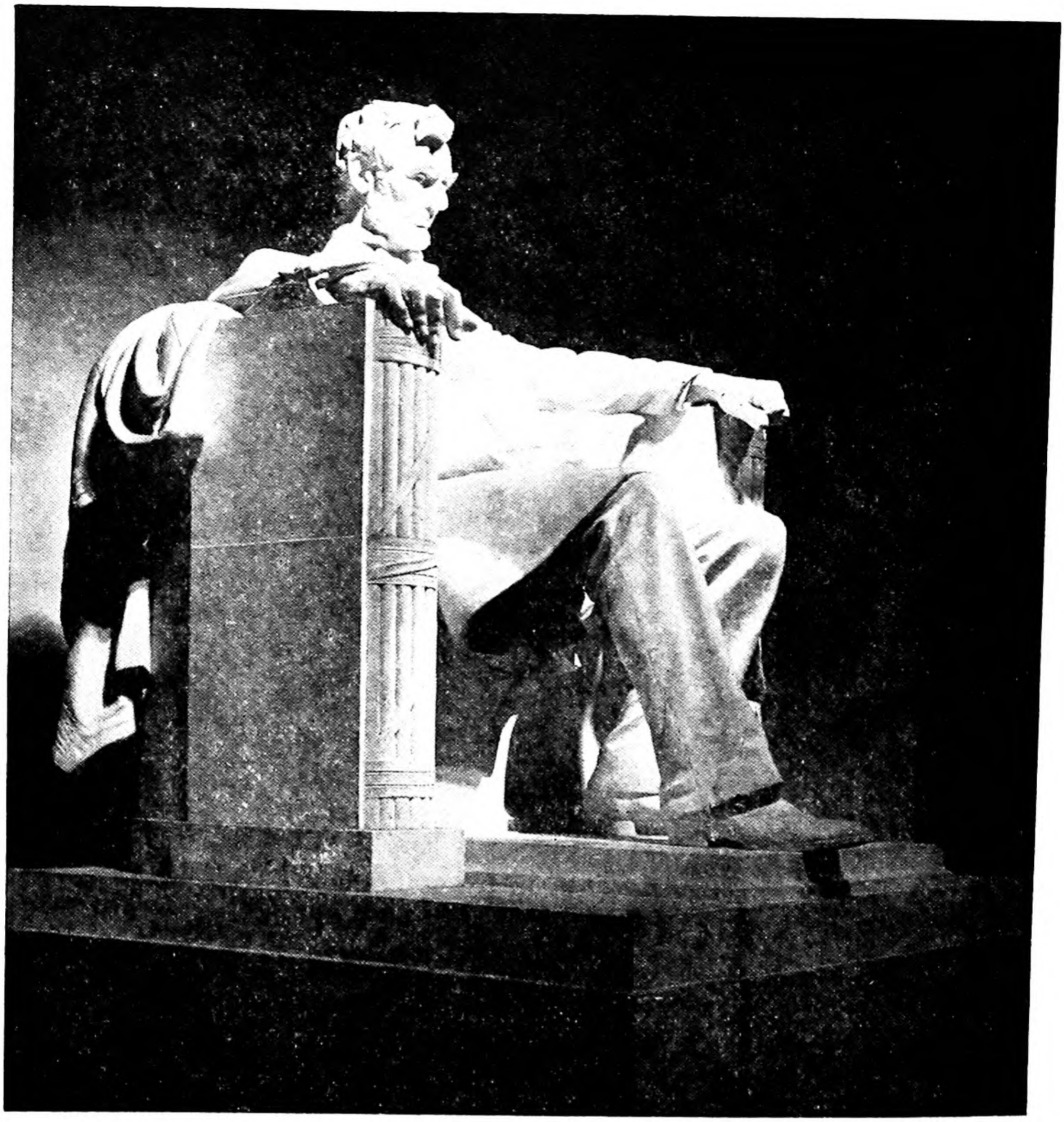
JOHN MARSHALL AND THE SUPREME COURT: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (A.N.S.), pp. 290–308; Beard, *The Republic*, pp. 222–241; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 20–39; Channing, *Jeffersonian System* (A.N.S.), pp. 111–125; Corwin, *John Marshall and the Constitution* (Y.C.S.), pp. 53–85, 121–197; McLaughlin, *A Constitutional History of the United States*, pp. 299–319, 383–400; Commager, Nos. 109, 113, 118, 119, 123, 129 – Marshall's leading decisions.

IV

NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM

CHAPTERS

15 The Sections
16 The Tariff, the Bank, and Internal Improvements
17 Democracy and Politics of the Jacksonian Era
18 Social Aspects of the Growing Democracy
19 Expansion and Slavery
20 The Lull before the Storm
21 The Storm Breaks
22 The War of the Confederate States for Independence
23 The "Crime of Reconstruction"



Harris and Ewing

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it . . . Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? . . . By the frame of government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years." *Abraham Lincoln, in his first inaugural address, March 4, 1861.*

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Sections

THE WESTWARD-MOVING FRONTIER CREATES SPECIAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS

The economic basis of sectionalism. The "Era of Good Feeling" was doomed to be short-lived. The economic differences between the sections made continued political harmony impossible. With the presidential election of 1824 the clash of interests became pronounced. Friction developed among the Republicans. Within a few years the party split in two — as Democrats and Whigs. To the old issues of the Bank, the tariff, and internal improvements were added the new ones of expansion and slavery.

From 1815 to 1825 and after, three factors are of prime significance in understanding the growth of sectionalism. They are: (1) the continued increase of manufacturing in the Northeast; (2) the development of the cotton plantations in the South; and (3) the almost unbelievably rapid development of the West. There ensued, therefore, a struggle for political control among planter, farmer, and manufacturer, or, in more customary language, among South, West, and North. Since no one section could influence the national government to pursue an economic program which benefited its citizens exclusively, there were attempts at alliance between two of the sections against the third. For the most part the North and the South vied for the support of the West. These sections, with their divergent interests, produced leaders who became idols of their respective sections, but who found it impossible to become the idols of the nation as a whole.

The admission of new states. A third of a century had produced important changes. First, the new national government had successfully weathered various storms; second, the physical area of the country had been doubled; and third, the region from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi had been settled. In 1800 the population of the country was 5,308,443; of this number only a twentieth lived west of the Alleghenies. In 1830 the population was 12,866,020, and one third of the people lived west of the Alleghenies.

By 1821 the number of states in the Union had nearly doubled. Vermont was admitted in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, and Ohio in 1803; then, in quick succession, Louisiana, 1812; Indiana,

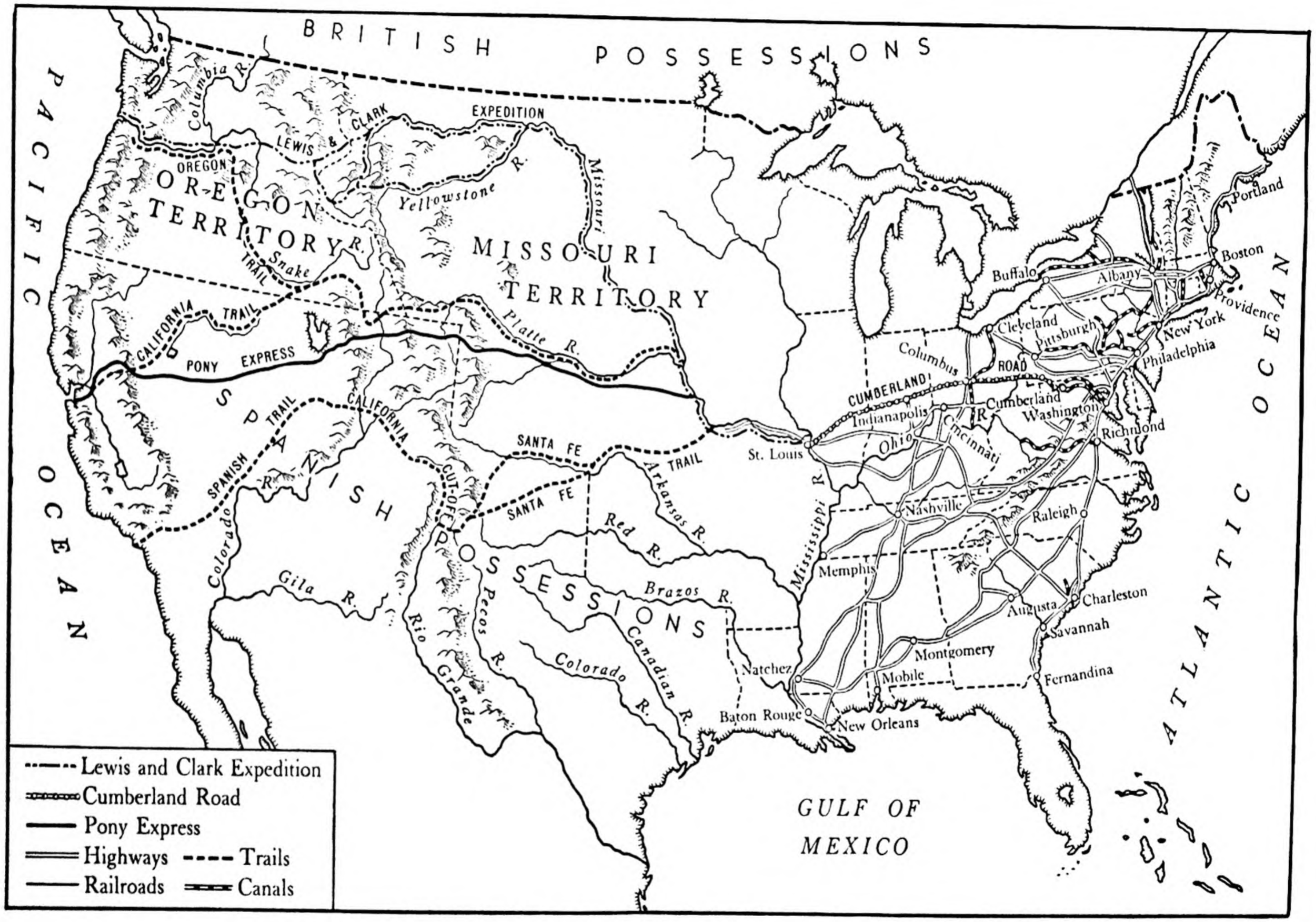
1816; Mississippi, 1817; Illinois, 1818; Alabama, 1819; Maine (separating from Massachusetts), 1820; and Missouri, 1821. In thirty years the Union had grown from thirteen to twenty-four states.

The march westward. Many of the Western settlers were immigrants from Europe — a stream of free labor which increased rapidly after the War of 1812. But the bulk of the Western pioneers came from the older communities. Hard times, resulting from the embargo, released large numbers of laborers who sought economic freedom by moving westward. The planter of the South had been facing ruin for years, owing largely to the exhaustion of the soil. As cotton came into greater demand, the planter migrated to the southwestern cotton belt, a region which slowly but surely took financial and political control away from the old seaboard South.

The government's land policy. The westward movement was hastened both by the successful outcome of the Indian campaigns incident to the War of 1812 and by the government's liberal land policy. Originally the government, in urgent need of funds, sold the Western lands in large tracts to land companies. The law of 1796 provided for the sale of tracts of 640 acres at $2.00 per acre. This plan called for an investment beyond the resources of the average frontiersman, and gave rise to the speculator and land jobber. In 1800 Congress provided for the sale of a half-section — 320 acres — at $2.00 an acre, with payments extended over a period of four years. In 1820, yielding to popular demand, Congress permitted the purchase of 80 acres at $1.25 an acre.

The rush to the West was so great that frequently pioneers settled on the land, cleared it, built a cabin, and began cultivation even before the lands had been surveyed or offered for sale. The "squatters" — as these unlawful first settlers were called — complained when the government undertook to offer their land for sale. Often they banded together to prevent anyone from bidding more than a certain price when the land was put up for auction. The Western influence was sufficiently strong to compel Congress to enact the Pre-emption Law of 1841, whereby squatters could secure a title to 160 acres by settling on the land, cultivating it, and paying for it over a number of years. But even this concession did not satisfy these settlers. The land-hungry did not rest until Congress in 1862 passed the Homestead Act, which permitted the head of a family to secure title to a quarter-section of land (160 acres) by establishing a residence and cultivating the land for a period of five years (pages 322, 349).

The coming of the steamboat and the railroad. The great need of the West was for improved transportation. In 1807 Robert Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, made a successful trial trip from New York to Albany, a distance of one hundred fifty miles, in thirty-two hours. Since the *Clermont* was a commercial success, Fulton frequently gets the credit for inventing the steamboat, although John Fitch, John Stevens,



TRAVEL ROUTES IN 1833

and others really deserve the honor of pioneering this invention. Within a few years steamships were in use on the Mississippi, the Great Lakes, and along the Atlantic coast. In 1819 the *Savannah*, using steam and sail, crossed the Atlantic, and in 1838 the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, using steam only, made the voyage from England to New York.

As Fulton demonstrated the practicability of the steamboat, George Stephenson in England in 1829 demonstrated the practicability of the steam locomotive, although others had previously carried out successful experiments. In 1829 two steam locomotives, brought over from England, were used on a short railway owned by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. In 1830 American-built locomotives were tried out by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company and the South Carolina Railroad Company. Within ten years short railroads linked the chief cities along the Atlantic coast. Railroads did not extend as far west as Pittsburgh or Chicago until the middle of the century.

Routes to the Northwest. In the early nineteenth century wagon roads, canals, and river steamboats were the means of transportation in the settling of the West. Each spring a fresh body of pioneers pushed westward into the wilderness that extended to the Mississippi River. Before the season was over a new frontier of log cabins and garden patches had grown up in the great Mississippi Valley. For this migration the rivers were the chief highways, except over the Appalachians.

A family that moved in 1822 from Philadelphia to the "New Purchase" in Indiana traveled by stagecoach as far as Pittsburgh. The journey over the mountains required six days, traveling from three o'clock in the morning until late at night. At Pittsburgh they went aboard a floating house, which bore a closer resemblance to Noah's ark than to a modern boat, and for a week floated lazily down the Ohio River to the Indiana border. For a third week they traveled in a wagon over rough roads to central Indiana, where they soon made themselves a home.

The less fortunate traveled in canvas-covered wagons, camping by the roadside or sleeping on the crowded living-room floors of log taverns. Many sold their teams and wagons in Pittsburgh and took passage on a rowboat or a flatboat or on one of the new steamboats now making the Ohio River the wonderful highway of the West.

The "national" and state roads. In 1818 the government of the United States completed a road from Cumberland on the Potomac to Wheeling on the Ohio. It was known as the National, or Cumberland, Road. It was carefully graded and had a surface of stone and gravel. Whereas most other roads at the time charged tolls for their use, this roadway was free to all. It was rapidly extended through central Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois nearly to St. Louis, though little of it west of Wheeling was improved.

The reluctance of the national government to embark upon a program of internal improvements left that expensive task to the states.

State roads were little more than blazed trails through the forests. Only the eastern portion of the Philadelphia–Lancaster turnpike, which had toll gates every ten miles, was improved. As new roads were built, regions that could not be reached by boats were settled.

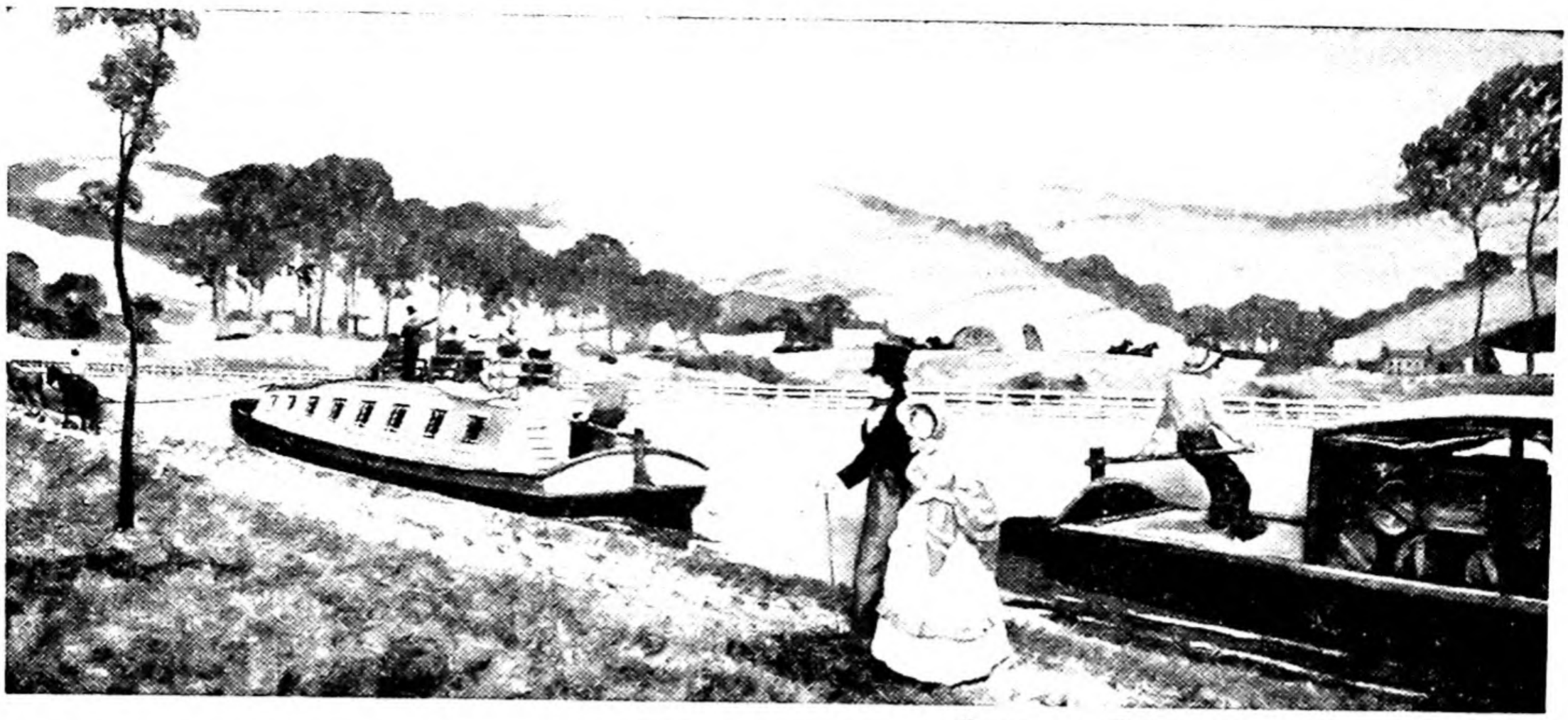
The highways to the Southwest. In the South state roads were built through the Cumberland Gap and other parts of the Southwest. These roads had very few improvements beyond a few ferries and bridges, yet they did enable the settlers from the South to spread over interior regions. But in the lower Southwest the main highways were the rivers. From the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Gulf immigrants spread inland. It was sometimes a southward movement from Kentucky and Tennessee, and at other times an eastward movement from New Orleans or Memphis.

Stagecoach and wagon lines. The establishment of a stagecoach line was a sign that a section was passing out of the pioneer period. Lines of stagecoaches soon ran regularly to the West over the Cumberland Road. From the important towns along the route other stagecoach lines ran north and south. The village squares along the route were set apart for camping sites for the wagoners. Taverns every few miles provided lodgings and entertainment. Some of the new ones, with names such as the "American House" and the "National House of the United States," testified to the growing interest in the federal government.

Canal building. Canals had been used in Europe for centuries, and it was felt that America, too, must have canals to reduce the cost of transportation. The first canals, like the first turnpikes, were built by private companies. Canals were constructed to connect the Chesapeake with the Delaware, and the Delaware with the Hudson. A company built a canal along the Potomac River from Washington to Cumberland, carrying out a plan proposed by George Washington for a waterway from the Chesapeake to the Ohio. For this and most of the other major projects of the day, the resources of private companies proved insufficient.

1. The Erie Canal. Governor De Witt Clinton of New York induced the state legislature to build the Erie Canal to connect New York City with the Midwest. The canal was 363 miles long, running from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. Completed in 1825 after seven years of construction, it cost about eight million dollars. It became the great highway to the West. New York City, as Clinton prophesied, grew rapidly. "It will become," he said, "the granary of the world, and the emporium of commerce, the seat of manufacturers, the focus of great money operations, and the whole island of Manhattan . . . will constitute one vast city."

2. The portage railroad and canal in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania's mountains stood as a great barrier, but rather than see New York have



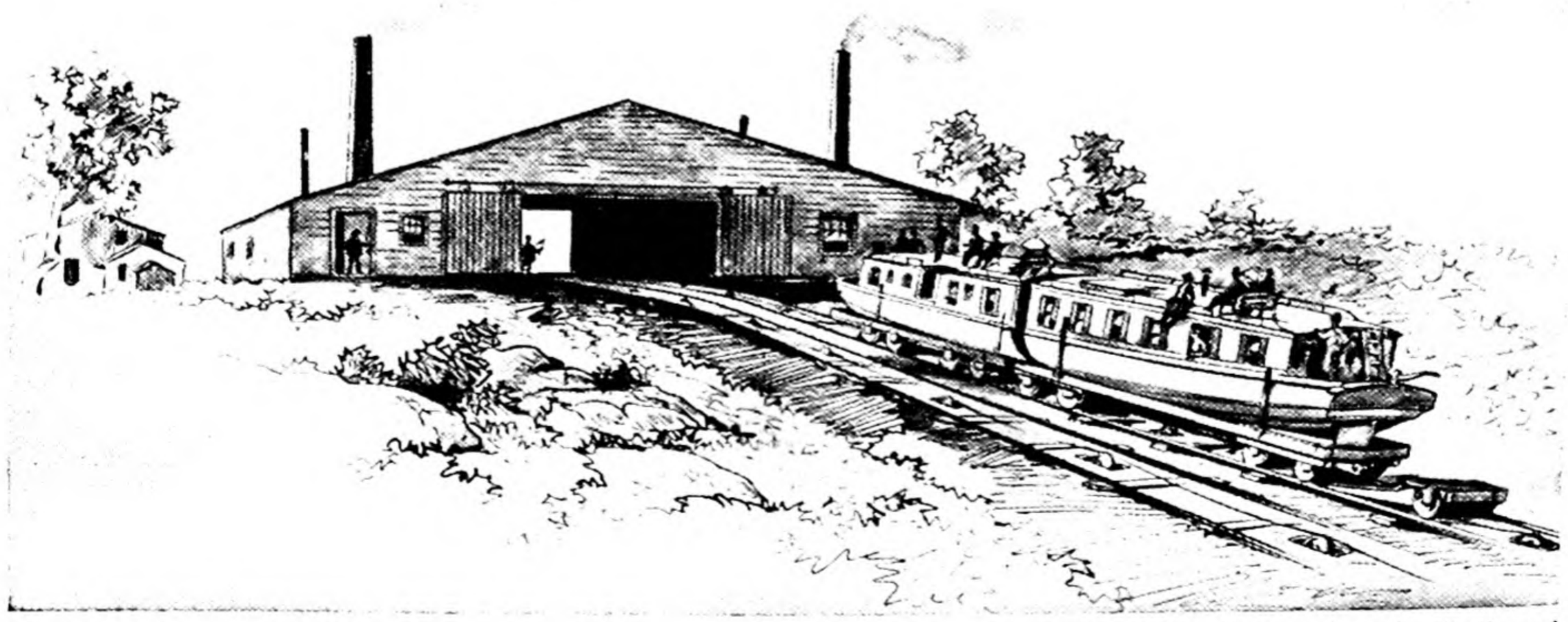
Courtesy Public Roads Administration

The canalboats on the Erie Canal were drawn by horses and mules. The canal greatly reduced the cost of hauling a ton of freight from Buffalo to Albany.



Courtesy Public Roads Administration

Roads, bridges, and canals were a great need of the expanding country. In 1846 many plank roads, similar to this one, were built.



Courtesy Pennsylvania Railroad

The Allegheny Portage Railroad was built to transport the canalboats over the mountains. Inclined planes and cars on rails were used instead of canal locks.

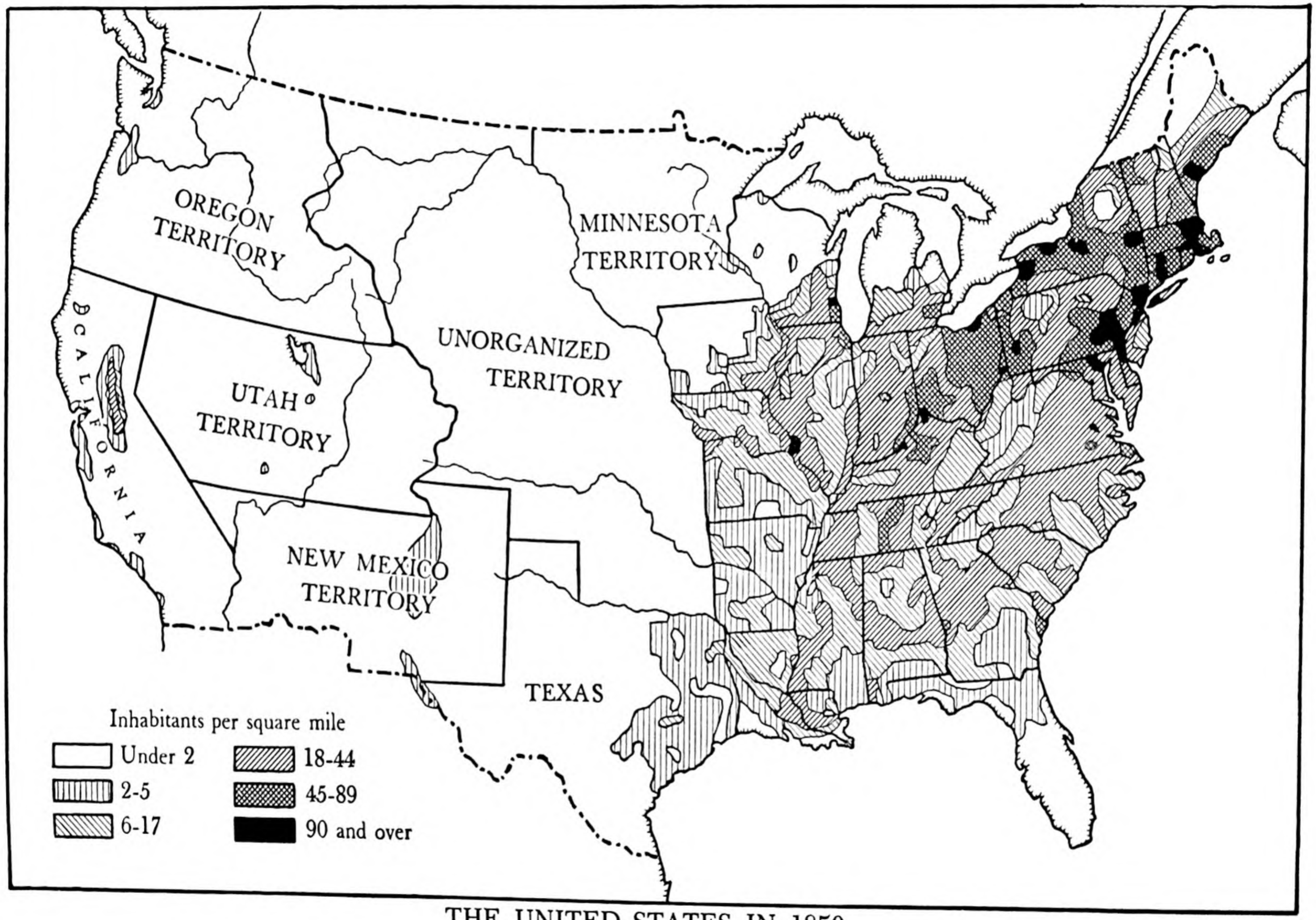
all the trade between the East and the West, the state completed in 1834 a highway of its own, combining in it the new and the old. A railroad ran from Philadelphia as far as the Susquehanna River, where freight could be transferred to canalboats, which went on to Pittsburgh. The boats were dragged across the mountains on a portage railroad, operating with stationary engines and endless ropes, thus avoiding the need for locks.

3. Canal building in the Western states. The value of the Eastern canals for carrying passengers and freight led to a veritable rage for canals. All parts of the country wished to share in the advantages they offered. In the Western states the resources neither of private companies nor of the state governments were sufficient to build the canals which were needed. While Madison and Monroe were in the White House, they did not favor using federal funds for canal building. But President John Quincy Adams and his Congress thought differently, so in 1827 and 1828 extensive grants of land were given to assist in building state systems of canals. Fewer canals were built in the South, but that region was more generously supplied with navigable rivers.

The effects of improvements in transportation. With a rush the northern parts of the old Northwest filled up. Of great importance to the well-being of the settlers was the fact that freight boats bore to them the products of the East and carried back in exchange the growth of their farms. The price of salt in the West fell from $10 a barrel to $4. Wheat rose in price from forty cents a bushel to a dollar. The cost of shipping a ton of merchandise by wagon from the Atlantic to the West was reduced by canalboats from $100 to less than $8. Those who lived in the West began to have, as a result of the canal packets and the river and lake steamboats, the opportunities and the conveniences of those who lived near the Atlantic coast.

In the twenty years from 1830 to 1850 the population west of the mountains rose from 3,700,000 to 10,400,000. By 1850 nearly half the population of the United States lived west of the Appalachians. Michigan was admitted as a state in 1837 and Wisconsin in 1848. But even before that two states completely west of the Mississippi had entered the Union — Missouri in 1821 and Arkansas in 1836.

The influence of the frontier. The influence of the expanding frontier may be briefly summarized: (1) The West decreased our dependence upon Europe and led to the development of the policy of isolation as the nation became a great producer of farm products and raw materials. (2) The West influenced the purchase of Louisiana, supported the War of 1812, and urged the adoption of a policy of "agricultural imperialism," which led to war with Mexico, the acquisition of the Pacific Southwest, and the settlement of the Oregon boundary (pages 292, 296). (3) The frontier stimulated the growth of democratic institutions and customs; many political reform movements had their origin



THE UNITED STATES IN 1850

and greatest strength in the West (pages 258–260). (4) The existence of an apparently inexhaustible area of free land encouraged wasteful methods of agriculture. (5) At the same time, the shortage of labor encouraged the invention and use of laborsaving farm machinery. (6) The West furnished an outlet for the manufactured goods of the East. (7) The heavy immigration from the East to the West tended to keep factory wages in the East at a relatively high level. (8) The West influenced the governmental policy toward roads, canals, and railroads. (9) The West, demanding easy credit, was opposed to the more conservative financial and banking policies of the settled East; hence the opposition to the first and second Bank of the United States, and the encouragement of inflationary proposals. (10) The expansion to the West profoundly influenced the sectional controversy between the North and the South over slavery. (11) Although the West developed sectional interests and a sectional consciousness, in general the influence of the West has been toward nationalism. This is illustrated (a) by the dependence of the West upon the federal government for a liberal land policy, for cheap credit, for help against the Indians, for internal improvements, and for the regulation of railroads and monopolies; (b) by the influence of the West upon our foreign policy; (c) by the attitude of the West toward slavery, a "sectional trait that would not down" but which "could not remain sectional in the West." (12) Finally, the influence of the frontier was a leveling one. Each man traveled "on his own." All were owners of land; all were confronted with the necessity of overpowering reluctant nature; all men were regarded equal if they could swing an axe, plow a field, or shoot Indians. The social divisions of the older settlements, based on wealth, family, and position, did not characterize the frontier. (See also pages 229–231, 381–382.)

The demands of the West. In a general way the major problems that confronted the country from 1820 to 1860 were determined by the influence of the West. The West demanded internal improvements at federal expense, a liberal land policy, protection against the Indians, the encouragement of immigration, and the expansion of the United States to the Pacific. Because of its desire for cheap credit, it bitterly opposed the second Bank of the United States and advocated dependence upon state banks under local control.

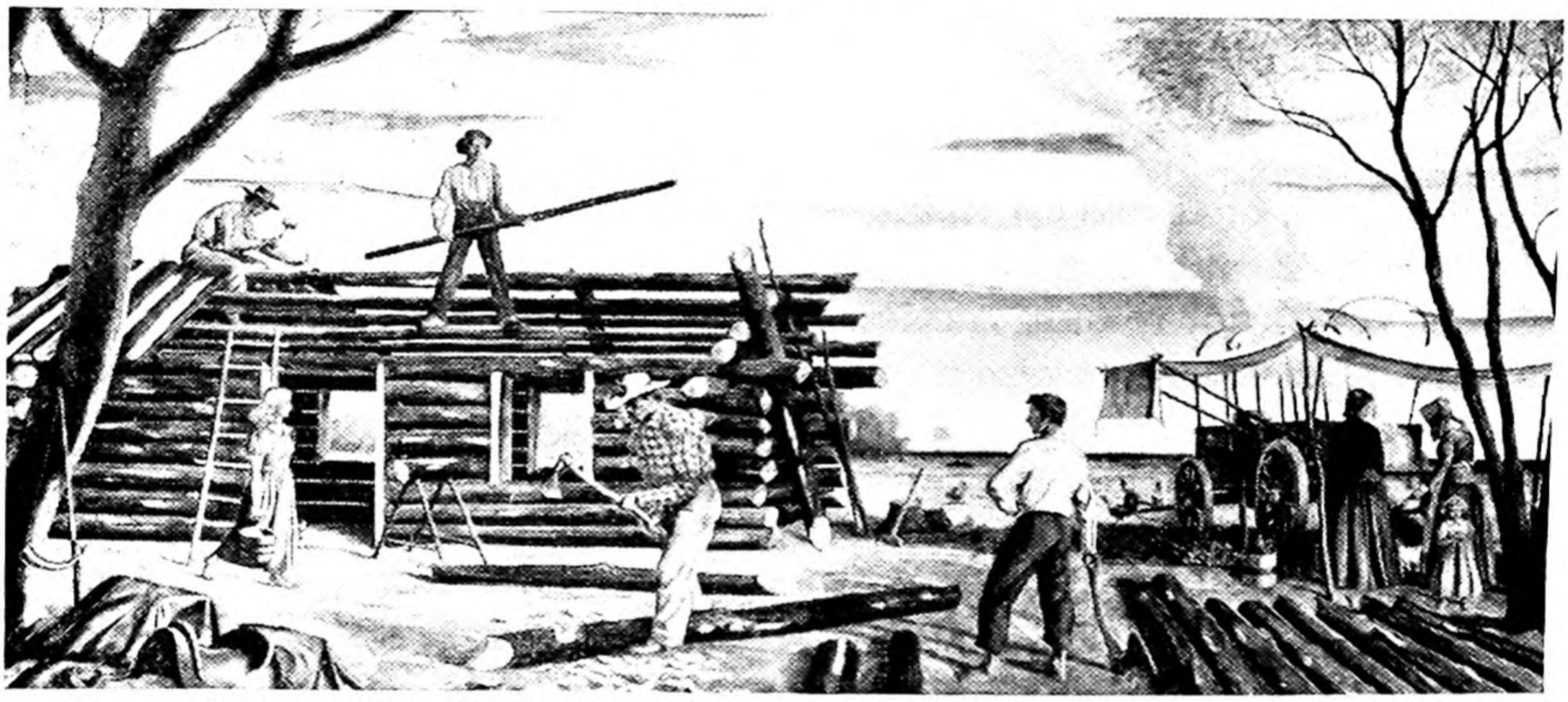
COTTON AND SLAVERY DETERMINE THE INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH

Differences between the South and West. Both the West and the South were predominantly agricultural. But there were important differences between them. A good deal of the land in the South and the Southwest was devoted to the production of a single crop — cotton, the country's chief article of export. The products of the West and North-



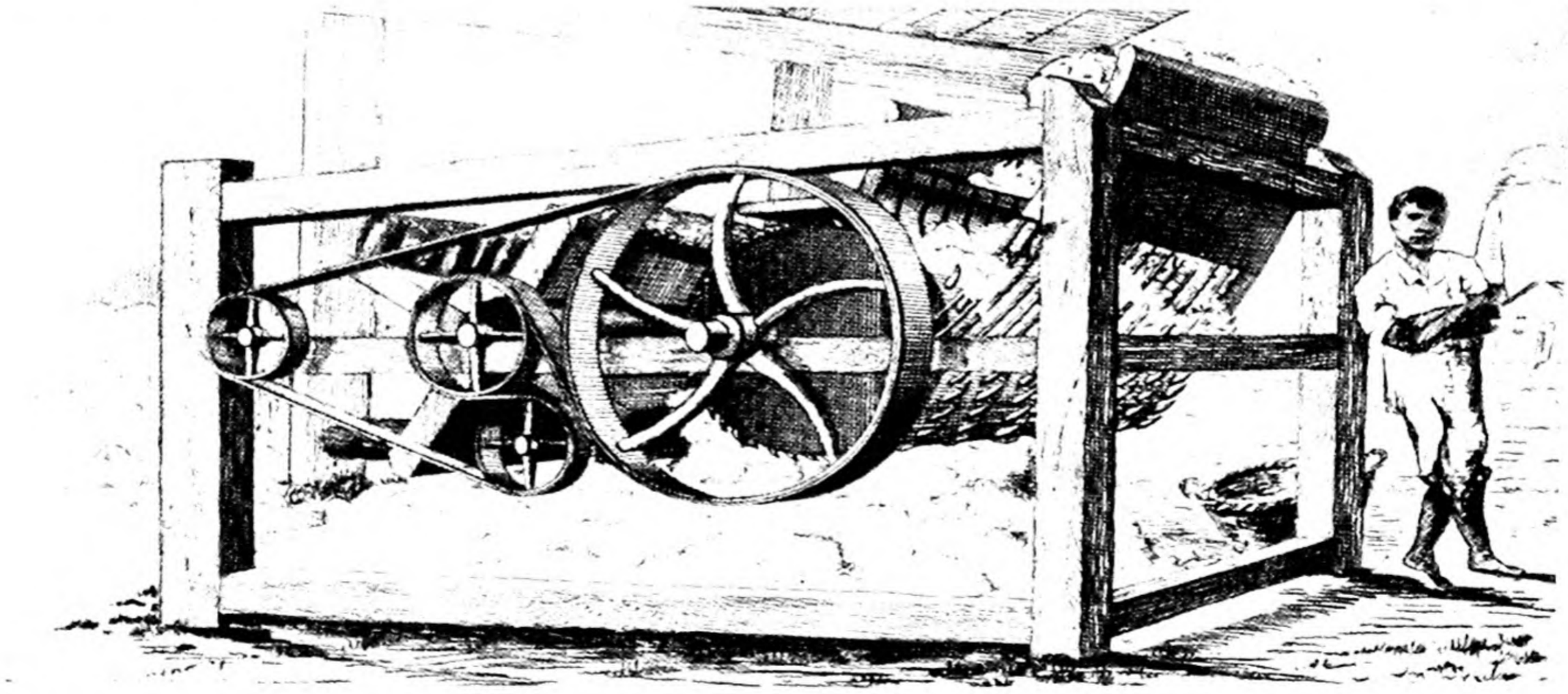
Courtesy National Park Service

Western fur trappers usually traveled, worked, and camped in groups. Every summer these groups held a rendezvous to sell their furs and obtain supplies.



Design by Peter Hurd. Courtesy Section of Fine Arts, Public Buildings Administration

After a pioneer family decided on a site for a home, the men in the family chopped down the trees to make a clearing and used the logs to build a cabin.



Whitney's cotton gin had a marked influence on our economic and political development. The gin was relatively simple compared with machines in use today.

west were varied and were disposed of in domestic as well as in foreign markets. The South and Southwest were committed to the institution of slave labor, while the West and the Northwest used free labor.

The cotton gin. One of the most interesting changes in this period is the tremendous increase in cotton production. The increase resulted because of a series of mechanical inventions in England that caused a heavy demand for cotton. The spinning and weaving mills of England could consume more cotton than cotton growers could supply. Although the price of cotton rose, American production did not at once expand. This was because of the great labor required to separate the fiber from the seed. That problem was solved by a Northerner, Eli Whitney, who invented the cotton gin (1793). Few inventions have had such far-reaching consequences. The gin made profitable the growing of short-staple cotton, which could be grown almost anywhere in the South. Soon cotton was the principal Southern crop. The plantation system became fixed; and slavery was established in the South.

In 1790 about 2,000,000 pounds of cotton were produced in the United States; in 1800, 40,000,000 pounds; in 1820, 175,000,000 pounds. As the soil became exhausted, intensive cotton growing shifted westward from the coast to the Mississippi-Alabama section and to Texas.

Other Southern staples. Other staple products of the South included rice, sugar, and tobacco. Southern farmers also produced wheat, corn, rye, oats, barley, and a variety of other crops, raised largely for home consumption. The South even made some small beginnings in the development of manufacturing.

The domination of the planting aristocracy. Contrary to the opinion made popular by picturesque novels dealing with the old South, the majority of the Southerners were not slaveowners, nor were the majority of farms large plantations. In 1860 "not more than 400,000 of the 8,000,000 whites were slaveholders; and of these 277,000 owned fewer than ten slaves each. . . . At least 6,000,000 Southerners did not possess slaves and had no direct interest in slave labor."

The small planting aristocracy of the South dominated the social, economic, and intellectual life of the region. Wealthy, capable, well-educated, their economic and social supremacy carried with it political domination. The numerous middle-class farmers owning small tracts of land and a few slaves accepted the social and political ideals of the planting aristocracy. So, too, did those whites who cultivated their own land, or were employed as tradesmen or mechanics. The "poor whites," despised even by the Negroes, lived a miserable existence. Crowded in mountainous regions, the poor whites, housed in shabby one-room cabins, shiftlessly cultivated small patches of almost worthless soil.

Cotton, expansion, and slavery. Although sections of the South were given over to the production of rice, sugar, and tobacco as "money" crops, it was cotton which dominated the economic and political life.

So profitable was cotton culture that the South was content to export it to England or the textile mills of New England rather than engage in manufacturing cotton itself. Cotton culture, so the South came to believe, demanded slaves, and the South became the defender of the institution of slavery. As the Southerners moved west the question of the extension of slavery into the West became acute; thus slavery became interwoven with the problem of westward expansion. After 1840 the institution of slavery thrust itself into national politics as a vital and absorbing issue. Like the West, the South was eager to see the territory of the United States expand. But expansion raised the question of slavery, and on that point the West was unwilling to follow the South.

The demands of the South. The Southern plantation owner thought that it was economical to buy the manufactured goods he needed. He became dependent, therefore, upon the other sections and upon Europe for his supplies. Because the South realized that the tariff increased the prices it had to pay for commodities, it opposed the protective tariff. Like the West, it disapproved of the second Bank of the United States and the conservative banking policies advocated by the Northeast. Unlike the West, it did not favor internal improvements, nor did it desire to see the national government increase its powers. Because of its economic system the South became an ardent advocate of states' rights and, therefore, of strict construction of the Constitution.

COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURING DETERMINE THE INTERESTS OF THE NORTHEAST

The rise of manufacturing. While the West and South were developing sectional economic interests, a similar process was going on in the Northeast. There, as we have seen, manufacturing took root. The value of cotton manufactures increased from $4,834,000 in 1820 to $46,350,000 in 1840; woolen manufactures increased in value from $4,413,000 in 1820 to $20,696,000 in 1840. Twenty thousand tons of iron were manufactured in 1820 and 286,000 tons in 1840.

The industrialization of the Northeast was stimulated (1) by the opening up of better agricultural land in the West; (2) by the presence of an abundance of raw materials; (3) by a cheap source of power in the rapid streams and waterfalls of New England, and at a later date in the coal fields of the Appalachians; (4) by the inventive genius of the people; and (5) by additions to the labor supply by immigrants from Europe. The first center of manufacturing was the New England states, especially Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. From this section industrialization spread to eastern New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and later to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

The new problems created by industrialization. The development of manufacturing and the rise of the factory system in the United States

brought in its wake all those problems that seem to accompany its introduction everywhere — rapidly growing cities, child labor, labor of women, unsatisfactory conditions of work. Wages were low, hours were long. In time protest led to gradual reform. The protest usually came from the workers themselves, who had to struggle by means of unions and strikes to accomplish their ends.

1. The demand for social and political reform. The emergence of a laboring class in America in the 1820's and 1830's ranks with the growth of the West in helping to explain the transition from the old to the new America, from the old to the new democracy. The misery of the factory workers inspired the demand for reforms of various kinds — the extension of the suffrage, the demand for women's rights, temperance, free public schools, and the abolition of slavery.

2. The rise of local and national labor unions. The hours of work in the factories and shops followed the custom of the farm, where all worked from sunrise to sunset. Dissatisfaction with hours of work, wages, and working conditions caused many of the skilled workingmen to combine. The printers and shoemakers of New York and Philadelphia formed local trade societies soon after the Revolution. The tailors and others formed unions after the War of 1812. For some years these trade unions were local in character, each trade union having no association with other trades in the same locality, or with the same trade in other towns. Since five-sixths of the factory workers were girls, often mere children, early labor organizations did not extend to the factories.

In 1828 the trade unions of Philadelphia federated, and similar trade associations were organized elsewhere. About 1835 there were one hundred fifty such societies in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The largest number of the members were the workers in the building trades — carpenters, bricklayers, masons, plasterers, painters. Almost at the same time the workingmen of Philadelphia and New York formed workingmen's political parties and nominated their own candidates for the local offices. By 1834 a national federation of local trade unions — the National Trades Union — had been established and for a time it held national conventions.

3. The demand of the labor unions. The labor unions, then as now, struggled to improve conditions of work, hours of labor, and wages. Several labor newspapers were started. From one of them we can take the following list of demands as typical of what the workers were asking:

> First: the right of man to the soil: "Vote yourself a farm"; Second: Down with monopolies, especially the United States Bank; Third: Freedom of public lands; Fourth: Homesteads made inalienable; Fifth: Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts; Sixth: A general bankruptcy law; Seventh: A lien of the laborer upon his own work for his wages; Eighth: Abolition of imprisonment for debt; Ninth: Equal rights for women with men in all respects; Tenth: Abolition of chattel

slavery and of wage slavery; Eleventh: Limitation of the ownership of land to 160 acres per person; Twelfth: Mails to run on the Sabbath.

Ultimately most of these demands were granted. Although there was little change in hours or in wages at this time, many classes of laborers had learned the advantages of union. The decision of the federal government in 1840 to fix the working day at ten hours for employees on public works showed that the efforts of labor unions were bearing fruit. A widespread adoption of free schools, supported by taxes, provided education (pages 279–282).

Remedial legislation. One of the most inhuman customs of the time was imprisonment for debt. If a laborer was compelled to run up bills, for any reason, some creditor was almost sure to sue him for debt, and if he could not pay, the court would send him to prison. Five sixths of the prisoners of the city jails were there for debt. In Rochester, New York, in 1830, twenty-four persons were held in the county jail for debts ranging from six cents to ninety cents apiece. The problem was seriously attacked in the 1830's. Few reforms have done more for the poor and unfortunate than the repeal by the state legislatures of the laws for imprisonment for debt.

The influences which condemned compulsory service of every kind attacked the requirements of military service. A law of the United States, enacted in 1792, made every man a member of a state militia, obliged to keep a "good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints and knapsack," to be a member of a company ready for service on call, and to drill regularly. For nonattendance at drill and the parade the rich paid fines; the poor, not being able to pay the fines, went to jail. Laws were passed to deprive the militia officers of the power to summon the citizens who did not volunteer for drill. In supporting these acts the workingmen sought not only to get rid of the drills but also to establish a real equality before the law for rich and poor.

The alliance of farmers and workers. The growth of cities and the rise of the labor movement are essential features of the great changes taking place during this period. Along with the leveling influence of frontier conditions in the West, they help to explain the rise of the common man in the Jacksonian era. To these workers of the city Jackson and his followers successfully appealed for votes, and temporarily, at least, there was an alliance of city workers and Western farmers.

The demands of the North. The economic condition of the North caused that section to advocate a strong national government and, therefore, a loose construction of the Constitution. The manufacturing and commercial centers of the North desired a high protective tariff, a sound currency, a conservative banking system, and the encouragement of immigration. For a time the North secured the benefits of a protective tariff, but the opposition of the South ultimately forced the North to

compromise on the question of the tariff. On the bank issue, too, the North was forced to yield to the demands of the South and West. Because the westward movement tended to make labor scarce and wages high, the North at first did not want a liberal land policy. As time passed, the North began to realize that the West furnished an excellent market for its manufactured products. Many sections of the Northeast, particularly the commercial cities along the Atlantic seaboard, also sympathized with the Western demand for internal improvements, for they could see the economic value of easy access to the markets of the West. The Erie Canal and, a quarter century later, the railroads created strong economic ties which tended to solidify the political interests of the Northeast and the West (pages 307–310, 334).

THE SECTIONS STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL POWER

Factions in the Republican party. During Monroe's second administration (1821–25) — the so-called "Era of Good Feeling" — the sectional interests of North, South, and West were becoming apparent. The Republican party was divided into factions on the basis of sectional interests, each group trying to get control of the national government in order to secure the adoption of policies for the benefit of its section. Statesmen during the period of transition from a robust nationalism to a narrow sectionalism found it impossible to escape the charge of inconsistency. Since a politician or statesman needs votes, it became necessary for leaders to appeal to the voters of their respective sections, even though it meant reversal of their previous policies.

"Favorite sons." The various sections hoped to capture the presidency in 1824 with a favorite son. The New Englanders, with a growing interest in manufactures, looked to John Quincy Adams to restore their influence in national affairs. He was the son of John Adams and was Monroe's Secretary of State. Another favorite son of New England was Daniel Webster, also of Massachusetts. The Virginians and their neighbors, casting about for a successor to the Virginia "dynasty" of presidents, looked to the Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford of Georgia, who had originally come from Virginia. The states of the Ohio Valley, formed by the mingling of currents of migration from North and South and accustomed to adjust themselves to slave and free labor, looked to Henry Clay to lead the young nation to the great future all Westerners expected. The cotton planters from the Far South preferred John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War in Monroe's Cabinet of celebrities. But the hero and idol of the Far West and the Southwest, of the pioneer everywhere, was General Andrew Jackson — "Old Hickory," as the frontiersmen lovingly called him.

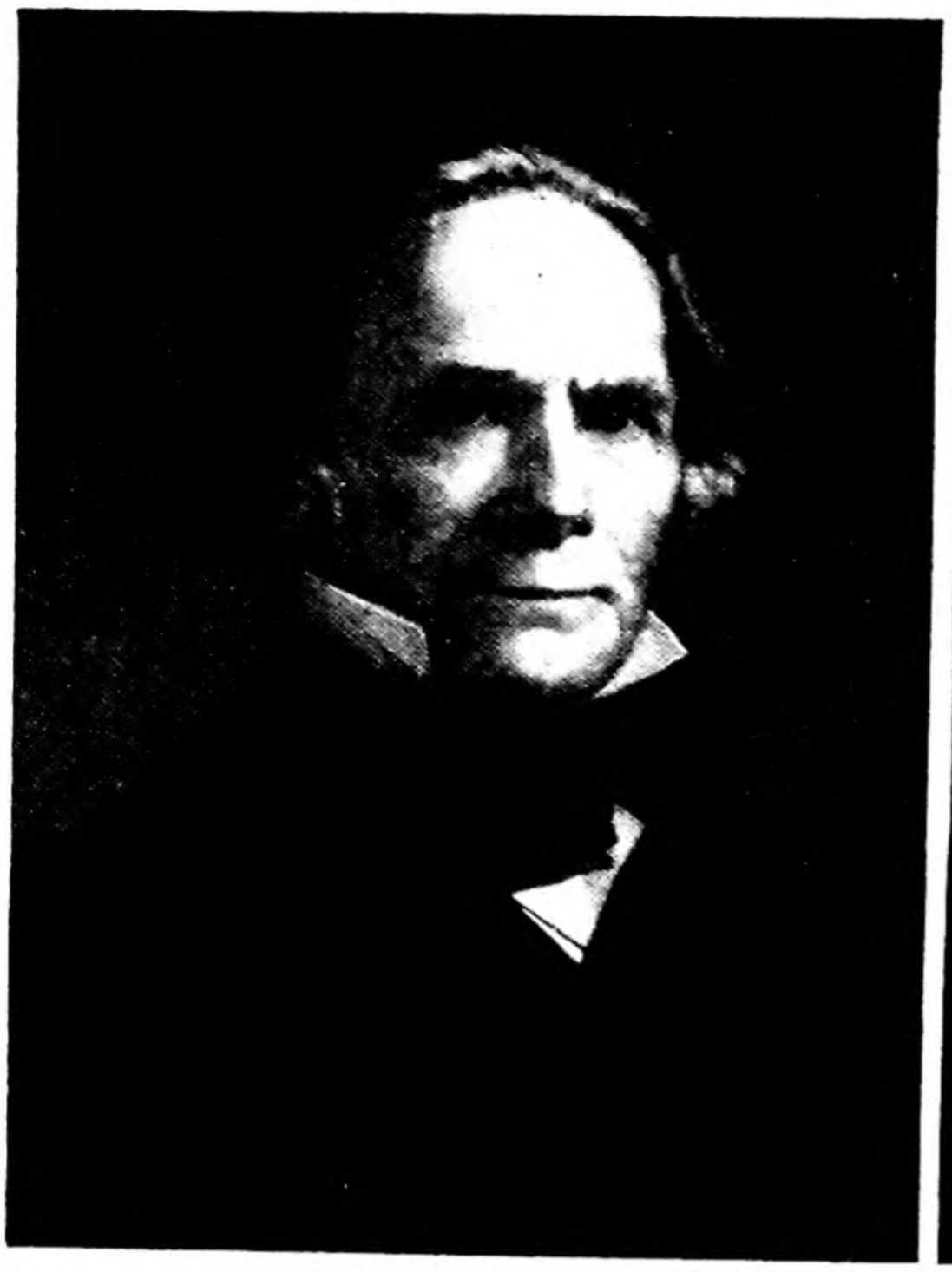
Revolt against the Congressional caucus. For eight years President Monroe managed by dint of great patience to hold these jealous

sectional leaders together. It was, however, but a truce before a great political battle. It was significant of the democratic unrest of the time that the people of the various sections were tired of being dictated to by the "Congressional caucus," which still continued the practice of naming the candidates of the various parties. As early as 1821 the state legislatures began to put forward their favorite sons as candidates for the presidency. In 1822 Tennessee nominated Jackson, and in 1823 Kentucky nominated Clay. The rivals in the Republican party came to an open break in the presidential campaign of 1824. Nevertheless, despite this open display of antagonism to the Congressional caucus and this "mandate" from the people, some members of Congress met in a caucus of this kind for the last time to nominate William H. Crawford. In Pennsylvania a state convention, an example of a new agency for selecting candidates, nominated Jackson for President and Calhoun for Vice-President. Adams was the favorite candidate of the entire Northeast, and was nominated by the state legislatures.

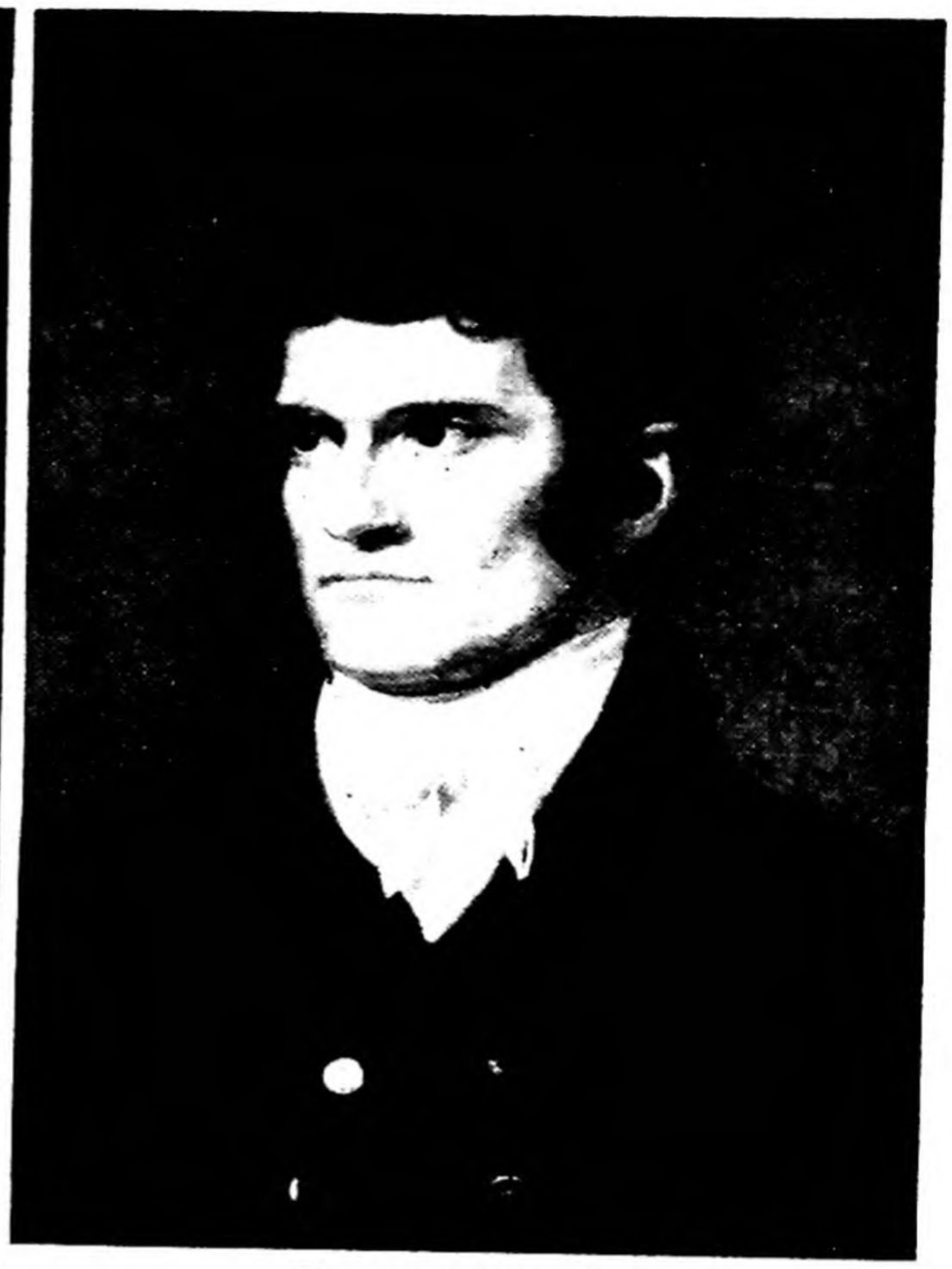
The election of the President by the House of Representatives, 1824. The real contest was between Jackson and Adams. The combination of Jackson men and Calhoun men gave them an advantage which outweighed Adams's. Although Jackson received more popular votes than his rivals, he did not have a clear majority in the Electoral College, and consequently for the second time (there has not yet been a third) the election of the President went to the House of Representatives. When it becomes the duty of the House of Representatives to elect the President, the Constitution prescribes that the vote shall be taken *by states,* the representatives from each state having one vote. Furthermore, the House must choose one of the three men who received the highest number of votes in the Electoral College. This meant that the House was limited in its choice to Jackson with ninety-nine electoral votes, Adams with eighty-four, and Crawford with forty-one. Clay, who had received thirty-seven electoral votes, gave his support to Adams, and on the first ballot enough of the doubtful states voted for Adams to give him the necessary majority and the election.

The end of the old Republican party. Adams appointed Clay his Secretary of State. This appointment was a worthy one, for Clay was the ablest man in public life who sympathized with the nationalism of Adams and who was ready to give up local interests for the national welfare. But the appointment lent color to the rumor, without any foundation in fact, that Clay had supported Adams in return for the appointment to the first place in the Cabinet. The followers of Jackson bitterly denounced this as a "corrupt bargain."

Jackson, in defeat, became more interested in achieving the presidency than ever before. He immediately began a four-years' campaign for the presidency. The split within the Republican party was complete. The members of the Adams-Clay group were called National



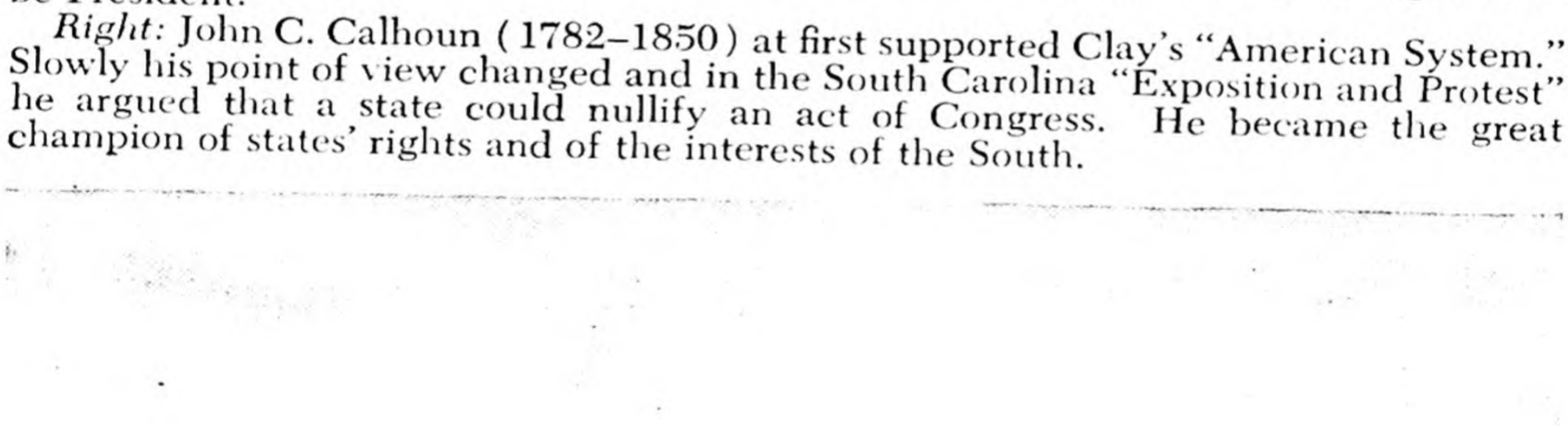
Courtesy Corcoran Gallery of Art



Courtesy Corcoran Gallery of Art

Left: Henry Clay (1777–1852) championed what was known as "Clay's American System" — protective tariffs, internal improvements, national banks. Like his great colleagues, Calhoun and Webster, he failed to gain the presidency. To this famous son of Kentucky is attributed the remark: "I would rather be right than be President."

Right: John C. Calhoun (1782–1850) at first supported Clay's "American System." Slowly his point of view changed and in the South Carolina "Exposition and Protest" he argued that a state could nullify an act of Congress. He became the great champion of states' rights and of the interests of the South.



Courtesy American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

Lowell, Massachusetts, shown here in 1834, became one of the great centers of the textile industry. At first most of the factory workers were farmers' daughters; later, European immigrants also entered the factories. All worked fourteen hours a day.

Republicans; they believed in a nationalistic program — sometimes called Clay's American System — internal improvements, the Bank, and the high tariff. Jackson became the leader of the "new democracy," representing the workers of the cities and the farmers of the West. Within four years Jackson welded his followers into a strong organization and captured the presidency in 1828.

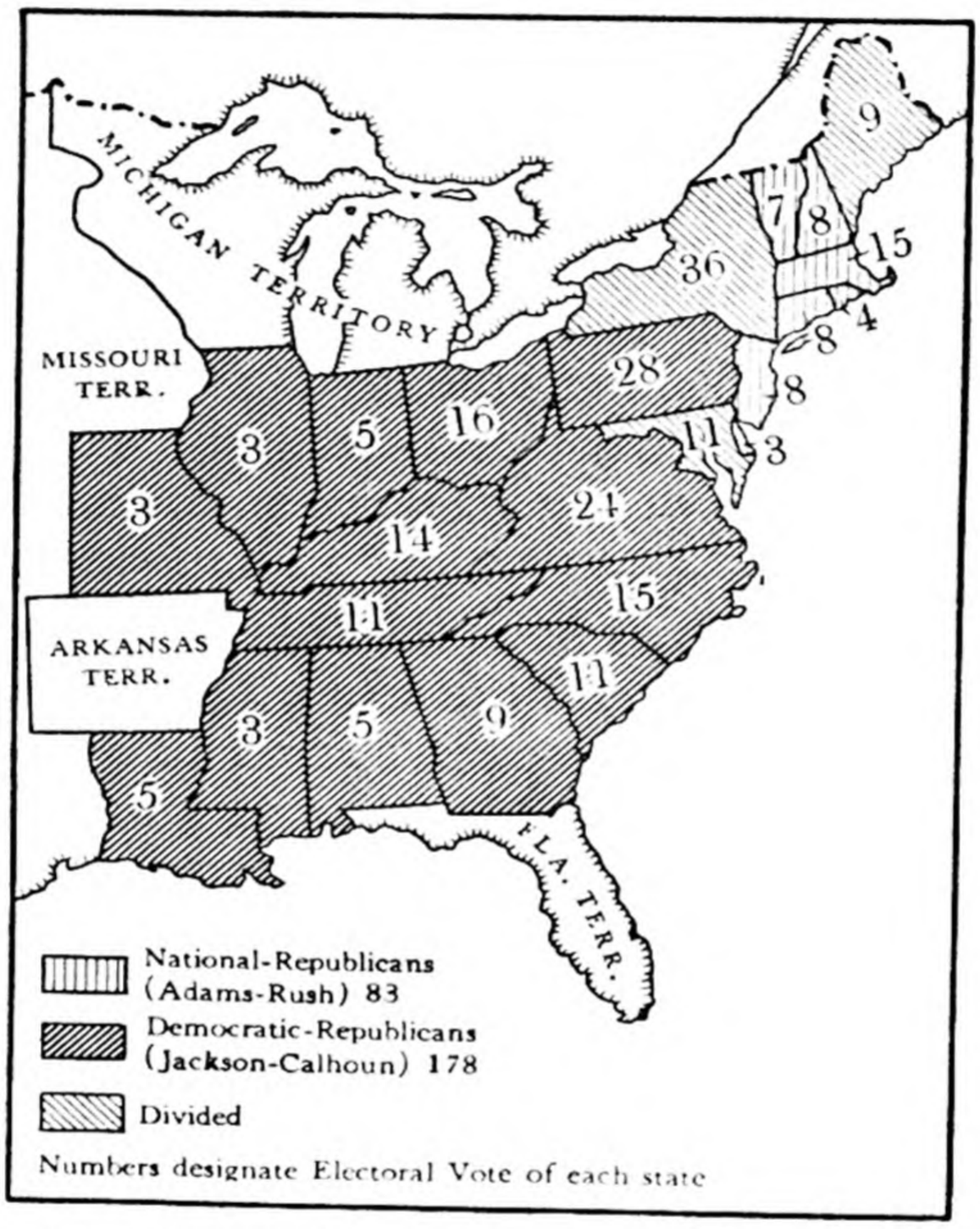
THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1825–29, IS DISTURBED BY FACTIONAL STRIFE

Adams's plan for national development. The eight years of peace which President Monroe had enjoyed were followed by four years of bitter party strife. The Jackson, Calhoun, and Crawford men in Congress were determined that President Adams should not have peace. Adams, upright, sincere, and honest, but in his own words "a man of reserved, cold, austere, and forbidding manners," began by telling Congress that he thought the object of government was to improve the condition of the people. Therefore he advised extensive public works. Adams's nationalistic program was a challenge to his rivals and to states' rights men everywhere. There began again in Congress the old battle that Jefferson and Hamilton had led, with new leaders. How far should the central government go in providing for the general welfare? The Southern leaders took alarm, for under loose construction protective tariffs and restrictions upon slavery might mar the economic future they desired. Adams's suggestions for internal improvements were rejected by Congress, although a high protective tariff was passed. Whatever President Adams did seemed to turn against him. He did not satisfy his followers by appointing them to office. Feeling that he did not have the support of a majority of the people, and wishing to be the President of all Americans, he even appointed to the Cabinet members of factions opposed to him, but they showed no gratitude.

The first Pan-American Congress. Adams also gave offense when in 1826 he asked Congress to approve his nomination of two delegates to a congress of New World nations to be held in Panama. The fear of "entangling alliances," and the belief that the Panama Congress would declare against slavery in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Haiti, and so reflect upon slavery in the United States, aroused opposition to Adams's plan. Yet no one liked to see a Pan-American Congress meet without the representation of the United States. After much debate Adams secured the approval of his plan to send delegates. But they were so delayed and so restricted by congressional resolutions that they had no part in the meeting. The Panama Congress of 1826 ended in failure, and a second attempt to hold a Pan-American Congress was not made until 1889.

The election of 1828. Jackson's supporters built up a strong party

organization in opposition to the Adams administration. In New York State Martin Van Buren united various discontented groups into a powerful organization. Skillful party organizers did much the same thing in Pennsylvania. Clever politicians managed the conventions which nominated candidates for office, and they assigned offices as rewards for successful party work. Such preparatory measures helped Jackson win the Middle states, but it was hardly necessary in the South and West to win the election for Jackson. The great Middle states were a borderland of the "new democracy." As in the days when Jefferson was fight-



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1828

ing Hamilton and organizing a new party, Adams and Clay men filled the newspapers with abuse of Jackson, and Jackson's followers retaliated. Pamphlets, handbills, and cartoons pictured the Adams-Clay men as aristocrats, the enemies of democratic government; while Jackson was criticized as uncouth, irresponsible, and an embezzler. Handbills decorated with coffins to represent Jackson's record as duelist and army disciplinarian were widely circulated. Much of Jackson's bitter hostility to Adams and his followers is explained by the partisan attacks made during this campaign upon the character of Mrs. Jackson.

With the active support of such an astute politician as Martin Van Buren of New York, and of the popular Southern leader John C. Calhoun, who was again the candidate for the Vice-Presidency, the outcome of the election was never in doubt. Only New England remained faithful to the dying administration. The old South, satisfied to see its

favorite son the candidate for Vice-President, found in Jackson and the Western alliance hope of greater influence. Well it might, for Jackson combined in his own person the man of the people and the planter. Though quite democratic, his long military experience made him something of an autocrat.

The emergence of two new parties: Whigs and Democrats. The election of 1828 was something more in American history than Jackson's personal triumph and Adams's humiliation. The breakup of the old Jeffersonian Republican party amounted to a popular political revolution. The election of Jackson came at a time when more people could vote than ever before. Nearly all the states which had been admitted to the Union had adopted constitutions which provided for universal manhood suffrage, and some of the older states had adopted more liberal qualifications for voting. Furthermore, most of the states had provided for the choice of presidential electors by the voters instead of by the state legislatures. Taking pride in its popular backing, the Jackson party first called itself "Democratic-Republican," and later simply "Democratic." The Adams-Clay men were known first as "National Republicans" and after 1834 as "Whigs." The Whigs could trace their political theories and doctrines back through the National Republicans to the Federalist party of Hamilton, while the Jacksonian Democrats could trace some of their fundamental ideas back to the Jeffersonian Republicans before that party had become nationalized.

"*Jacksonian democracy.*" But the rise of two parties, organized as parties had never been before (pages 260–263), was in itself only a superficial aspect of the revolution. In the Jacksonian party two classes were bent upon checking the centralizing tendencies which marked the history of Jeffersonian Republicans in power. The less privileged farmers and laborers regarded the election of Jackson as an assertion of the people's right to govern themselves. The cotton planters thought it was to usher in the day of their power and their doctrine of states' rights. For the time being the people trusted Jackson. In the transition from the Jeffersonian party of landowners in 1800 to the Jacksonian party of the masses, and in the change of popular hero in a generation from the sage of Monticello to the frontiersman of the Hermitage, there was evidence of important changes in American life.

The continuance of sectionalism. The inability of Adams to carry through his program of ardent nationalism shows that sectionalism was in the saddle. This struggle between the sections for their own ends continued with undiminished vigor for more than a generation. It finally led to a testing of the Union in the War between the States.

Words and Phrases

Adams-Clay men, "corrupt bargain," "favorite sons," mechanics' lien laws, National Road, "Old Hickory," "poor whites," pre-emption, soil exhaustion

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What are the reasons for the development of sectionalism?
2. Compare the differing demands of the West, South, and Northeast. State the reasons for the differences.
3. How were the demands of the West for adequate transportation satisfied? What were the effects of the improved transportation facilities?
4. How did Pennsylvania seek to overcome the advantages that the completion of the Erie Canal gave to New York?
5. How did the "leveling" influence of the frontier affect social and political conditions in the new West? How did the social and political conditions in the West influence social conditions in the older East?
6. How did the cotton gin affect Southern economic life? Why did cotton culture contribute to the demand for expansion?
7. Why did the South become the defender of the institution of slavery?
8. What were the demands of labor unions one hundred years ago?
9. How were candidates for President nominated in 1820, 1824, and 1828?
10. How did sectionalism contribute to the defeat of the Adams program?
11. What were the chief differences between Whigs and Democrats?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. In the first years of our history under the Constitution "the demand for American agricultural produce and the thriving condition of our commerce made it far more profitable for us to import our manufactured goods than it was to produce them." How did this affect American economic life? What circumstances changed the situation? What bearing has a change in economic interests upon the growth of sectional interests?
2. Imagine yourself to be a resident of Ohio, Massachusetts, or South Carolina in 1825. Prepare a list of the policies you would like to have the federal government pursue in each case; indicate also the reason for advocating the policies you suggest. To what extent do the policies you favor as a citizen of one state coincide or conflict with those favored by other states? Is your state or section interested in certain measures which are unpopular in other sections of the Union?
3. Using the cotton gin as an illustration, discuss the proposition that inventions are frequently more important in shaping the destinies of nations than the measures and policies of statesmen. (As a basis for discussion compare the cotton gin with gunpowder, the printing press, the compass, the reaper, the automobile, the airplane, and the atomic bomb.)
4. Locate the Appalachian Mountain system. Describe two important routes through the Appalachians and explain how the development of each of these routes influenced the Middle West and the East.
5. List the effects of the westward expansion of the frontier. Report on the criticisms that have been directed toward the Turner thesis concerning the influence of the frontier. (See also pages 381–382, and consult Amherst Readings, *The Turner Thesis concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History.*)
6. Compare the presidential elections of 1800 and 1824.

7. Prepare a brief report on the public land policy of the United States. Indicate briefly the reasons for, and the effects of, our policy with regard to public lands. (Consult Clark, D. E., *The West in American History,* pp. 239–266.)

Suggested Reading

SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST: Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (A.N.S.), pp. 243–258, Beard and Beard, I, 516–541; Carman, I, 503–529, 557–571; Clark, D. E., *The West in American History;* Commager and Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America,* pp. 253–303; DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri;* Faulkner, pp. 95–113, 174–204; Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America,* pp. 116–195; Paxson, *History of the American Frontier,* pp. 1–42; Turner, *The Frontier in American History,* pp. 67–110, 286–298; Commager, Nos. 122 – Land Law of 1820, No. 142 – Jackson's Message on Removal of Southern Indians. For varying interpretations of the influence of the frontier, consult Amherst Readings, *The Turner Thesis concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History.*

BASIS FOR SECTIONALISM: Carman, I, 529–536; Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom* (Y.C.S.), pp. 20–58, 114–147; Ogg, *The Old Northwest* (Y.C.S.), pp. 1–22, 45–67; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency,* I, 125–151.

EARLY LABOR UNIONS: Beard, *A Short History of the American Labor Movement,* pp. 1–61; Carman, II, 60–90; Faulkner, pp. 311–315; Faulkner, H. U. and Starr, M., *Labor in America,* pp. 25–54; Hart, III, 509–530; Orth, *Armies of Labor* (Y.C.S.), pp. 19–39.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The Tariff, the Bank, and Internal Improvements

THE "SOUNDNESS" OF TARIFF ARGUMENTS DEPENDS UPON THE POINT OF VIEW

PROBABLY no recurrent issue in the whole range of American politics has aroused sectional interests to the same degree as the enactment of a tariff. From the time of Hamilton's Report on Manufactures the tariff has seldom failed to stimulate debate. Never, however, did it stir up the passions of men more than in the days of Jacksonian democracy. The controversy at that time serves to illustrate the growth of sectionalism as well as the formulation of theories of American government that brought about the War between the States.

Using the tariff to help industry. General Hancock, the defeated Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1880, observed that the "tariff, after all, is a local issue." If we can understand the meaning of this statement, we will understand why it is that the tariff creates bitter rivalries. The term "tariff" is most commonly used to mean the tax imposed on imported goods. The chief purpose of any tax is to give the government an income. But as we learned in connection with one of Marshall's decisions, the power to tax can be used to destroy. A tax on imports, then, may be used to destroy imports. For example, let us assume that for some reason the government should seek to check the importation of sugar. To simplify our illustration let us assume that the retail price of sugar is six cents a pound, and that to grow it in Cuba, transport it to this country, refine it, and market it costs five cents a pound. If no taxes were imposed, the importer of sugar could make a profit of a penny a pound. Let us suppose, however, that the government imposes a tax of three cents per pound. Under such circumstances it would not pay the importer to bring sugar to this country from Cuba unless the retail price advanced to eight cents or more per pound. Thus the three-cent tariff would destroy the Cuban sugar growers' American market, and give American sugar growers a monopoly of that market. Sugar would have to be eight cents a pound to make it profitable for the Cuban sugar grower to scale the American "tariff wall."

The government thus adds to the average person's cost of living for

either of two reasons: (1) the government needs the revenue; or (2) the government seeks to keep foreign products out of the country for the benefit of some interested group. A tax that is sufficiently high to enable the American producers to compete successfully in the American market with foreign producers is said to be protective. Such a tax protects the home industry against the competition of the foreign producer.

Political compromise a feature of tariff making. The practical political result of this situation is that the senators and representatives from the cane- and beet-sugar sections of the country will demand and vote for a protective tariff on sugar. The people who chose these congressmen want "protection" because it is to their economic advantage; without it, the capital invested in the sugar industry would yield less profit, and many people might be without work. But the senators and representatives from the sugar-producing sections would be only a small fraction of the total number of senators and representatives. Other senators and representatives, however, come from a woolen-manufacturing center, or a plate-glass-manufacturing center, or a glove-manufacturing center, and they want a protective tariff on woolens, or gloves, or plate glass. The "sugar" congressmen, alone and by themselves, could not secure a tariff on sugar, but the "plate-glass" congressmen and the "woolen" congressmen and the "glove" congressmen join hands with the "sugar" congressmen to vote for a high tariff on all these commodities. In this very practical way a few congressmen, by combining with others, get what they want for their respective sections. This is what is meant by the statement that the tariff is a local issue — various localities or sections are interested in a high tariff on certain goods, and the result of these various demands is usually a compromise between the conflicting economic interests of different sections. Another conflict arises between the producers of raw material and the producers of the finished product. While the woolen manufacturer desires a tax on woolen cloth, he is not so eager to have a tax on raw wool; the sheep raiser wants a tax on raw wool but prefers not to have one on woolen cloth.

Attitude of economists to "tariff arguments." There is scarcely an economist who, on theoretical grounds, defends the protective-tariff principle. Why, then, should the United States and nearly every other nation disregard the conclusions of economists? Largely because the economist considers the nation or the world *as a whole* and thinks in terms of the best and cheapest form in which the various economic factors of production may be employed to bring about the greatest good for the greatest number. He does not think of some *particular factory,* or capitalist, or worker. The economist argues that if tariffs were abolished or reduced, some people might suffer a *temporary* disadvantage; but he claims that *in the long run* the country and the world as a whole would be better off.

THE HISTORY OF THE TARIFF SHOWS THE CONFLICTING ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF VARIOUS SECTIONS

Early tariff laws. For the first quarter century of American history under the Constitution there was not any great demand on the part of business interests for tariffs that would give them a monopoly of the domestic market. Most of the population was agricultural, and farm products supplied the home market without competition from abroad. Bulky and imperishable raw materials were exported, and manufactured goods were imported. To impose a tax would not have benefited large numbers and would have added to the cost of living of the farmer. Hamilton, however, visioned an America that would not be dependent on Europe for its manufactured products. He advocated a tariff sufficiently high to encourage American capital to engage in manufacturing. His arguments did not receive sufficient support, and our tariff laws from 1789 to 1816 were primarily for the purpose of bringing in revenue to the government, although in some respects these tariff laws did give *incidental* protection to certain industries.

The tariff of 1816 changes our policy. In the first and second decades of the nineteenth century a large amount of American capital was invested in manufacturing. In all probability this change would have taken place in due course, anyway, but at the time it was stimulated by the Embargo Act and the conditions growing out of the Napoleonic Wars. To increase the federal revenues to pay the costs of war, and to protect these new industries against the flood of European goods that poured into the country after the War of 1812, Congress enacted the tariff of 1816. This is the first tariff that had as one of its major and conscious aims the protection of American manufactures (pages 196–197). The tariff of 1816 was passed by a handsome majority. One of its most ardent champions was John C. Calhoun, who was influenced by the need of the federal government for increased revenue and by the belief that the South, too, would become a manufacturing section. Thirty-four Southern congressmen voted against it, while twenty-three supported it. On the other hand, twenty votes, among them Daniel Webster's, were cast against it by representatives of the New England states, where commercial interests still hoped to make large profits from the carrying trade, which they thought the tariff would destroy.

Increasing Southern opposition. Having once received help from the government, the protected interests wanted more. In 1820 an increased tariff measure passed the House of Representatives but was defeated by a single vote in the Senate. The vote on the proposed tariff law of 1820 revealed that sectional opposition was becoming pronounced. The South, primarily interested in growing cotton for export, and the maritime districts of the North were against the tariff; the manufacturing districts of the North and the farmers of the West voted

for it. In 1824 a tariff bill narrowly passed both houses. Clay championed it; Webster spoke against it. But as the interests of his section changed, Webster changed. He voted for the tariff of 1828. By then Southerners were arguing that a protective tariff was unconstitutional.

The "Tariff of Abominations" (1828). The woolen interests were continuously demanding protection and held a convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of advocating their demands. In the midst of this agitation for and against protection, Congress in 1828 enacted a tariff bill which is commonly known as the "Tariff of Abominations." The opponents of protection, fearing that they did not command enough votes to defeat a protective tariff measure, deliberately planned to make the tariff rates so high that even those who advocated protection would vote against it. Clever politicians interested in winning elections by appealing to various sections thought they saw an opportunity to discredit Adams, who was a candidate for re-election, and to win friends for Jackson. Their scheme, briefly, was to protect everything. The New England manufacturer desired, for example, a protective tariff on woolen goods; however, he did not desire a protective tariff on raw wool. But in the tariff bill that was framed raw materials as well as manufactured goods were protected. It was thought that the South would vote against the bill, because it disliked any protective tariff, and that the North would also vote against it because it disliked this particular tariff bill. Much to the surprise of the schemers, enough New England representatives supported the protective principle, even when it applied to interests other than their own, to secure the passage of the bill.

Calhoun's "Exposition and Protest." A storm of protest greeted the enactment of the law, because by attempting to please everybody it pleased nobody. In protest meetings in the South some even suggested forceful resistance, but peaceful counsel finally prevailed, partly because the South hoped that the newly elected President and Vice-President, Jackson and Calhoun, respectively, would check the drift toward higher and higher tariffs.

The most important document that appeared during the debate was the "South Carolina Exposition and Protest." The "Protest" was a series of eight resolutions adopted by the legislature of South Carolina condemning the protective tariff as unconstitutional, sectional, and harmful to the South. The "Exposition" was a committee report, secretly written by Calhoun, which developed the idea that a state had the right to nullify (disregard or disobey) a federal law. The argument runs as follows: The federal Union is essentially a contract, or compact, between equally sovereign states; it is therefore the function of the central government to carry out the wishes of the various states. The federal government is not the only power to pass upon the constitutionality of its acts, for, if it were, there would be no limit to the power of the

federal government despite the restrictions put upon it by the Constitution. The states (acting through state conventions) also have the power to judge the constitutionality of an act of the federal government. Nullification by a state is the best remedy because it would make the whole country consider with more deliberation the act against which the states protest by means of nullification. Either the federal government could undo the act or a Constitutional amendment could make the act lawful. If, after the passage of the amendment, the state should think that its interests would be better served out of the Union, it could then secede. Only after all other attempts at settlement had failed would secession be used.

The old states' rights theory revived. The theory of nullification was not new. It had been in the people's minds ever since the beginning of the government. Many states, North and South, had already nullified, or threatened to nullify, federal laws. Calhoun was one of the first to put the theory in logical form. The Exposition served to focus attention upon the "compact theory" of the American union (pages 143, 163). Calhoun realized that the practice of his theories might render the idea of national government an absurdity. However, he believed that recognition of the principle of state sovereignty would not be dangerous, because he claimed that the states would not extravagantly assert their claims, and that it was the most peaceful way to check sectional tyranny. He argued that it would be better for the states to assert their rights in extreme fashion than for the national government to ride roughshod over the interests of the sections.

Daniel Webster, who had once advocated states' rights, also completely reversed himself and became the expounder of extreme nationalism. The shift in point of view of both statesmen illustrates the power of economic and sectional interests to influence the thinking of even great statesmen. Indeed, in many respects, the terms "sectionalist" and "nationalist" are relative terms, for the exponents of both points of view usually contend that the triumph of their ideal will benefit the whole nation. In one form or another this conflict between the nation and the states has pervaded all American history. In its extreme form it was essentially the issue that the War between the States settled in favor of the nation. But even yet the controversy rages, although in milder form.

The Webster-Hayne debate (1830). During the first years of Jackson's administration neither Congress nor the President did anything about the economic grievances of the South. This unexpected outcome of the election of 1828 stirred the South to a determined opposition. In the early months of 1830 there occurred on the floor of the Senate the famous ten-day debate between Webster of Massachusetts and Hayne of South Carolina. This debate is a classic presentation of the ideas of the two opposing schools of thought on the nature of the Union. On an issue which involved, not the tariff, but a New Englander's proposal

for restriction of the sale of Western land, the South championed the Western cause, hoping thereby to form a political alliance that would defeat the industrial Northeast.

Senator Robert Hayne of South Carolina began the debate by accusing the North of seeking its own advantage to the detriment of another section of the country. Webster's first reply to Hayne was an impassioned defense of the North and an emphatic denial of its purpose to seek sectional advantage. More important, however, than this defense was the challenge to Hayne to defend the theory that a state could ignore the laws of Congress. Hayne accepted the challenge. His argument followed the "Exposition and Protest." He pointedly referred to the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, and to the fact that the North itself, in the Hartford Convention, once advocated similar doctrines. He argued that to permit the federal government to interpret the scope of its own power was virtually to establish a central government without limitation.

Webster in his reply attacked the compact theory by denying that the Constitution was the creature of the states. To Webster the Constitution was created by the people, who had declared it to be the supreme law. This supreme law imposed certain restrictions upon the states, and in this respect, at least, the states could not claim that they were superior to the Constitution. Webster pointed out that if first one state and then another and then another could ignore those laws which it did not like, the government of the Union would be a mockery. He ridiculed the idea that the United States was the

> servant of four and twenty masters, of different wills, and different purposes, and yet bound to obey all. It so happens that at the very moment when South Carolina resolves that the tariff laws are unconstitutional, Pennsylvania and Kentucky resolve exactly the reverse. Does not this approach absurdity?

With prophetic vision he foresaw the evil results if the theories of Hayne and Calhoun were practiced:

> When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood. Let their last . . . glance, rather, behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, . . . still full high advanced, . . . not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterwards"; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light . . . that other sentiment, dear to every American heart—"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

It may be, as many have argued, that Calhoun and Hayne more accurately described the intent of the framers of the Constitution than did Webster, but the passing years had tended to strengthen the Union. It is Webster's great contribution to American government that he aided that movement. Drifting along with the sweep of economic forces, Webster for a generation was the champion of nationalism and union.

Union or liberty. Those who hoped that they might win Jackson to their cause desired to turn the banquet in celebration of Jefferson's birthday (April 13, 1830) into a forum for the presentation of their states' rights theories. Well aware of the whole movement and conscious of the importance that might be attached to his words, Jackson consulted with Van Buren; it was decided to use the occasion to let the country know that the administration was opposed to nullification. When the President was asked to speak, he proposed as the sentiment of the day: "Our Federal Union, it must be preserved!" Calhoun attempted to rally his supporters by the counter sentiment: "The Union, next to our Liberty, most dear! May we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the states and distributing equally the benefits and burthen of the Union!" Here is a dramatic statement of opposing theories. Two great leaders in the Democratic party stood for different policies. Shortly thereafter they split openly with each other for reasons partly political and partly personal (pages 200–201).

South Carolina's nullification of the tariff of 1832. A new tariff law in the summer of 1832 corrected some of the defects of the "Tariff of Abominations." While it reduced some of the duties, it still remained a high protective tariff. Calhoun worked actively to organize a nullification campaign in South Carolina. A special convention was called to pass an ordinance of nullification, declaring the tariff act unconstitutional. It closed with a threat of secession if the United States attempted to enforce the payment of tariff duties. The governor called for volunteers. The assembling of arms and the drilling of companies brought the state near an armed conflict with the United States. Blue cockades with a palmetto button in the center became the emblem of the nullifiers. Some of the extremists had medals struck with the inscription, "John C. Calhoun, First President of the Southern Confederacy."

President Jackson, whose authority was defied by these measures, was equally forehanded. General Winfield Scott was sent to Charleston with power to prepare for every emergency. Ships of war promptly arrived, and reinforcements for the garrisons were made ready. The President, in a proclamation to the people of South Carolina, December 10 — an extremely able document — forcefully attacked the compact theory and the idea of nullification. He said:

> I consider the power to annul a law of the United States assumed by one state incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its

> spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed.

Jackson vigorously announced his intention to put down nullification:

> The laws of the United States must be executed. . . . Disunion by armed force is treason.

The Compromise Tariff of 1833 and the force bill. The nullification ordinance was to become effective February 1, 1833. Hayne became the governor of South Carolina, and Calhoun resigned the vice-presidency to accept a seat in the Senate. But Jackson's determination to have Congress authorize the use of force to execute the revenue laws (the so-called "force bill") was a sobering influence. Equally effective in staying the hand of South Carolina was the knowledge that the other states of the South did not rally with enthusiasm to the standard of South Carolina.

Practical politics, as well as a desire to avoid hostilities, prompted efforts to find a compromise. The followers of Jackson feared that a determined opposition to the South would alienate that section in future elections, while the Whigs did not like to give Jackson the opportunity to pose as a military hero and savior of the Union. Even Calhoun, realizing that South Carolina had gone too far, was ready to compromise. The one man who could save the situation was Henry Clay, who had just been defeated by Jackson in the campaign of 1832. Clay finally yielded to the pleas of leaders of both factions to use his influence to secure the passage of a lower tariff. He introduced a tariff bill — known as the Compromise Tariff of 1833 — by which the duties would be reduced by easy stages for a period of ten years, so that by 1842 the duties on all articles would reach the level of the tariff of 1816.

After both the Compromise Tariff and the force bill had been passed by Congress, another South Carolina convention met and repealed the ordinance of nullification; but through the efforts of extremists among the nullifiers it passed another ordinance nullifying the force bill. This latter action was of no practical importance, for the acceptance of the compromise tariff made it unnecessary to use force.

A drawn battle. The federal government had proved its strength, its dignity, and its soundness. Even so, both sides announced a victory. For the states' rights faction could also claim accomplishment: they had changed the national attitude toward the tariff and had forced the enactment of a new tariff bill. The nullifiers had dictated their terms to the federal government; and they had not changed their minds.

The continuance of low tariff duties until the War between the States. The gradual reduction of the tariff, as provided by the Compromise Tariff of 1833, meant, however, that the manufacturers of the Northeast did not have their way on the question of protection. When

the Whigs were in power in 1842, a tariff bill which raised the duties almost to the level of the tariff of 1832 was enacted. This made the tariff a subject for angry debate in the campaign of 1844. The Democrats won the election, and in 1846 the Walker Tariff (so called after Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, who was an ardent free-trader and very influential in the drafting of the bill) again lowered the tariff rates. In spite of the opposition of industrialists, the tariff rates were lowered again in 1857 and several articles were added to the free list. Those who believed in protection argued that this reduction of the tariff was responsible for the panic of 1857. This argument had its effect in 1860, although other issues were uppermost in the minds of the people.

PRESIDENT JACKSON ATTACKS THE SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

Opposition to the second Bank of the United States. The energy, vigor, and independence of Jackson is illustrated not only by his actions in the tariff controversy, but also by his uncompromising hostility to the second Bank of the United States. In the tariff controversy he was willing to risk the anger of the South; in the Bank controversy he incurred the bitter hatred of the capitalistic East.

The Bank, it will be remembered, had been chartered in 1816 for a twenty-year period. It had three important features. *First*, it was a private bank, not a government enterprise, and the profits from its operations went to the various stockholders; *second*, it was the depository of the funds of the national government, which meant that it thus obtained one very large customer whose money it could lend to other customers; *third*, it had the privilege of note issue, that is, the right to issue promises to pay that would circulate as currency, and which, incidentally, tended to increase its moneylending power, and hence its earning power.

The criticism directed against the Bank was based upon a consideration of these three characteristics. It was alleged, for example, (1) that the granting of the charter was an unwarranted exercise of the powers of the federal government; (2) that the government by depositing its funds with this favored institution contributed a source of wealth and income to the favored few who owned stock in the bank; (3) that this, in turn, gave rise to a group of influential persons who would seek to obtain further favors from the government; (4) that the note-issuing privilege as well as the depository privilege took away from the several state-chartered banks a source of income; (5) finally, that the influential people who directed the Bank's affairs virtually possessed a monopoly over the credit and currency of the country, making it impossible for small businessmen to obtain loans unless they had influence with those who controlled the Bank.

The strength of the Bank. The Bank was successful and profitable when Jackson took the oath of office on March 4, 1829. It had established twenty-five branch banks and held on deposit some fourteen millions of dollars, more than half of which was public money. Its credit was well established at home and abroad. Newspapers, senators, and congressmen were indebted to it for loans and so could be counted on to support it.

Jackson's veto of the Bank bill. Although the charter of the Bank would not expire for seven years, Jackson delivered a mild attack upon the Bank in his first message to Congress. He repeated his charges the following year, and the officers and friends of the Bank became alarmed. Since Jackson's enmity began to affect the business and credit of the Bank, its officers applied to Congress for a renewal of the charter in 1832, four years before the old charter would expire. Nicholas Biddle, president of the Bank, was reluctantly persuaded to take this course by Clay and others who wanted an election issue and who felt that it would be difficult for the President to refuse to sign the Bank bill in a presidential campaign year, for a veto would probably cause him the loss of New England and perhaps Pennsylvania. A bill to recharter the Bank, sponsored by Clay, Webster, and other National Republicans, passed both houses of Congress by substantial majorities. But Clay reckoned without his man. The bill to recharter the Bank was vetoed by Jackson on July 10, 1832, in a vigorous message. Jackson argued that the Bank was a monopoly, that it had influenced politics, that eight million dollars' worth of the stock of the Bank was held by foreigners, and that the powers, privileges, and favors given to the institution were of special value to stockholders. Although the Supreme Court had declared that the Bank was constitutional, Jackson, finding it convenient in this instance to do some nullifying of his own, boldly declared: "The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the judges, and on that point the President is independent of both." The rechartering of the Bank became the issue in 1832.

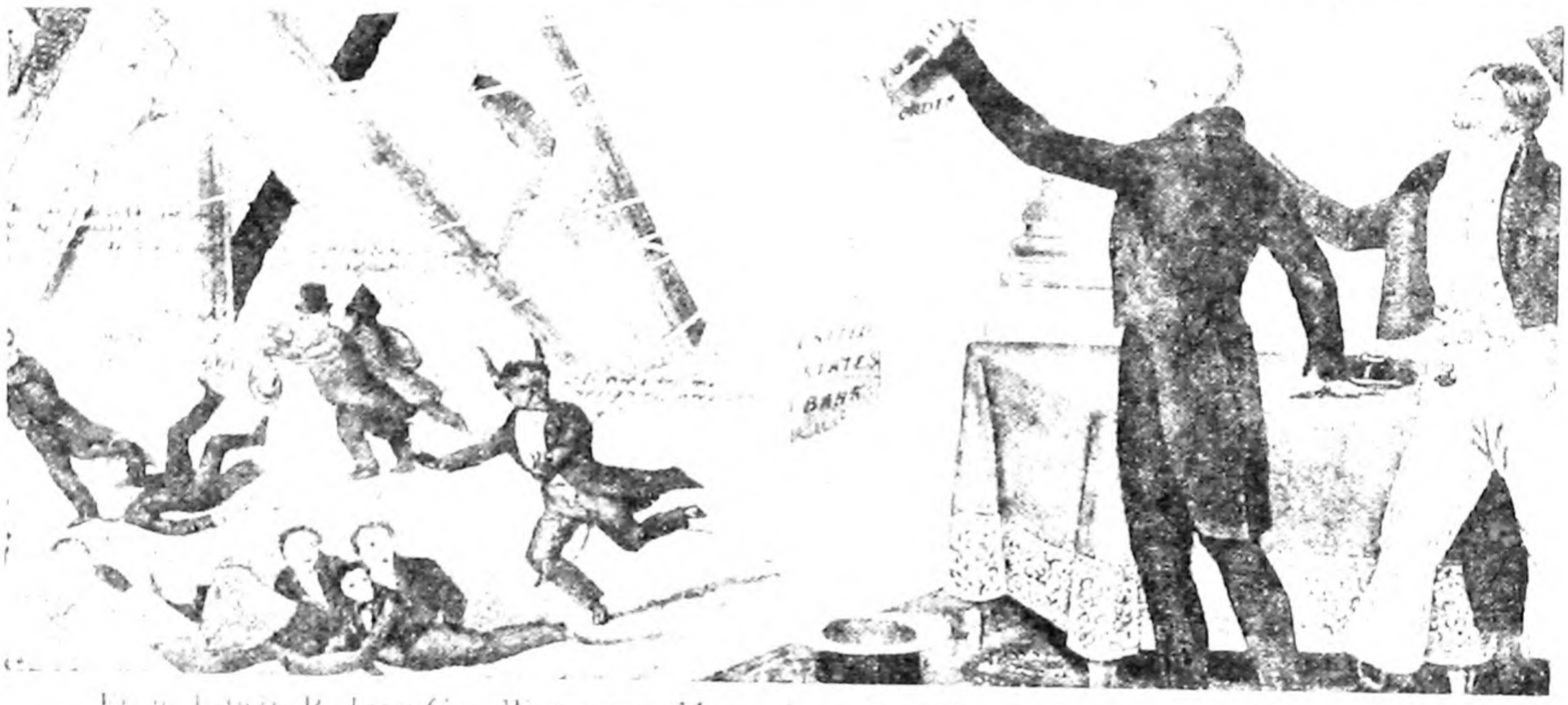
Jackson's "mandate" from the people. The Democratic Republicans renominated Jackson for President and nominated Martin Van Buren for Vice-President. The National Republicans nominated Clay. A third party was also in the field, the Anti-Masonic party, which nominated its candidates by means of a national nominating convention, the method which the other parties imitated and have continued to use from 1836 till the present.

For the second time Clay missed the presidency, for Jackson and Van Buren were easily elected. Jackson had 219 electoral votes to Clay's 49. Jackson interpreted his election, as well he might, to mean that the people were with him in his determination that the Bank should not be rechartered. Since the Bank had contributed several thousand dollars to bring about Jackson's defeat, there was now point



Painting by G. P. A. Healy. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society

Webster replies to Hayne in their famous Senate debate. Webster claimed that if Hayne's theories on nullification prevailed, the Constitution was a "rope of sand."



From Louis B. Ehle Coll., Worcester, Massachusetts. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society

This contemporary cartoon supported Jackson's order putting an end to the deposit of public money in the second Bank of the United States.



Courtesy Library of Congress

The cartoonist shows conditions among the people in the panic of 1837, one of the most severe depressions in America's economic history.

to the charge that the Bank meddled in politics and sought to control the people's representatives.

The "removal of deposits." Fearing that the Bank officials would use their power over the finances of the country to threaten a panic when the year of expiration came round and thus force Jackson to sign a bill for recharter, Jackson determined to prevent such a crisis by taking immediate action. Briefly, Jackson's plan was to strengthen the state banks by gradually depositing the government funds with them instead of with the Bank of the United States. When the Secretary of the Treasury refused to take this action, Jackson dismissed him and appointed a close friend, Roger B. Taney, to the office. Taney issued the desired order, to the effect that after October 1, 1833, certain banks (dubbed "pet banks" by Jackson's enemies) would be the depositories of government funds. The effect of this order was to reduce gradually the amount of government funds in the Bank. To the great majority of the people the victory over the Bank seemed another proof that "Old Hickory" was on the side of the common people.

The increase in land speculation. After the Bank came to an end in 1836, the "pet" banks, which received federal deposits, were in a position to increase their loans and add to their issues of currency. This was what the West wanted, for it meant easier credit and an opportunity for land speculation. The note circulation of state banks jumped from $48,000,000 to $149,000,000 and their loans jumped from $137,000,000 to $525,000,000. They were properly nicknamed "wildcat" banks because, with a reckless disregard of safe banking principles, they rashly assisted land speculation by lending money on easy terms. Moreover, the states, as well as individuals, plunged heavily into debt, and competed with one another in the building of roads, canals, and railroads. In this speculation the revenue from the sale of government lands skyrocketed. In 1834 the income from this source was $5,000,000; in 1835, $14,000,000; and in 1836, $24,000,000.

Jackson's "Specie Circular," 1836. The circulation of large amounts of paper notes issued by state banks tended to depreciate the currency and to increase prices. It was clear that land values were beyond all reason; that a time would come when purchasers of land would not be able to meet their bank loans; and that the banks, unable to redeem their notes in specie, would fail. Meanwhile, the federal treasury was acquiring through the sale of public lands the note issue of the state banks, which might prove worthless. To correct this situation Jackson, in the summer of 1836, issued his famous "Specie Circular" to government land agents, instructing them that in the future they were to "receive in payment of the public lands nothing except gold and silver." Jackson declared that the purpose of this order was

> to repress alleged frauds, and to withhold any countenance or facilities in the power of the government from the monopoly of the public

> lands in the hands of speculators and capitalists to the injury of the actual settlers in the new states, . . . as well as to discourage the ruinous extension of bank issues, and bank credits, by which those results are generally supposed to be promoted.

However good the motives, the effect of the "Specie Circular" was disastrous. Land sales were less than $1,000,000 in 1837. The credit of the state banks was destroyed. The Specie Circular pricked the bubble of speculation and precipitated, but did not cause, the panic of 1837.

The causes of the panic of 1837. The panic of 1837 — one of the worst in the history of the country — like most panics, was the result of a series of causes. Overbuilding of canals and railroads; speculation in Western lands; overconfident investments of European and English capital in American lands for cotton production, in aid of canal and railroad construction, and in land speculation; the attack upon the second Bank of the United States; and the unsound practices of state banks were all factors in bringing on the panic. Furthermore, in 1835 a fire in New York City destroyed much property, and the Eastern wheat crop failed. Hard times fell upon Europe; and English bankers, pressed by European obligations, called for the payment of their American loans. This unexpected emergency embarrassed many American banks. Lastly, the "Specie Circular" served as a rude awakening to the fact that paper money and an unsecured note issue were poor substitutes for real wealth.

Hard times. In March, 1837, just as Martin Van Buren, who had been elected President in 1836, was taking office, many business houses from New York to New Orleans went into bankruptcy. More than six hundred banks failed. Factories and other enterprises closed for want of business. Unfinished railroads were left to rust. Thriving Western towns ceased to be prosperous centers of trade. Unemployment brought starvation to thousands in the industrial centers of the East. The hard time that some of the Western states had in meeting debts for unfinished canal systems led to a flood of amendments to state constitutions prohibiting the construction of canals or railroads by the states, and to the refusal of two states to repay funds borrowed from abroad.

Van Buren's independent treasury system. The blame for the hard times fell upon the party in power. The Whigs naturally made the most of their opportunity. They attacked the Jacksonian policies at the weakest point — the destruction of the central banking system and the dependence upon "pet banks" of Democratic leanings. There was little that Van Buren could do to bring about the recovery of normal conditions, and it was several years before prosperity was restored. Van Buren did suggest that the government take care of its funds by depositing them in subtreasuries located at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and New Orleans. This subtreasury system, or "independent treasury" system, as it was called, was first adopted in 1840. It was

repealed under the Whigs in 1841, but finally established in 1846 when the Democrats were again in power. It continued until 1920, a few years after the establishment of the Federal Reserve system.

The continuance of unsatisfactory credit facilities. One good effect of the panic was the improvement of many of the state banking laws; but these improvements were not uniform, and the state banks, which remained the chief source of credit for another quarter of a century, were far from satisfactory. As we shall see, throughout our history political jealousies and the desire for special privileges have plagued the banking and financial history of the country (pages 399, 412, 524, 562).

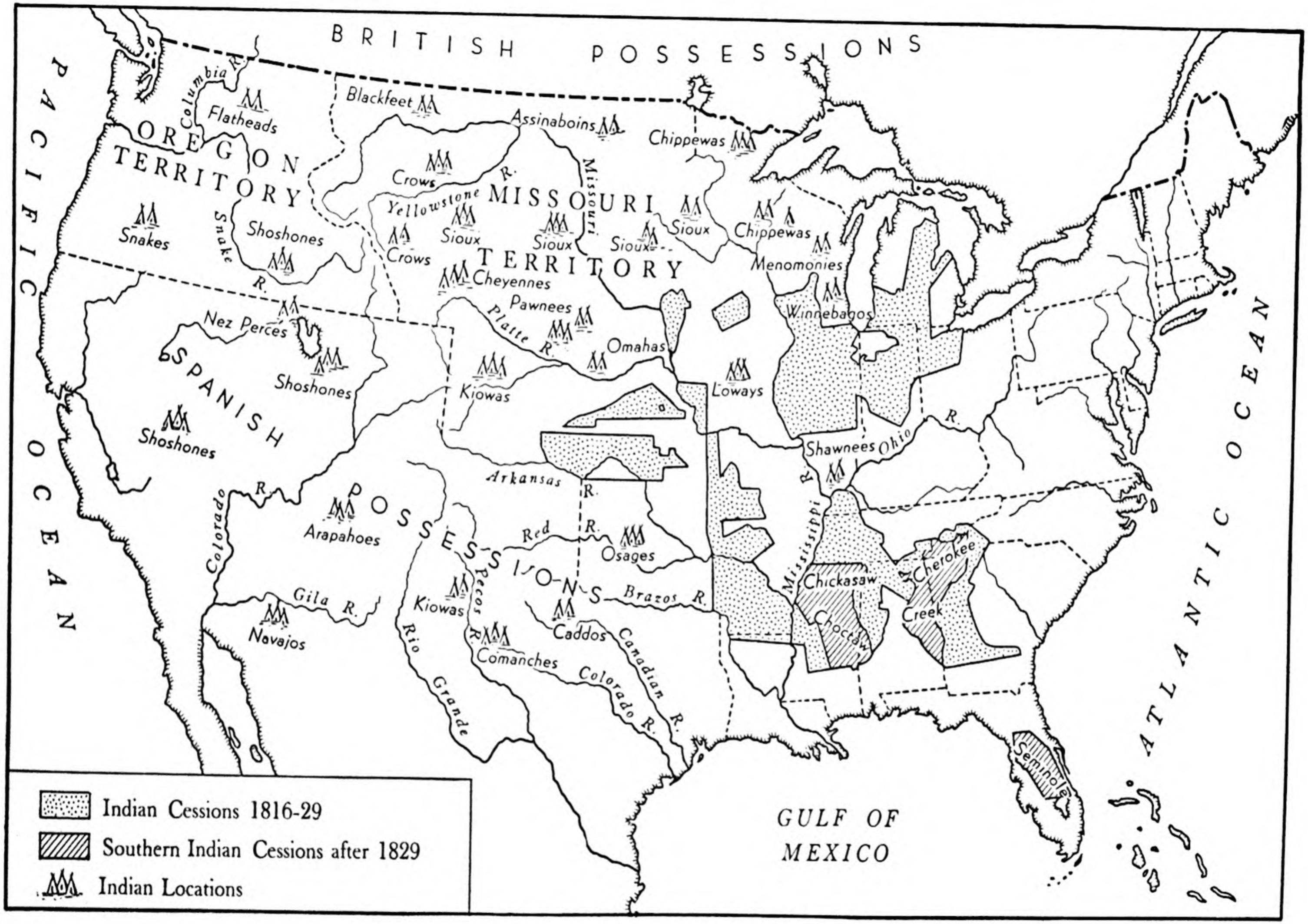
JACKSON REMOVES THE INDIANS TO THE WEST, BUT VETOES THE PROGRAM OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

Pressure upon Indian-occupied lands. If there was one thing that President Jackson wanted to accomplish more than any other, it was probably the removal of the Indians from the lands his fellow frontiersmen desired. When Jackson became President, few Indians remained in the Northwest east of the Mississippi, but in the Southwest the Indians still held large areas of land.

The inhabitants of Georgia were crowded up against the Cherokees and other Indians occupying the western part of the state. The Georgians were becoming as impatient for the Indian lands as were the people of the North when Tecumseh's confederacy barred the way at the Wabash River (pages 156–157). Georgia claimed ownership of the Cherokee lands, and also insisted that the laws of Georgia applied to the Cherokee territory. The Cherokee tribe brought a suit against Georgia, claiming that the acts of the Georgia legislature were unconstitutional because they were contrary to a treaty between the United States and the Cherokee tribe. The Supreme Court, under Marshall, decided in favor of the Cherokee tribe and against Georgia, but Georgia refused to obey the Supreme Court. Georgia's action was just as serious as South Carolina's refusal to obey the tariff laws of Congress. But Jackson sympathized with Georgia both in its hostility to the Supreme Court and in its desire to get rid of the Cherokees.

The removal of the Indians. Ultimately the United States made a treaty with the Cherokee tribe whereby the Indians gave up all their lands east of the Mississippi, and agreed to accept $5,000,000 and a grant of land in Indian territory. A similar policy was pursued by the federal government in dealing with other Indian tribes. From 1829 to 1837 it negotiated a total of ninety-four Indian treaties. Most of the Indians east of the Mississippi peaceably accepted the terms the government gave them. But force and harsh treatment were sometimes used to persuade the Indians to move west. (See map, page 253.)

A band of Indians under Black Hawk in Illinois also undertook to



INDIAN LOCATIONS IN 1833

stay the white invasion. The fighting in 1832 is sometimes called the Black Hawk War, but it hardly deserves the name of a war, for Black Hawk and his little band were speedily disposed of. Black Hawk, like Pontiac and Tecumseh, is one of the heroes of the successive stands the Indian race made for the continent of North America (pages 372–374).

The Maysville veto. The removal of the Indians was in a sense a nationalistic project, even if carried out in the interests of the land-hungry pioneers. However, Jackson was definitely opposed to one important project closely identified with the nationalism of the period — internal improvements paid for by the federal government. In 1830 Clay and his followers succeeded in getting through Congress a bill for an improved road through Kentucky at federal expense, the so-called "Maysville road." In form, this bill was a local measure for the benefit of Clay's constituents. Jackson promptly vetoed the bill. The Maysville veto placed an effective check upon internal improvements at federal expense for some time to come.

Jackson, a leader of the people. All of the issues reviewed in this chapter — the tariff, the Bank, the Indians, and internal improvements — reveal phases of the tempestuous eight years of Jackson's presidency. They also reveal an upright, honest, and sincere man, believing in the rightness of his own acts and willing to risk unpopularity when he thought that he was right. On the question of the tariff he defended the authority of the national government and offended the South; on the question of the Bank, he offended the Northeast; and on the question of internal improvements, he offended the West. But Jackson himself thought that he was right, and more than once he reminded his enemies that they could impeach him, if they dared. For support Jackson relied upon the mass of the common people of the country. More than any other President he converted the office of the presidency into one of power and strength.

Words and Phrases

Anti-Masonic party, Black Hawk War, compact theory, Compromise Tariff, "Exposition and Protest," force bill, free trade, independent treasury, infant industries, Maysville veto, nullification, panic of 1837, pet banks, removal of deposits, removal of Indians, Specie Circular, tariff of 1816, "Tariff of Abominations," Webster-Hayne debate, wildcat banks

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What is a tariff? Why is it called a "local issue"? How does a tariff operate to protect infant industries?
2. Why did the protective tariff receive some Southern support in 1816 and serious Southern opposition in 1828? What is the meaning of the remark of Randolph of Virginia that the purpose of the tariff of 1828 was the "manufacture of a President"?

3. How did Jackson deal with the South Carolina ordinance of nullification? how with nullification in Georgia?
4. What were the provisions of the Compromise Tariff of 1833?
5. What were the issues in the presidential campaign of 1832?
6. Explain the practical and theoretical reasons for opposition to the second Bank of the United States. Which were valid and which were not?
7. How did the deposit of federal funds in pet banks tend to encourage speculation? Distinguish between "pet banks" and "wildcat banks."
8. What were the causes and results of the panic of 1837? Were similar causes responsible for the depression of 1929?
9. Give illustrations of the tendency of the people to blame the party in power for hard times. To what extent, if at all, do you think the party in power should be blamed for hard times?
10. Why was Jackson interested in the removal of the Indians?
11. What sections or interests did Jackson offend by his attitude toward the tariff, the Bank, and internal improvements?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. What is the attitude of the newspapers in your community toward the protective tariff? Does the congressman from your district favor a protective tariff? Do the senators from your state? What special economic considerations probably influence their opinion?
2. Why does the enactment of a tariff law frequently weaken party harmony?
3. Which of the arguments for a protective tariff do you consider especially valid? Which do you consider weak? Similarly classify the arguments against the protective tariff.
4. "The influence of the protective system on our industrial system, whether for good or ill, is not so far-reaching as most people think." (Taussig) Report on the reasons which prompted Professor Taussig to come to this conclusion. (Consult Taussig's *Tariff History of the United States.*) Why did the tariff issue decline in importance during the 1930's and 1940's?
5. How do you account for Calhoun's shift of opinion on the question of the tariff? How do you account for Webster's shift of opinion on the question of the tariff? Did Calhoun lead or follow the opinion in his state? (Consult more detailed studies before discussing this question.)
6. Contrast the arguments of the "Exposition and Protest" and Webster's reply to Hayne. Which of these arguments do you consider the more logical; which is the more accurate, historically; which is more necessary from the point of view of national development?
7. Compare the arguments advanced in Jackson's time over the question of the Bank with those advanced in 1945 over the control of the funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. (The controversy over the appointment of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce.)
8. Give a brief report on the politics of tariff legislation from 1816 to 1833.
9. Why did the growth of the West lead to controversies between the West and the East? What was the attitude of the sections toward the United States Bank, internal improvements, and the purchase of new territory?

Suggested Reading

TARIFF AND NULLIFICATION: Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, pp. 545–583; Beard and Beard, I, 557–566; Carman, II, 31–46; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, pp. 172–196; Faulkner, pp. 169–173; Hart, III, 536–540, 544–548; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy* (A.N.S.), pp. 67–89; Marquis, *Andrew Jackson*, pp. 232–234, 281–286, 320–323; Ogg, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson* (Y.C.S.), pp. 137–157, 158–180; Schlesinger, A. M., Jr., *The Age of Jackson;* Taussig, *Tariff History of the United States*, pp. 68–108; Commager, Nos. 135, 143, 146 – The South Carolina Ordinances.

THE BANK AND THE PANIC: Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, pp. 584–655; Beard and Beard, I, 566–571; Carman, II, 160–169; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, pp. 197–247; Faulkner, pp. 163–169; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy* (A.N.S.), pp. 112–133, 218–239; Marquis, *Andrew Jackson*, pp. 249–256, 283–286, 299–306, 349–368; Ogg, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson* (Y.C.S.), pp. 181–194; Schlesinger, A. M., Jr., *The Age of Jackson;* Commager, Nos. 147, 148, 153 – Jackson's financial measures; Amherst Readings, *Jackson versus Biddle – The Struggle over the Second Bank of the United States.*

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Democracy and Politics of the Jacksonian Era

PRESIDENT JACKSON REPRESENTS THE HUMBLER CLASSES OF SOCIETY

In discussing the growth of the sections and the major controversies of the Jacksonian era, we have not paid adequate attention to the growth of democracy during the period. By the Jacksonian era we mean not only the eight years of Jackson's presidency (1829–37) but also the term of his friend and adviser, Martin Van Buren (1837–41).

Jackson's inauguration. When the day came for the inauguration of Andrew Jackson, March 4, 1829, ten thousand visitors crowded into Washington. Webster said that people came five hundred miles to see the General and that they seemed to think the country was rescued from some dreadful danger. Eager, pressing crowds watched the tall, erect, gray-haired veteran of many wars pass on foot from his tavern to the Capitol. After the ceremony, a witness says: "Countrymen, farmers, gentlemen, mounted and dismounted, boys, women, children, black and white," pushed pell-mell to the White House to greet their hero.

His training for the presidency. Andrew Jackson himself symbolized the profound changes that were taking place. All previous presidents had had years of experience in statecraft. They were men of culture and education, who had served either as members of legislatures, or as governors, Secretaries of State, or ministers to foreign countries. Jackson was a frontiersman, an Indian fighter, a military hero. He was born in 1767 on the Carolina frontier. He had little formal education, but he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1787. He met with little success, and presently moved to Nashville, where a friend offered him a job as prosecuting attorney. Here he earned a living by combining law work with storekeeping and other occupations.

Jackson became well known on the frontier, and when Tennessee was getting ready for statehood, he was a member of its constitutional convention. For a short time he represented the new state in Congress, first in the House of Representatives and later in the Senate. Jackson earned the reputation of being "a man of violent passions, arbitrary in

his disposition and frequently engaged in brawls and disputes." Before the War of 1812 Jackson had a reputation as an Indian fighter, and he became the hero of that war by his victory at New Orleans. Still later he fought the Indians in the Florida country. Tennessee, proud of its hero, nominated him for the presidency; he was defeated in 1824 but triumphed in 1828. The frontier and the West for the first time had broken the hold of Virginia and Massachusetts on the presidency. John Quincy Adams, the man he defeated, was as much a symbol of the old order as Jackson was of the new.

Throughout his presidency the stubborn, independent, and courageous Jackson was subject to violent criticism by his opponents. John Quincy Adams referred to him as "barbarian," and Justice Story deplored the "reign of King Mob." The conservative moneyed classes hated this champion of the humbler members of society.

DEMOCRACY MAKES IMPORTANT GAINS

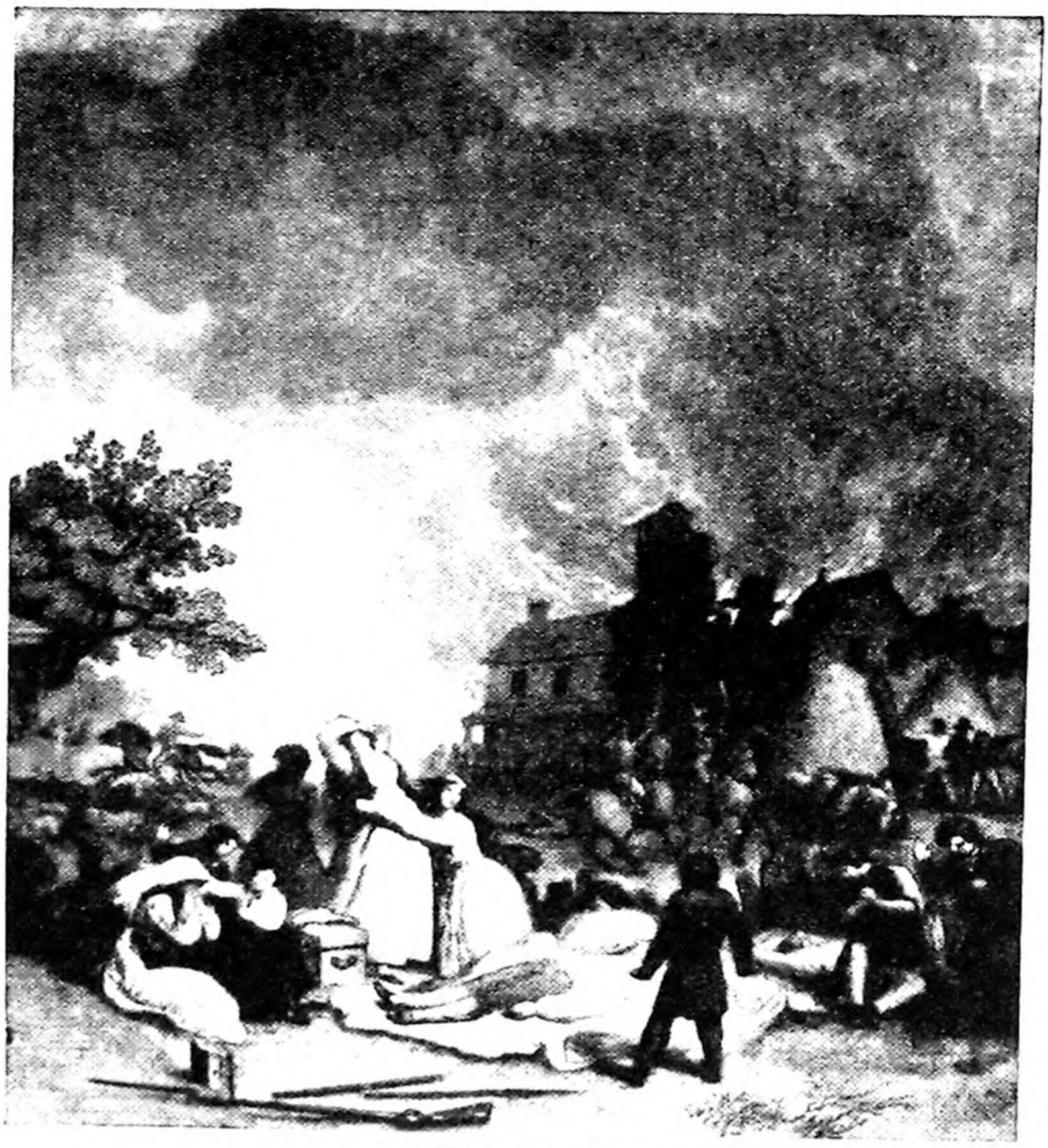
Universal manhood suffrage. We have already noted that the influence of the frontier is a leveling one. In the state constitutions set up during the Revolution, the privilege of voting was limited to property owners and taxpayers. But the newer states, as they came into the Union, adopted constitutions which allowed all white men to vote. They did not even insist that voters be citizens. Usually residence of six months or a year in the community qualified a person to vote.

One reason for this liberal policy was to encourage more and more settlers. The Eastern states began to imitate the West, partly to check the exodus to the West, but largely because the town workers were organizing into unions and demanding a voice in the government.

In most parts of the United States the extension of the suffrage had taken place before 1828, the year of Jackson's election. Often bitter struggles accompanied the change. In Rhode Island the contest was especially acute. The discontented found a leader in Thomas W. Dorr, and in 1842, when the legislature failed to adopt the reform they advocated, Dorr and his followers set up a government of their own. A small civil war, known as Dorr's Rebellion, ensued. Although the old government won, the conservative leaders, warned by the signs of discontent, in 1843 approved a new constitution that provided manhood suffrage.

Abolition of property qualifications for officeholding. The early state constitutions provided that ownership of property was necessary not only for voting, but also for officeholding. For example, Massachusetts required its governor to possess real estate worth $5000. In the Western states such conditions for holding office were never set up, and under the Western influence the older states began to repeal them.

Increasing the number of elected officials. One result of colonial experience was a fear of giving the governor too much power. Conse-



From an old engraving by John Bartram

As a young boy living on the Carolina frontier, Andrew Jackson witnessed the massacre of several hundred Americans by the English at Waxhaw in the Revolutionary War.



Drawing by Robert Cruikshank. Courtesy Handy Collection, Washington, D.C.

In *All Creation Going to the White House*, the cartoonist caricatures the rush of the common people to the White House during Andrew Jackson's term of office. Jackson's presidency coincides with the "rise of the common man" in American political life.

quently the original states severely limited their governors. There was also a fear of giving the people too much power; hence the original states provided that the legislature should elect the governor. The Western states provided for the election of the chief executive by the people. Gradually the seaboard states adopted this procedure.

Terms of office were shortened, and a multitude of state, county, and town officers were made elective instead of appointive. As the number of elective officers grew greater and the population larger, the task of intelligent voting became more difficult. (In the twentieth century, political reformers have advocated both a reduction in the number of elective officials and longer terms of office. It is now argued that it is better to have a few elective officials whom the voters can choose carefully and hold to strict accountability.)

Nominating conventions. One significant invention of the new democracy which has endured to our own day is the convention system of nominating candidates for office. It replaced the practice of leaving nominations in the hands of a small group of insiders — a "caucus," consisting only of members of Congress or of a state legislature.

Job hunters. The presence of the large crowd in Washington at the time of Jackson's inauguration (March 4, 1829) was the beginning of a demand from the new rulers for the offices of the nation. One of them said: "I am ashamed of myself, for I feel as if every man I meet knew what I came for." "Don't distress yourself," said another, "for every man you meet is on the same business." The party managers, having learned the value of state jobs to the party organization, now demanded federal offices as spoils for the rank and file who had worked for the success of Jackson.

Jackson's Cabinet. When the President announced the names of his Cabinet advisers, it was noticeable that they were party politicians. The first place in the Cabinet, that of Secretary of State, was given to Martin Van Buren, the "little magician" of New York, the most skillful party manager of his day. Four or five personal friends of the President, holding minor offices, were the real councilors of the administration. They were referred to as the "kitchen cabinet" by Jackson's enemies.

Government jobs as the spoils of victory. It was natural that the President's friends should have great influence in making appointments. With a President who had a soldier's idea of the distinction between friends and enemies, rewards and punishments were almost a sacred duty. From colonial days onward, officeholding had been the occupation of those who thought of themselves as the "better families." The new democracy of Jackson called them the "aristocracy." An appointment to a federal post had been looked upon as a life matter, and



From the portrait by Thomas Sully. Courtesy Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) — frontiersman, famous Indian fighter, hero of the Battle of New Orleans — won the support not only of the frontier settlers of the West and South but also of the masses of the people in the growing industrial cities of the East. During his two terms as President (1829–1837), Jackson proved to be a strong, forceful, courageous leader.

one that might, perhaps, pass to a son. But the fact that the officeholders as a class did not favor Jackson made them in his mind his enemies.

Jackson saw grave danger in treating public office as a kind of family property; he did not see that in transferring jobs to party managers as a reward for political services he would usher in a system equally dangerous. He thought that short terms and rotation in officeholding would "perpetuate our liberty." Because of his own frontier experience he believed that the duties of all public offices were "so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." To Jackson the removal of officers who supported Adams had the double merit of disposing of those who had held office for a long time and of punishing enemies. The appointment of loyal supporters also served a double purpose. It enabled party managers to reward the rank and file of party workers and gave the new democracy the feeling that it was to rule directly.

The revolution in public service which followed Jackson's inauguration should not be measured by the number of removals he made. In this respect he went much farther than his predecessors had gone, but stopped far short of the clean sweep the party managers and the people wanted. Washington had made removals, and Jefferson had removed his enemies and appointed his friends; but it was left for Jackson to introduce into federal administration the tests of party loyalty and party service as the sole tests of fitness for holding public office. Jackson, under the influence of clever party politicians like Van Buren, merely borrowed the well-seasoned party methods in use in several states. The "spoils system" had proved effective in Pennsylvania and New York in building up strong state organizations that could control the vote. The system was frankly acknowledged by its early practitioners, as can be seen in this statement made in 1831 by Senator Marcy:

> It may be, sir, that the politicians of New York are not so fastidious as some gentlemen are, as to disclosing the principles upon which they act. . . . When they are contending for victory they avow their intention of enjoying the fruits of it. If they are defeated, they expect to retire from office. If they are successful, they claim, as a matter of right, the advantages of success. They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the Victor belong the spoils of the Enemy.

Patronage and political organization. Men who work for a political party do so, as a rule, less because they are enthusiastic about the ideals of their party than because they hope to be rewarded with offices. The successful politician is usually the one who has numerous jobs at his disposal. Job seekers constitute the rank and file of any party; they undertake to keep the mass of voters sufficiently interested to register and vote for the "right" candidates. Jobs as rewards are needed to enlist

active party workers. The granting of small favors and concessions also helps a political party to maintain its influence. The "spoils system" attracted workers to the party and gave rise to the "boss" and the "machine." Politics became a matter for "professionals." Election contests became in the hands of the "boss" merely a struggle for power between those who held the jobs and dispensed patronage and others who wanted to be able to do the same thing.

The merit system. The political corruption that is attendant upon the use of the spoils system by the machine has been subject to serious criticism. An effort has been made to weaken it by establishing what is known as the civil service, or merit, system, whereby applicants for civil positions compete with each other in examinations to determine who is best fitted for a particular job. The merit system was not adopted by the federal government until the close of the nineteenth century, and it is still in need of improvement and extension (pages 485–487).

THE WHIGS BATTLE WITH JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

The great triumvirate. Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, "the great triumvirate," were the outstanding statesmen in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, representing the interests, respectively, of the South, the West, and the East. They were about the same age, Calhoun and Webster having been born in 1782 and Clay in 1777. They entered public life at about the same time. Clay and Calhoun early in their careers had belonged to the group of War Hawks who forced Madison into the War of 1812. Both Clay, as Speaker of the House, and Calhoun, as senator and later as Secretary of War, had sympathized with the nationalism of the period.

As the economic interests of his section shifted, Calhoun drifted apart from Clay and became the defender of states' rights, the opponent of a protective tariff and of interference with the institution of slavery. Calhoun was Vice-President under both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, 1825–32, resigning this office to represent the interests of his state in the Senate. He temporarily allied with the Whigs to oppose Jackson, but later returned to the Democratic party. He served as Secretary of State under Tyler, and secured the annexation of Texas. He died in 1850, shortly after a plea against the slavery compromise of that year (pages 302–303).

Webster, like Calhoun, shifted his political policies as the interests of his section changed. He opposed the War of 1812 and was at first a strong states' rights man and an opponent of the protective tariff, but later became an advocate of the protective tariff and the outstanding champion of union, virtually ending his career with the "Seventh of March" speech in behalf of the Compromise of 1850. Like Calhoun and

Clay, Webster also served as Secretary of State (under Presidents Harrison, Tyler, and Fillmore). In this capacity his chief accomplishment was the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (page 287).

Clay served as a member of the House, as senator, and as Secretary of State under John Quincy Adams. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency in 1824, 1832, and 1844. He achieved a reputation as the "Great Pacificator" for his efforts in behalf of the second Missouri Compromise, the Compromise Tariff of 1833, and the Slavery Compromise of 1850. All three men, disagreeing on many issues, were one in their enmity to Jackson and Van Buren.

The Whigs and "King Andrew." After the campaign of 1832 the National Republicans began to call themselves Whigs. The term was the suggestion of a New York editor who felt that all opponents of "King Andrew," as the forceful figure in the White House was called, should ignore their petty differences and unite under the name of Whig, as people in England had done to lessen the authority of the king. With the rise of the Whig party the country was once again divided into two major political parties. For a quarter century Whigs and Democrats contended for political supremacy.

The election of Jackson's "heir" in 1836. In the campaign of 1836 Van Buren was the Democratic candidate. The Whigs did not hold a convention or nominate candidates. They hoped that the states would cast their electoral votes for enough favorite sons to throw the election, as in 1824, into the House of Representatives. They were mistaken in their tactics, for Van Buren had forty-six electoral votes to spare.

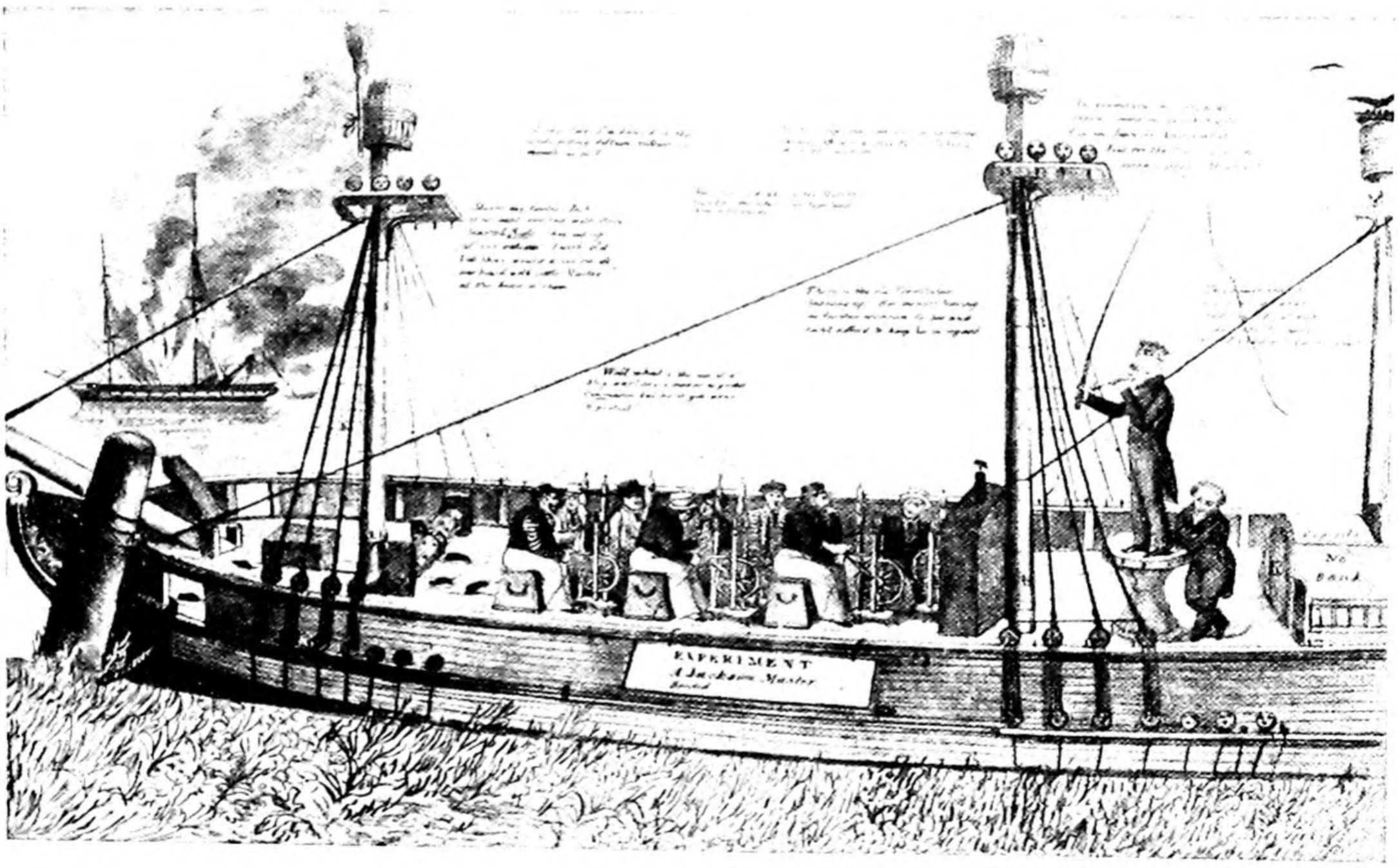
The Whig victory of 1840. The panic of 1837 made Van Buren and the Democrats unpopular, and it gave the Whigs their opportunity to achieve power. The Whig convention turned aside from Henry Clay, the real leader and founder of the party. The Whig party chieftains preferred someone whose views were not so well known, and finally decided upon General William Henry Harrison, who had defeated the Indians at Tippecanoe. For Vice-President the Whigs nominated John Tyler of Virginia — an anti-Jackson Democrat who had opposed Jackson's policies toward the Bank and nullification. The tactics of the Whig campaign were outlined by Nicholas Biddle, who felt that a Whig victory would mean the renewal of the Bank charter: "Let him [Harrison] say not one single word about his principles or his creed — let him say nothing — promise nothing. Let no committee, no convention, no town meeting ever extract from him a single word about what he thinks now or will do hereafter." One of the first ballyhoo and wild circus campaigns in our history followed. At a rally in Columbus "merry fellows eating johnnycake and drinking hard cider and singing patriotic songs" sat upon log cabins as they rolled through streets. "Oh, know ye the farmer of Tippecanoe?" sang the supporters of General Harrison.

King Andrew the First, a cartoon drawn by a contemporary artist, illustrates the way in which Jackson was criticized by his political enemies.



KING ANDREW THE FIRST.

Courtesy Library of Congress



Courtesy Library of Congress

This cartoon also pictures Jackson with a crown on his head. Shown cracking the whip, he is ridiculed as a ruthless dictator. His friend, able supporter, and successor, Martin Van Buren of New York, is shown just behind Jackson.

With an arm that is strong and a heart that is true,
The man of the people is Tippecanoe.

By such means the Whigs turned the tables on the Democrats. In 1840 the new democracy marched to the polls in large numbers. Whether the victory was due to the appeal of "Old Tippecanoe and Tyler Too," or "Van, Van is a used-up man," does not greatly matter. Harrison had 234 electoral votes to 60 for Van Buren, and the Jacksonians were driven from power. To "Old Hickory," who from the Hermitage followed every contest met by his weaker disciple as though it were his own, the defeat of Van Buren was the defeat of Jacksonianism.

An empty victory. Just one month after his inauguration President Harrison died, and for the first time in our history the system of succession established by the Constitution was put to the test. Vice-President Tyler took the oath of office as President. The Whig leaders had expected to pull the strings for the easy-going William Henry Harrison; they found they had to deal with a self-willed Virginia Democrat of the states' rights school. Death had snatched the fruits of victory from them.

Whig leaders and President Tyler at odds. The Whigs had a substantial majority in the Congress which met in 1841. Their party leaders were Senator Clay, former President John Quincy Adams, now a member of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts, and Daniel Webster, Harrison's Secretary of State. President Tyler, on the other hand, was now backed by Senator Calhoun, Senator Benton, and some old Jacksonian chiefs. By use of the veto he repeatedly blocked the will of the Whig Congress. He vetoed two bills which attempted to re-establish the Bank of the United States; and by the same means stopped an attempt at internal improvements and several other measures. Disgusted with Tyler's actions, Clay retired from Congress to devote himself to the next presidential campaign.

The South again in control. Tyler reorganized his Cabinet with former Democrats who, like himself, had deserted Jackson on certain issues. In place of Webster, Tyler appointed Calhoun as Secretary of State. Under the leadership of Calhoun the South gradually obtained control of the Democratic party. As Secretary of State, Calhoun tried to strengthen the Southern influence by negotiating a treaty for the annexation of Texas. That question inevitably involved the new issue of expansion and slavery (pages 287–293).

Whether the issues were the Bank, the tariff, internal improvements, expansion, or slavery, there was a fundamental cleavage of opinion based upon fundamentally different economic interests. In this perspective, slavery was but an incident in the struggle for power between agrarian interests on the one hand and industrial and commercial interests on the other.

Words and Phrases

the "boss" and the "machine," "the great triumvirate," "King Andrew," merit system, spoils system

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. How does the election of a man like President Jackson illustrate the development of democracy?
2. Explain four important steps in the growth of democracy during the Jacksonian period.
3. In what respects were the careers of "the great triumvirate" similar?
4. Explain how the spoils system has led to political corruption.
5. Why did the Whigs select William Henry Harrison as their candidate in 1840?
6. How did Harrison's death affect political developments?
7. Give an account of the origin of Jacksonian democracy. Compare with Jeffersonian democracy. (Consult Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson.*)

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. In defense of Jackson it has been urged that his use of the spoils system illustrated the new democratic spirit. Explain.
2. Does your community usually select members of the same political party for office? Explain.
3. To what extent is the merit system in use in your community? in your state? Discuss ways of weakening the political machine. Does the political machine perform any useful or desirable functions?
4. To what extent, if at all, is the growth of democracy a result of important economic change?

Suggested Reading

THE NEW DEMOCRACY: Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, I, 322–349, II, 497–519, 700–721; Beard and Beard, I, 542–547, 571–577; Fish, *Rise of the Common Man* (A.L.S.), pp. 39–53; Hart, III, 553–560; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy* (A.N.S.), pp. 192–199; Ogg, *Builders of the Republic* (Pageant), Chap. IX; Ogg, *Reign of Andrew Jackson* (Y.C.S.), pp. 68–113; Schlesinger, A. M., Jr., *The Age of Jackson.*

THE SPOILS SYSTEM: Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, II, 337–357; Beard and Beard, I, 547–549; Hart, III, 531–535; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy* (A.N.S.), pp. 54–65.

THE RISE OF THE WHIG PARTY: Beard and Beard, I, 575–580; Commager and Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America*, pp. 609–626; Fish, *Rise of the Common Man* (A.L.S.), Chap. VIII; Garrison, *Westward Extension* (A.N.S.), pp. 123–140; Woodburn, *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States*, pp. 43–55.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Social Aspects of the Growing Democracy

THE COUNTRY GROWS IN NUMBERS

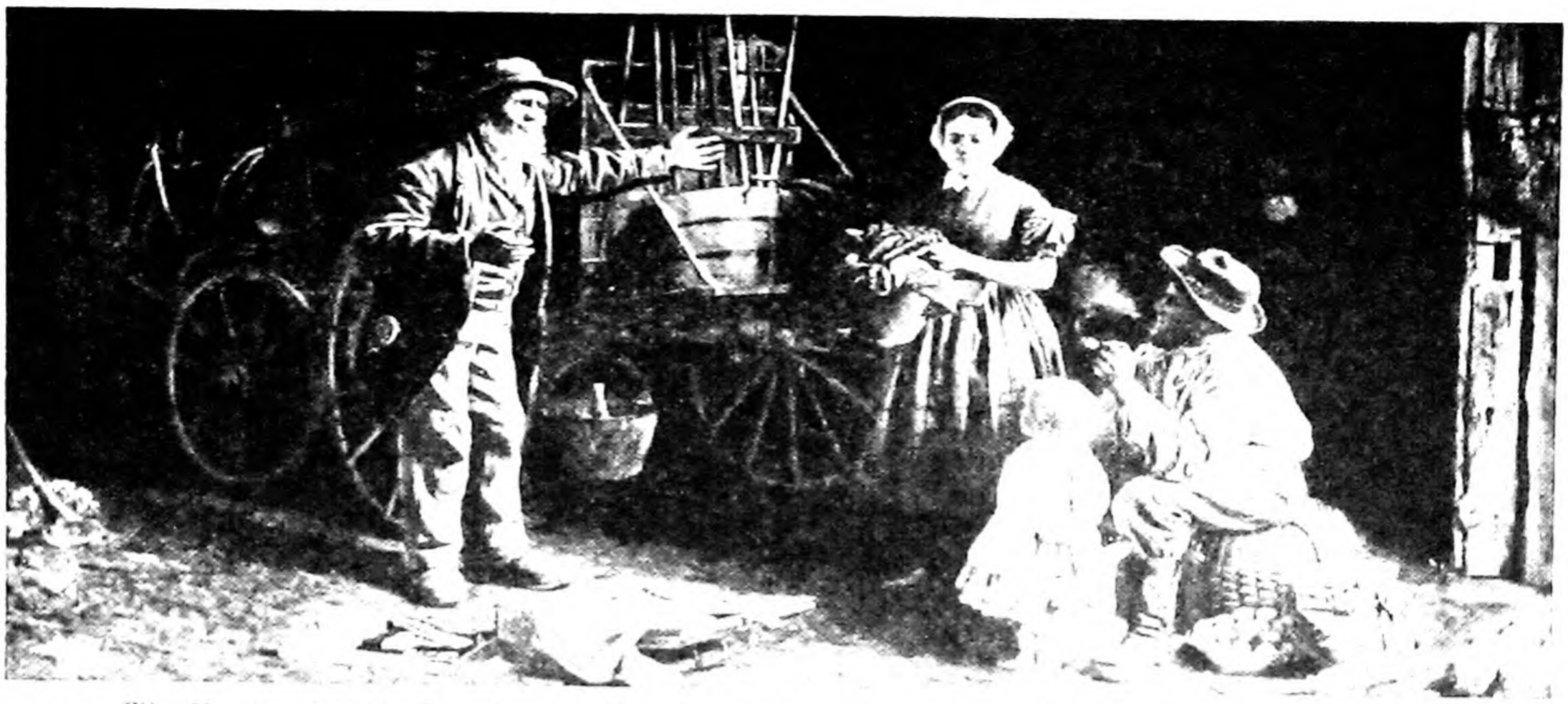
Equality of opportunity. Alexis de Tocqueville, a Frenchman famous for his keen powers of observation, visited the United States in 1831. On his return to France he wrote a book about what he saw, *Democracy in America.* Nothing struck him "more forcibly than the general equality of conditions among the people." Except for a few planters in the South and a few successful merchants of the coastal cities of the North, there were no people of wealth and few whose property had not been won through their own labor and self-denial.

The population in 1840. The census of 1840 reported a population of 17,000,000. Of this number more than a fourth, 4,800,000, were employed in some form of manual labor, largely in agriculture. One person in every seven was a slave, and slaves were mainly occupied as farm laborers. The number of slaves had increased since the first census in 1790 more than threefold, but the white population more than fourfold. Between 1830 and 1840 immigration from Europe was increased sixfold; most immigrants remained in the cities on the Atlantic coast, but after 1840 many immigrants moved to the West. (See map, page 381.)

The growth of cities. The canal packets and the river steamboats brought large regions in the interior within reach of Eastern markets. The cities were growing rapidly. New York in twenty years, from 1820 to 1840, increased from 120,000 to 300,000. By 1840 it had more people than either Boston or Philadelphia. St. Louis, the center of several lines of steamboats plying upon the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri rivers, was a thriving inland city. Along with St. Louis, New Orleans, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh had become great centers of Western trade. Chicago, however, was still a small village and had not yet started on its way toward becoming the great metropolis of the Midwest.

Industrial centers, like Lowell and Fall River, introduced a new phase of American history. In 1820, for example, most textiles were made in private homes. By the time of the panic of 1837 the majority were factory made.

Improvements. Foreign observers noted that the whale-oil lamps on the city streets had been replaced by gas lights, and the well and



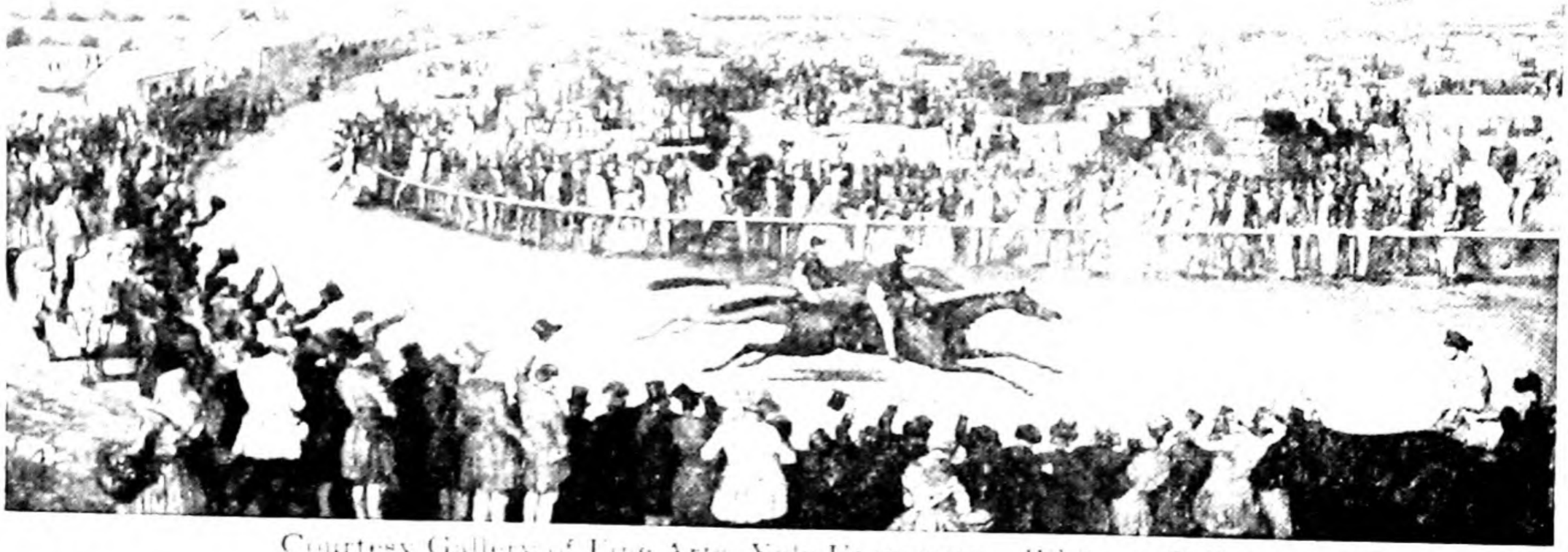
The Yankee Peddler by Thomas W. Wood. Courtesy Wood Art Gallery, Montpelier, Vermont

The itinerant merchant, who carried his wares from village to village and farmhouse to farmhouse, was a common sight.



From the *Ladies' Home Journal* of March, 1900. Courtesy Curtis Publishing Company

The country store was traditionally a meeting place for hearing the news and debating public questions. The "general store" is still found in rural districts.



Courtesy Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University. Whitney Collection of Sporting Art

The famous race between Peytona and Fashion took place in New York in 1845. Horse racing, always popular in America, has become a large-scale industry.

cistern by water mains and hydrants. Cities were undertaking expensive public works to supply their inhabitants with water from central reservoirs and to help them dispose of sewage. American plumbing, that great boon to comfortable living and the enemy of disease and plagues, was in its humble beginnings. The open fireplace was giving way to coal stoves. The introduction of the base-burner heater in the homes of the well to do, and here and there, of the hot-air furnace, excited the envy of the less fortunate. But probably no other luxury of the time gave such general satisfaction as the appearance in 1836 of friction matches.

FOR SEVERAL YEARS THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY DOES NOT SERIOUSLY INFLUENCE NATIONAL POLITICS

The Southern demand for cheap labor. During the colonial period there was an insistent demand for labor, and the farmers of all the colonies welcomed the opportunity to increase their supply of laborers by purchasing Negro slaves. However, the tobacco and rice plantation owners of the South found greater need for slavery than the people of the less fertile North. Northern and English shipping interests made great profits by supplying the South with Negro laborers.

Gradual emancipation in the North. The eighteenth century was a century of enlightenment, in which the doctrine of equality was widely preached. Humanitarian ideas, and the fact that slavery was unprofitable in the North, caused the Northern states, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, to abolish slavery. Some of the Northern states freed their slaves outright; others provided for gradual emancipation by decreeing that the children born to slave parents should be free.

The emancipation movement in the South. While the Northern states were freeing their slaves, the Southern states were sympathetically discussing the question of emancipation. But since slaves were more numerous in the South, emancipation involved serious economic and social consequences. Nearly all the Southern states had numerous anti-slavery societies. These organizations aided the American Colonization Society, which established the Negro republic of Liberia to which the emancipated American slaves could be transported.

The federal Constitution and slavery. The framers of the Constitution inserted in that document a clause which permitted the importation of slaves for a twenty-year period. When that period expired, Congress prohibited the slave trade (1808). The Constitution, by the clauses tolerating the importation of slaves for twenty years, and counting three fifths of "other persons not taxed" as a basis for apportioning taxes and representatives, countenanced the institution of slavery, although it carefully avoided use of the terms "slave" and "slavery." In a clause designed to safeguard the interests of the South, the Constitu-

tion also provided that "no person held to service or labor in one state escaping into another shall be discharged from such service or labor."

Early federal laws and actions affecting slavery. During Washington's administration Congress passed a fugitive slave law. In 1792 Kentucky and in 1796 Tennessee were admitted into the Union with constitutions which permitted slavery. When Louisiana was purchased in 1803, the treaty protected slavery, and in 1812 Louisiana was admitted as a slave state. For nearly a half century Congress did nothing to interfere with slavery. As the population moved westward, planters moved into the Western regions with their slaves. Some even penetrated into Indiana and Illinois, north of the Ohio, though slavery was forbidden in that territory by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

THE ADMISSION OF MISSOURI PRECIPITATES A CRISIS

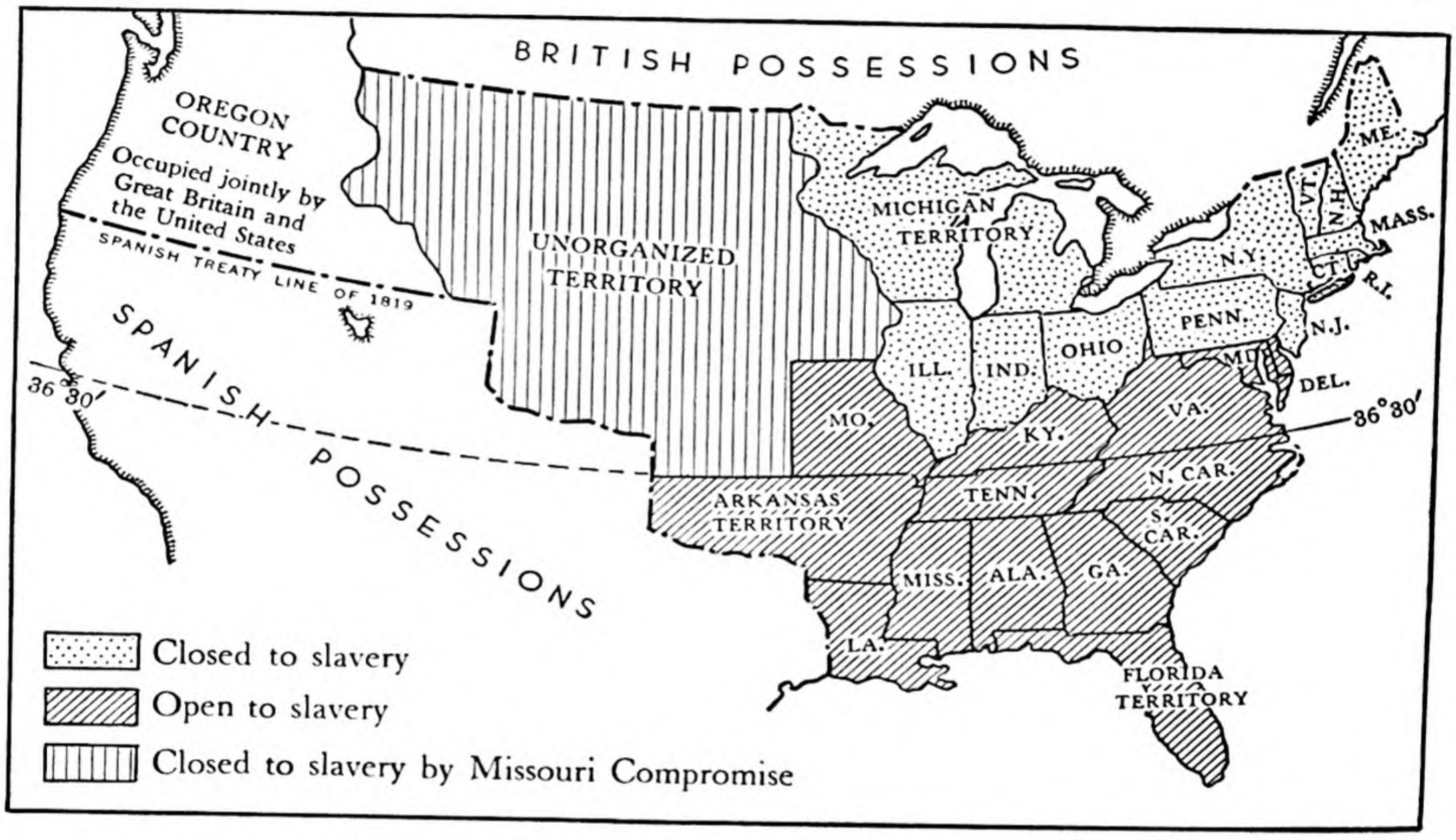
The balance between free and slave states. For a time the admission of slave states into the Union kept even pace with the admission of free states. In 1818, when Missouri sought admission, the number of states from the Northern, or free, section was equal to the number of the states in the Southern, or slave, section. This meant that the number of senators from the two sections balanced each other. However, the population of the free states had increased much more rapidly than that of the slave states, so that in 1820 the Northern states had twenty-four more votes in the House of Representatives. This made the Southern leaders all the more anxious to keep the balance in the Senate.

Settlement of Missouri. After the War of 1812 two currents of westward migration mingled in the Missouri territory beyond the Mississippi. There were adventurous fur traders in St. Louis trafficking with the Western Indians, and others bound for the "diggins," or lead mines, of St. Genevieve. But the greater part of the settlers were slaveowners from Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. By 1820 Missouri had more than sixty thousand settlers and about ten thousand slaves — a population large enough to warrant statehood.

Defeat of the Tallmadge amendment. In February, 1819, the question of admitting Missouri to the Union came up for debate in the House of Representatives. Much surprise was created by an amendment, proposed by Tallmadge of New York, to the bill for admission. This amendment provided that *further* introduction of slaves into Missouri should be forbidden and that all children of slaves born after the date of admission should, upon reaching the age of twenty-five, be free. Tallmadge's amendment passed the House but was rejected by the Senate. The Tallmadge amendment started a constitutional debate on the power of Congress to regulate slavery in a territory and to impose conditions under which a state might come into the Union. The South argued that Congress could admit or refuse to admit a state, but that

once in the Union the state could decide for itself whether it desired slavery or not. So far as a territory of the United States was concerned, the South argued that it had equal rights with the North to occupy the land, either with or without slaves.

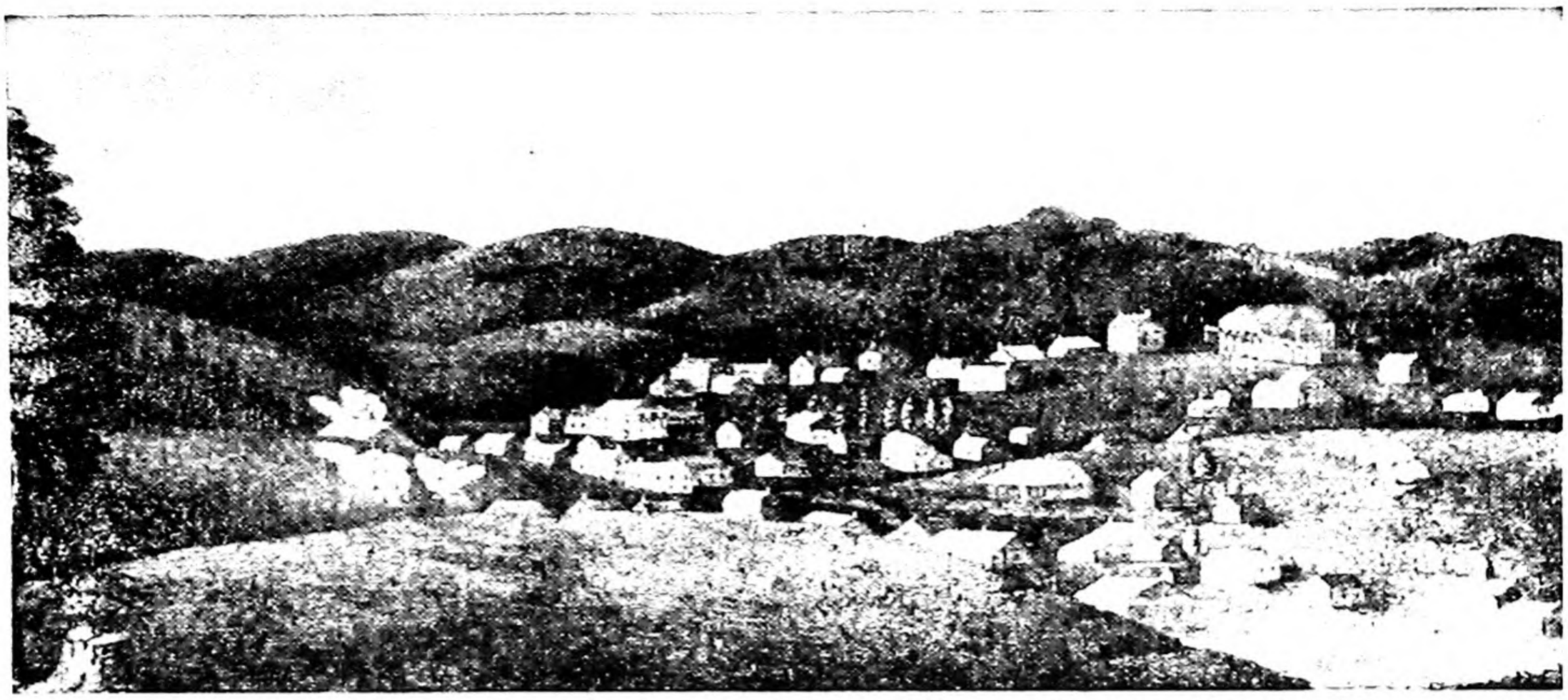
The summer of 1819 was one of sharp debate in the North and South; it was a debate over sectional control of the federal government as much as on the institution of slavery. Even Jefferson was alarmed. "This momentous question," he wrote, "like a fire bell in the night awakened me and filled me with horror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union."



THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE, 1820

The Missouri Compromise. When Congress met in December, 1819, Maine was also applying for admission to the Union. If Maine came in as a free state, and Missouri as a slave state, the balance between slave and free states would be preserved. Congress decided to admit both Maine and Missouri. The bill admitting Missouri passed only after there had been added to it an amendment proposed by Senator Thomas of Illinois, providing "that, in all that territory ceded by France under the name of Louisiana which lies north of 36° 30′ north latitude, excepting only Missouri, slavery and involuntary servitude shall be forever prohibited." In general this compromise was a victory for the North, for by it slavery was forbidden in about five sixths of the Louisiana Purchase territory. Congress had established the principle, later challenged, that it had the right to exclude slavery from a territory of the United States.

Before the Missouri question was finally settled a second compromise was necessary, for when the time came to count the electoral vote of Missouri in 1820 it was discovered that the constitution of Missouri



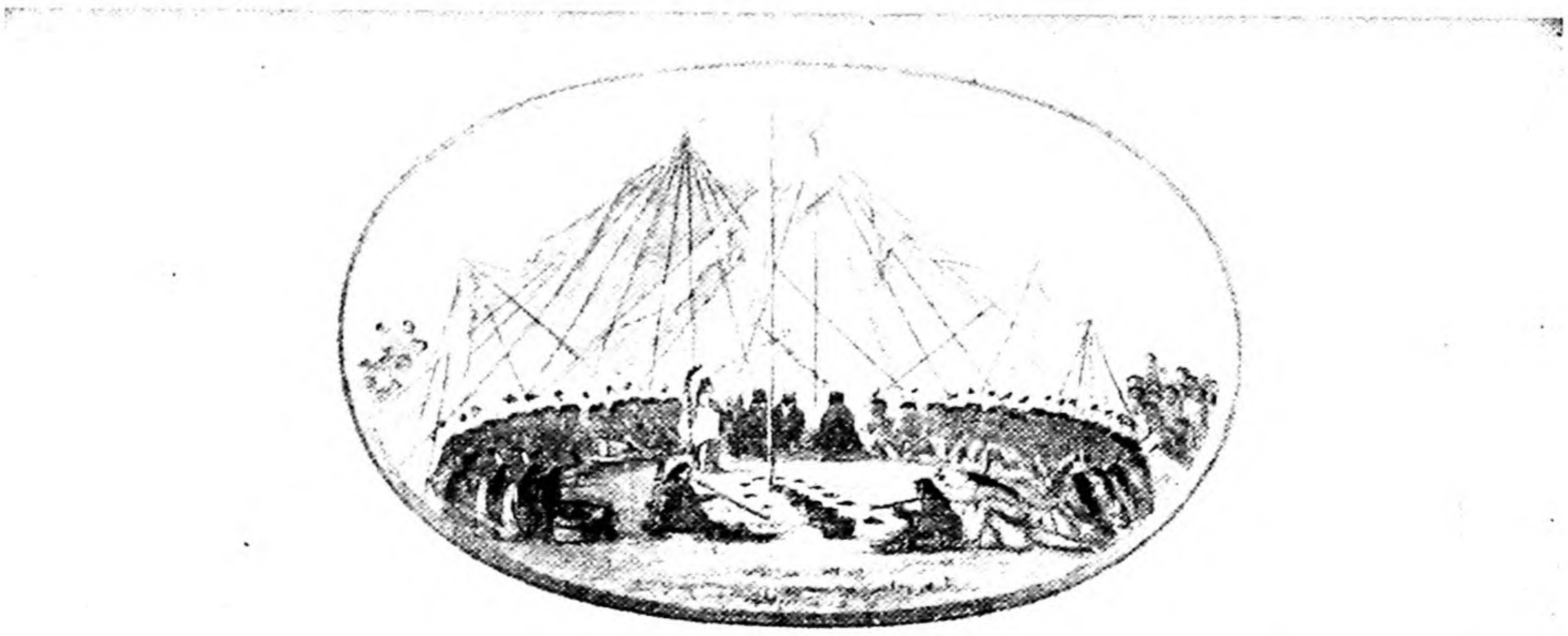
From H. R. Schooleraft, *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri*, 1819

Some of the early settlers of Missouri were attracted to that region by the lead mines. Potosi, Missouri (above), was established by a mine owner in 1798.



Reproduced from *The Pageant of America*. Copyright Yale University Press

Council Bluffs, on the Missouri River, began as an Indian village clustered about an army blockhouse built in 1837.



Courtesy American Museum of Natural History, New York

George Catlin, American artist who devoted himself to the study of the American Indians, painted this picture showing a feast given him by the Sioux Indians.

provided that the state legislature could prevent "free Negroes and mulattoes from migrating to Missouri." Henry Clay finally negotiated a second compromise to the effect that the electoral vote of Missouri should be counted, provided that the clause in question "should never be construed to authorize the passage of any law by which any citizen shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States." The Missouri legislature accepted this condition and Missouri was admitted to statehood on August 10, 1821. For what he did, Clay was hailed as the "Pacificator."

THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT UNDER GARRISON BECOMES A CHALLENGE TO BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH

Several years were to pass before the slavery question was again raised in Congress. In the meantime the deepening economic differences between the sections were reflected in the debates over the tariff, the Bank, and internal improvements. The issue of a protective tariff prompted South Carolina to advance the doctrine of nullification. During this period, however, a strong antislavery movement got under way.

The antislavery agitation in the South. Early in the nineteenth century a group of antislavery pioneers arose in the South. Among the foremost were Benjamin Lundy, James G. Birney, and Sarah and Angelina Grimké. All were Southerners and all began their attack upon slavery in the South. Their neighbors, however, would not listen to them or allow them to continue their work against slavery. The Grimké sisters then went to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, writing pamphlets against slavery and conducting parlor talks for women on the subject of emancipation. Birney, an Alabama printer, freed his slaves, and moved first to Cincinnati and then to New York, where he edited antislavery newspapers, promoted the organization of antislavery societies, and became a third-party candidate for the presidency in 1840.

Thus the antislavery movement owed its beginnings to the criticism of those in the South who were familiar with the difficulties of the situation. About 1830 the agitation against slavery took a new turn. The new movement was directed toward the complete destruction of the institution of slavery. It was a phase of the world movement for the termination of slavery; the English Parliament, for example, in 1833 provided for the emancipation of slaves throughout the British Empire.

William Lloyd Garrison — uncompromising abolitionist. The chief exponent of the new, defiant, and uncompromising agitation which began in the thirties was the youthful and fiery fanatic, William Lloyd Garrison. He published the first number of his newspaper, the *Liberator*, on New Year's Day, 1831. The spirit of the movement is shown by his words in this issue:

> I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject [slavery], I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm . . . but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — and I will be heard.

The next year Garrison organized a New England Antislavery Society and in 1833 a national organization known as the American Antislavery Society, which demanded the immediate abolition of slavery without compensation to the owners.

So violent were the demands of Garrison and his followers that for some time they found little sympathy in the North. Riots broke out at antislavery meetings; Garrison was stoned and burned in effigy in his home town, Boston. His followers, best described by the term "abolitionists," never succeeded in attracting a majority of the people of the North to their side, although by 1840 there were two thousand societies that enrolled about two hundred thousand members. The abolitionists considered the slaveholders alone to blame for the existence of slavery. The abolitionists wanted immediate and unconditional freedom for all slaves. As time passed they became more insistent.

The Underground Railroad. An interesting phase of the antislavery movement was the "Underground Railroad," an elaborate, well-organized system to help Negroes escape to free territory or across the Canadian border. The underground had its secret workers who sent escaped slaves on from "station" to "station." Its workers were quiet, law-abiding citizens who thought they were thus doing God's work, although they were deliberately violating the fugitive slave laws.

More moderate views on emancipation. The moderate antislavery point of view was represented by men like the famous Boston preacher, William Ellery Channing, who thought that it was necessary to insure friendly relations between the whites and the Negroes after emancipation, and therefore that it was desirable to solve the problem gradually by the voluntary efforts of the states concerned. Abraham Lincoln, though opposed to slavery, believed that the abolitionists, by the bitterness of their utterances and methods, aroused a corresponding bitterness in the South and retarded emancipation. The opponents of slavery within and without the antislavery societies were divided in their means of attack. The majority of the North finally came to accept the point of view that slavery was a problem for the South to handle, but that slavery should not be extended throughout the country.

Religious bodies divide on the question. The bitter controversy between the sections over the issue of slavery disrupted religious bodies. In 1844 the Southern members of the Methodist Church separated from their brethren in the North and organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; in the same year a Southern Baptist Church was

formed, and several years later the Presbyterians split into two groups over the question.

"Gag" resolution in Congress. The controversy could not be kept out of the halls of Congress. Petition after petition from the antislavery groups of the North asked Congress to abolish slavery at least in the District of Columbia. The proslavery group, alarmed over the insurrection of Nat Turner, who, in 1831, with a group of Negroes attacked and killed a large number of whites, demanded that the North cease its agitation. But they, too, went to extremes. A Charleston mob burned abolitionist pamphlets found in the post office. In 1836 Southern interests succeeded in inducing Congress to pass a "gag" resolution providing that antislavery petitions should be tabled without reading or action. This resolution was a clear violation of the First Amendment. John Quincy Adams, now a member of the House of Representatives, protested that the action was unconstitutional and for eight years kept up a fight to have the "gag" resolution repealed. He succeeded in 1844, when the proslavery interests realized that they were giving the abolitionists additional arguments with which to win supporters.

Cotton and slavery. After the invention of the cotton gin the production of cotton increased amazingly. The planting, cultivation, and harvesting of cotton requires a great amount of hand work. For laborers the cotton planters depended on Negro slaves. The demand for Negroes led to some smuggling from abroad, and to the bringing into the cotton states of many slaves from the upper South, where slavery was no longer very profitable. By 1850 more than half the slaves lived in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and they constituted one half the total population of these cotton states.

Exhaustion of land by cotton culture and its effect. Two great problems confronted the statesmen of the cotton belt. How could they prevent federal interference with slavery, which they were sure would be the result of abolitionist agitation? How could they provide a supply of new land, needed because of the rapid exhaustion of the soil? The old agriculture of the South, and other parts of the United States as well, gave no heed to the conservation of the soil. An abandoned, exhausted field, the result of long cropping without refertilization, was one of the most common sights in the older sections of the United States. New land was the raw material consumed in the production of cotton; it was also the raw material consumed by American agriculture everywhere so long as free land seemed plentiful.

The cotton planter's defense of slavery. The South had an answer to those who charged that the great majority of the Southern whites did not benefit from slavery. Did not the plantation system protect them from the menace of the free Negroes? Why should not the poorest white migrate to some frontier, and, with the thrift many planters had shown, rise to wealth? Much of the support that the poor whites gave

to slavery was due to the never failing hope of the less fortunate that they might sometime be able to travel the road of the more successful. Southerners also pointed out that they took care of the Negro in sickness and old age, while under the wage system of the North, employers left the workers to look out for themselves when sickness, or age, or hard times overtook them.

HUMANITARIAN IMPULSES CHARACTERIZE THE JACKSONIAN ERA

The effort of the abolitionists to eliminate slavery was but one of the many reforms that were urged upon the people from 1830 to 1850.

The temperance movement. With the growth of cities the poor, the drunkard, and the criminal became a common sight. This alarmed thoughtful people. In 1826 Lyman Beecher, a Connecticut minister, was deeply moved by the misfortune brought upon one of his parishioners by drunkenness. Beecher's printed sermons on temperance were widely read. Temperance societies became more common and popular than antislavery societies. Some of the churches became huge temperance organizations. Many of the reformers were women.

The reformers carried their movement into the state legislatures, and were encouraged by the adoption of prohibition in a number of states. Maine, under the leadership of Neal Dow, was the first state to adopt prohibition (1846). Before 1855 thirteen state legislatures had passed prohibitory laws, and many communities, by refusing to issue licenses for the manufacture or sale of liquor, became "dry." The temperance movement declined before and during the War between the States. Some of the restrictive laws were repealed, but shortly after the war the temperance movement began another campaign.

Taking care of the unfortunate. Some sought to alleviate the suffering of the blind and the insane. The establishment of asylums for the insane was largely due to the energy and activity of Miss Dorothea L. Dix (1802–87), who traveled about the country to arouse interest in a more humane treatment of the insane. Miss Dix was also active in a campaign for improving conditions in prisons. As a result of her work and that of other reformers the idea grew that prisons should be institutions for the reform as well as the punishment of criminals. During this period the practice of imprisonment for debt was abandoned.

Establishing Utopias. The struggle for wealth often led then, as now, to unfair practices which ruined the weak and unfortunate. Some high-minded men and women thought that these practices could best be corrected by the abolition of private property. They tried to accomplish their purpose by establishing communities where all forms of property were held in common, and where the inhabitants worked together in the closest co-operation. In the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson: "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social

reform; not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his pocket." By 1850 nearly a hundred of these Utopias were started in the United States. Two of these deserve special mention. 1. New Harmony, Indiana. Robert Owen, a successful cotton manufacturer of Scotland, had been attempting to improve the social and economic conditions of his mill hands for many years. His experiences led him to believe that society could be made over in all countries by the construction of "model" communities. He would establish villages of about a thousand inhabitants each in various parts of the world. In these villages each family would be allotted a house and an acre or two of land. The dwellings would be placed together in the form of a parallelogram, with common kitchens, dining rooms, schools, and places of worship in the center. The members of the community would eat food provided by their own labor and would work at tasks assigned by their leaders.

On a visit to America in 1825 Owen purchased a ready-made village established by a religious sect that was dissatisfied with the frontier. It consisted of about one hundred sixty dwellings, containing a church, a schoolhouse, a silk factory, a woolen mill, a sawmill, a brickyard, a distillery, dye works, and outlying farms. Owen gathered about a thousand people in his community, which he named New Harmony, and started them on what he hoped would be the road to "happiness to all its members . . . by the adoption of a system of union and co-operation, founded in a spirit of universal charity." "The industrious and well-disposed of all nations" were invited to join in the new way of life. Then the reformer hurried away to found other Utopias.

2. Brook Farm. Shortly after the founding of New Harmony, George Ripley, who had been in turn a Harvard College instructor, a minister, and an editor, joined with others in founding Brook Farm in West Roxbury, Massachusetts. This time a community of the "industrious and well-disposed" was actually brought together. Among them were Nathaniel Hawthorne, George William Curtis, Charles A. Dana, and Margaret Fuller. The founders thought they could lessen the "laboring man's great burthen of toil by performing our due share of it at the cost of our thews and sinews." A fire in 1846 hastened the end of this community experiment.

The failure of the Utopias. None of the attempts to reorganize society and industry upon the community basis succeeded. The lack of opportunity for individual distinction discouraged the better members; the opportunity for the thriftless and unenterprising to pass their share of work on to others drew the undesirable. Lack of capital, unfortunate location, a fire or a plague, had a part in the decline of this movement after a decade or two of experience.

All the reform movements of the Jacksonian period — such as abolition of slavery and of the saloon, and the establishment of industrial equality — were large projects. The reformers were thinking in terms

of years, when they needed to think in terms of generations. They were the advance guard of the workers for equality of opportunity for all Americans — an ideal as old as the Declaration.

Founding a school system for a democracy. There was one place where equality of opportunity was of the utmost importance if such problems as the reformers of Jackson's time proposed were ultimately to be solved — that was in the schools. During the Revolution and immediately following it, the founders of the United States had clearly seen the need of schools in a republic. Thomas Jefferson planned a great system of public schools for Virginia and worked all his life toward its realization. Washington advised Congress to found a National University, where the youth of the Republic might receive the highest training under American, not foreign, surroundings, and under national, not local, influences. To prove his earnestness he left in his will $25,000 for a university at Washington. In 1785 Georgia, in 1789 North Carolina, in 1791 Vermont, and in 1794 Tennessee organized state universities. The government began the practice of giving lands to the state to encourage the establishment of schools and universities. Some of the states established school funds and lotteries to assist the local authorities. The taxpayers, generally the only voters, held the purse strings too tightly for the realization of the plans of the Fathers of the Republic. The school funds were soon spent or diverted to other purposes. Even where the land grants might in time have become a valuable endowment, the lands were hastily sold for a small price, and the money used for immediate needs. The schools were shamefully neglected.

Scarcity of opportunities for education. Even in New England, where the colonial public school system had set the educational pace of the New World, the schools suffered from neglect in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Outside of New England the schools were generally private, which meant that they were supported from fees paid by well-to-do parents. The trustees of such schools admitted the children of the poor neighbors without charge, but only when the parents acknowledged themselves "paupers." At best the schools were seldom open more than three or four months in the year. Lincoln's school days all told did not exceed twelve months, and his boyhood experience was typical of that of the majority of the boys of the nation. The girls were rarely so fortunate. A writer whose school days ended as Jefferson became President says of their opportunities: "I never saw but three females in public schools in my life, and they were only there in the afternoon to learn to write."

The educational revival. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century an educational revival took place. "With the exception of slavery no question aroused more feeling than the proposal to establish a tax-supported public school system, nonsectarian in its control." The

fight for free public schools was part of the workingmen's movement of the times (pages 228–230). One of the best arguments for a public school system was stated by the Philadelphia workingmen in 1830:

> . . . there can be no real liberty without a wide diffusion of real intelligence; . . . the members of a republic should all be alike instructed in the nature and character of their equal rights and duties, as human beings and as citizens . . . until means of equal instruction shall be equally secured to all, liberty is but an unmeaning word and equality an empty shadow.

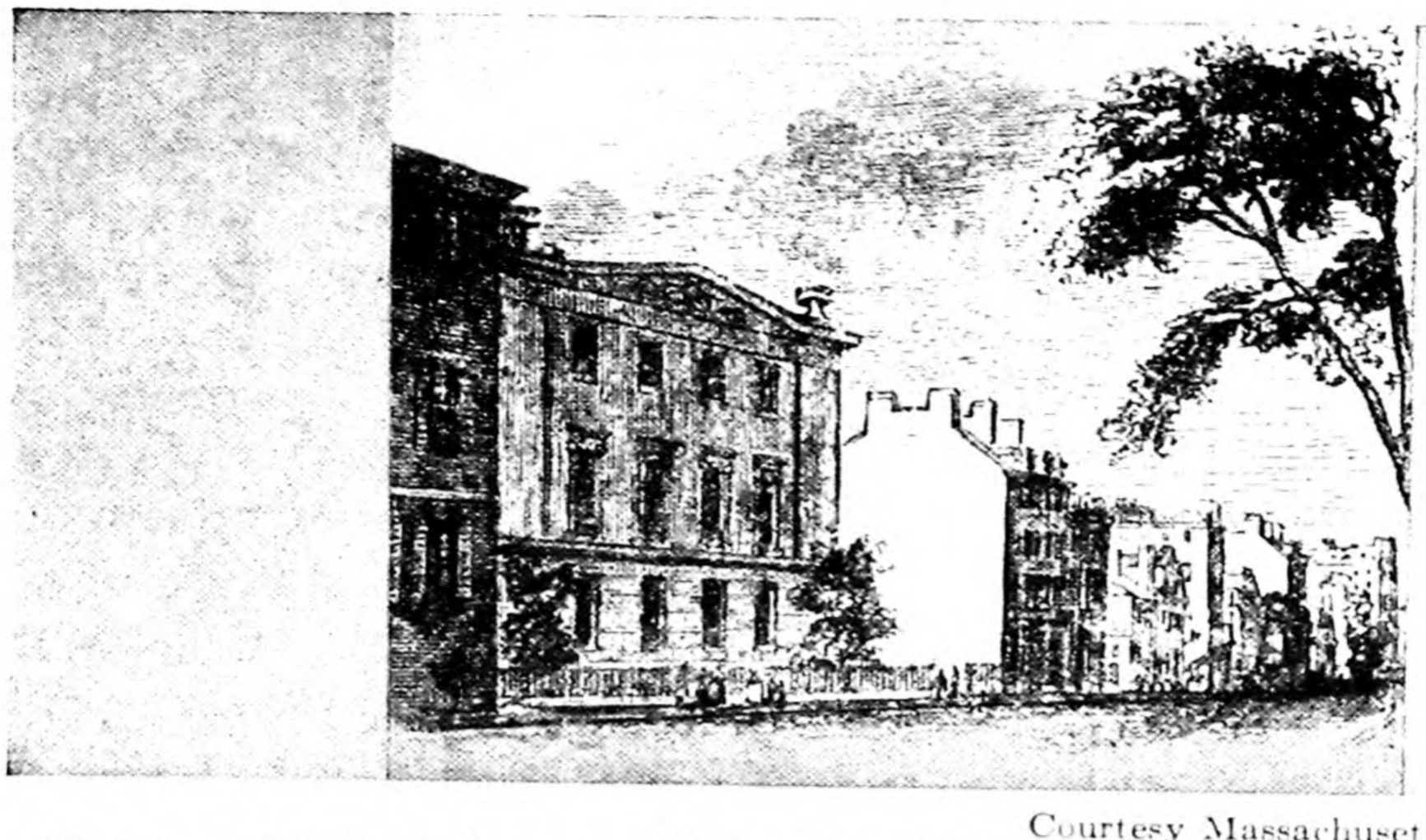
The struggle lasted for a quarter of a century, and by the time of the War between the States, except in the South, the principle of tax-supported schools was generally accepted. DeWitt Clinton in New York was among the political leaders of the movement.

The towns and villages took on a new function — establishing public schools. The cities went further with the introduction of high schools, about four hundred having been established before 1860.

Horace Mann. One of the greatest leaders in the development of public school education was Horace Mann (1796–1859), who became the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1837. An advocate of improved methods of instruction and teacher training, he persuaded Massachusetts to establish the first state-supported normal school in 1839. He organized teachers' associations, established teachers' institutes, and advocated the grading of pupils and compulsory attendance laws. Mann's influence spread far beyond Massachusetts. By 1850 half of the states had created the office of superintendent of education, and the educational system of many of the larger cities was placed in charge of a superintendent of schools. Henry Barnard of Connecticut and Rhode Island and Calvin Stowe of Ohio were also among the educational pioneers during this period. In 1867 Henry Barnard became the first United States Commissioner of Education. One great achievement of men like Mann, Stowe, and Barnard was to develop a professional spirit among teachers.

Higher education. In 1825 the University of Virginia opened its doors, and in the 1830's Michigan became one of the first of the Northern states to add higher education to the plan of the people's schools. The University of Michigan was the realization of a plan many states had formed but as yet had not adopted. What Michigan did other Western states copied, and by 1850 about fifteen state universities, chiefly in the South and West, had been established. Most of the colleges, however, were organized and supported by religious denominations and by private endowments.

Oberlin in 1833 was the first college to establish coeducation. In 1821 Emma Willard at Troy, New York, and in 1837 Mary Lyon at South Hadley, Massachusetts, started seminaries for young ladies. The first



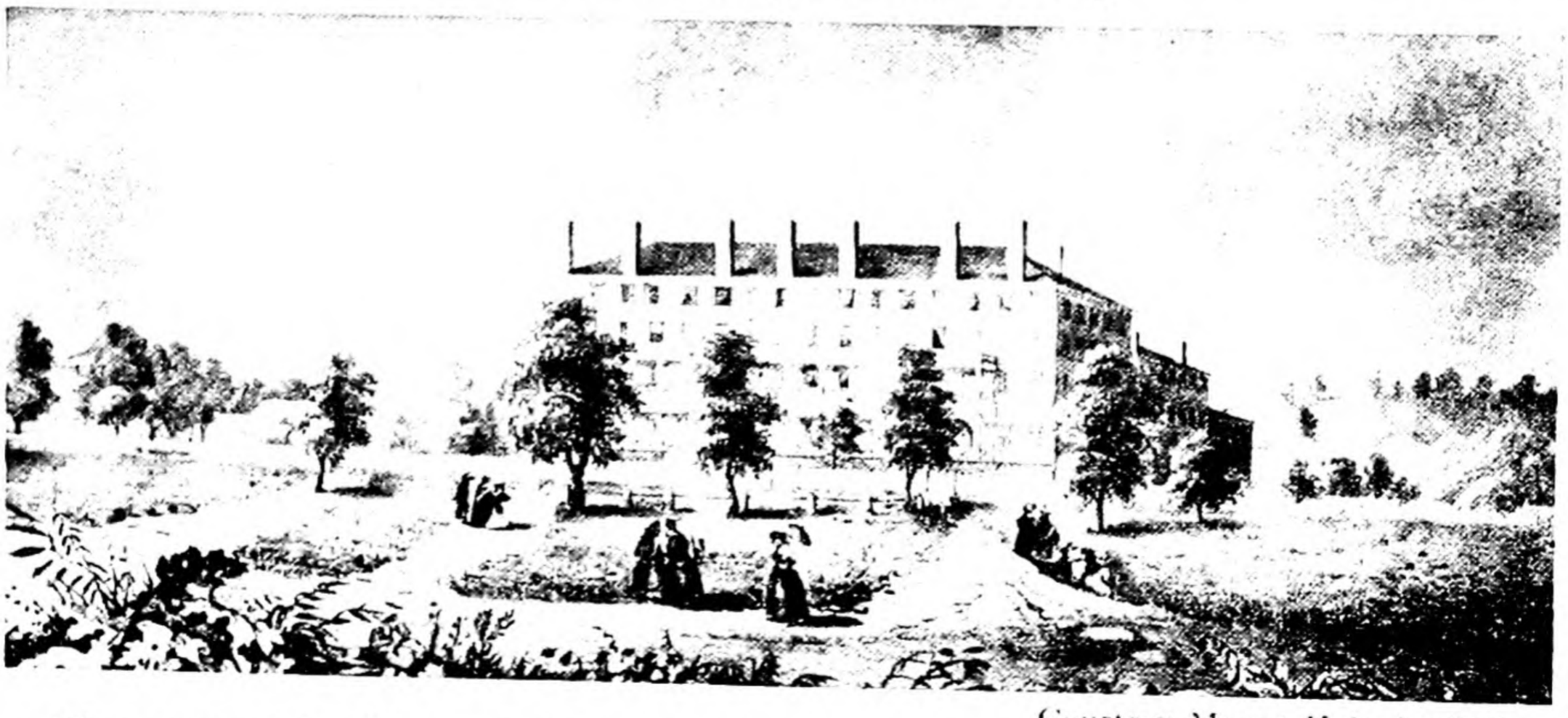
Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society

Boston Latin School was established in 1635 to prepare boys for Harvard College. Latin schools were the forerunners of public-supported secondary schools.



Bettmann Archive

The typical one-room pioneer school had one teacher for all grades. The struggle for free public schools began during the Jacksonian Period.



Courtesy Mount Holyoke College

The original building of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary was a large, four-storied structure. This seminary, later called Mount Holyoke College, was founded by Mary Lyon in 1837.

college exclusively for women and granting degrees to its graduates, Wesleyan College, in Macon, Georgia, was established in 1836.

In reality the high schools and the state universities were yet few in number and small in size. Education beyond the "common" school was still the field of the private academy, the seminary, and the college (pages 454–456).

The feminist movement. The opening of seminaries for women and the establishment of coeducation in a few of the colleges illustrates that the democratic ferment was extending to women. The Jacksonian era saw the beginning of the women's rights movement, which was a revolt against legal traditions and customs which limited the activities of women. One hundred years ago girls were expected to marry early, and when they did they practically surrendered whatever rights or privileges they had to their husbands. A wife could not own personal property, and her husband had control over any real property she might possess. The husband had a right to any wages the wife might earn and could sue for any injuries inflicted upon her. He was, however, held responsible for certain crimes which his wife might commit.

The feminist movement received impetus by lectures which Frances Wright, a Scotswoman, delivered in the United States in 1827. She discussed slavery, women's rights, and other questions. Women interested in the antislavery movement, such as the Grimké sisters of South Carolina, were aroused to action by the example of Frances Wright. Lucretia Mott of Philadelphia, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton of New York, Susan B. Anthony, and many others took up the cause of women's rights (called "Fanny Wrightism" by critics of that day). At a convention at Seneca Falls, New York, 1848, they drafted a Declaration of Rights, imitating in many respects the Declaration of Independence. They declared "that all men and women are created equal," and demanded equality with men in education, in the professions, in voting, and in the eyes of the law. The feminist movement was ridiculed by many, but it was aided by men like Emerson, Whittier, Wendell Phillips, Garrison, and others. Nearly a century of agitation was required before women achieved most of their demands. The immediate gain of the movement was the extending of educational opportunities to women.

The people and the churches. 1. Rapid multiplication of sects. Even religious organization was affected by the democratic ideals of the period. The churches in which the congregation had a large share in church government were the ones which flourished. After the Revolution had broken the connection between the churches of America and those of Europe, the laymen took over a larger share of the management of their churches. In the most popular churches of the frontier, the Baptist and the Methodist, local leaders assumed the powers of Biblical interpretation. As a result there was a rapid multiplication of sects.

There were the regular Baptists, the Seventh-Day Baptists, the Freewill Baptists; there were the regular Methodist Episcopal churches, the Methodist Protestant churches, the Congregational Methodist churches, and the Independent Methodist churches, not to mention a variety of Baptist and Methodist organizations among the Negroes. Even the smaller religious organizations existed in several forms. The Presbyterians and the Congregationalists were subdivided. Half the old towns of Massachusetts after 1818 changed from Congregationalism to Unitarianism.

2. Separation of church and state. The growth of new sects and the camp-meeting revivals are proof of the religious fervor that stirred the masses. If in the break with the religious past some sections of the people were led by the ignorant and the fanatic, that was a price the United States was to pay for the blessing of complete religious freedom.

In the old states religious discriminations which had escaped the zeal of reformers during the Revolution were now swept from the state laws. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire the Congregational church ceased to be the state, or established, church. Such changes meant that all denominations were to be equal before the law.

3. New functions of the churches. It was a symptom of this religious revolution that the churches took on new functions. The Sunday-school system grew up with the public schools. The churches also maintained academies and colleges; they founded hospitals, asylums for the orphaned and the aged, and established recreative organizations. The Y.M.C.A., for example, was established in 1851 and the Y.W.C.A. in 1866. These social functions carried on by the churches meant that they were not only concerned with doctrinal and moral teaching, but also interested in promoting the physical and intellectual welfare of the people.

Cheaper newspapers. The magazines and the newspapers were generally composed of stilted essays on politics, philosophy, and religious subjects, good enough in themselves but of a kind few could understand even if they could read. The writing at the time, whether in books, magazines, or newspapers, was intended for the politicians and the professional classes, a small minority of the whole population. Moreover, the price of the daily newspapers, $8 or $10 a year by subscription (equivalent to $30 or $40 today), was beyond the reach of the majority.

An event of the utmost importance in 1833 usually goes unrecorded. Benjamin H. Day, a printer in New York City, decided to publish a newspaper which workingmen could afford and, what was more important, would wish to read. He hired a room, gathered or copied all the news or advertisements, and by sitting up all night, brought out the first number of the *New York Sun* (September 3, 1833). A few lines upon the first page announced a revolution in journalism. "The object of this paper is to lay before the public, at a price within the means of every-

one, all the news of the day, and at the same time offer an advantageous medium for advertisements." He solved the first part of his ambition by fixing the price at a penny, and looked to advertisements for a large share of his profits. By making the news column of the *Sun* a mirror of the community life, Day attracted readers. Within three years the *Sun* had a daily issue of 27,000 copies, as compared with a circulation of 1700 for the most successful of the six-penny papers in New York.

Day's plan was quickly copied by other enterprising editors. Great dailies, like the *Philadelphia Press* (1857), the *New York Herald* (1835), the *Chicago Tribune* (1855), the *New York Tribune* (1841), and the *New York Times* (1851), not to mention a large host of other penny papers in the smaller towns, assured the success of the revolution in journalism. A new method of selling through newsboys completed the change. The poorest laborer could thus purchase a daily newspaper from a newsboy. The newspaper became a part, possibly the most important part, of the nation's educational system (pages 457–459).

The growth of an American literature. In 1820 an English critic, Sydney Smith, exclaimed: "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book?" There were American books. A few of them, like *The Federalist*, were the best of their kind. But for the most part the reading habit had not become general in America, and there were enough English books to supply the need. There was no lack of booksellers to import such books. A growing number of subscription libraries — and, with the movement for free schools, free libraries as well — gradually made books more accessible.

Irving and Cooper. Even while Sydney Smith asked his cutting question — "Who reads an American book?" — London was eagerly doing just that thing. The book was Irving's *Sketch Book.* The quaint tales of "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" revealed to the world that America, too, had its folklore, traditions, and picturesque life. James Fenimore Cooper was already at work on the stories which made him the first great American novelist. In *The Deerslayer, The Last of the Mohicans, The Pathfinder*, the author retold the experiences of the Indians and the pioneers in the wilderness of New York.

William Cullen Bryant. As though Sydney Smith's challenge to Americans must be met many times, a mere boy in western Massachusetts had published the poems "Thanatopsis" and "To a Waterfowl." The author, William Cullen Bryant, later became the owner and editor of the *New York Evening Post.* For a long generation this alert, practical businessman and writer brought forth an almost endless series of grave, thoughtful verses and editorials.

Thoreau and Emerson. Henry David Thoreau won a reputation for the excellence of his style with *Walden,* a description of New England's natural life. Along with Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thoreau developed a philosophy of extreme individualism. Both stormed against the mate-

rialism of the time and preached a high idealism. Both had great faith in the value of freedom and the "divine sufficiency of the individual."

American historians. During this period George Bancroft was writing his famous volumes on the history of the United States. Francis Parkman began his brilliant studies of the struggle among the French, the English, and the Indians for North America. William Prescott wrote of the *Conquest of Mexico* and the *Conquest of Peru,* while John Lothrop Motley achieved fame with his *Rise of the Dutch Republic.*

Other writers. Irving, Cooper, and Bryant may be remembered as the pioneers of a literature which the people of the United States gladly read. Through what they wrote ran a revelation of America, either of the deeds of men or of the works of nature. The titles of the publications of the Jacksonian era tell what phases of America they commemorated and why their books were read. What Cooper did for the region of his boyhood in New York, William Gilmore Simms did for the Carolinas and Georgia. *The Yemassee* and *The Partisan* are the best of a series nearly as popular as Cooper's Leatherstocking novels. Oliver Wendell Holmes found the way to popularity through "Old Ironsides"; John Greenleaf Whittier through the *Legends of New England;* Nathaniel Hawthorne through *Twice-Told Tales;* and the others who followed them found a fertile field in the traditions of early New England. To the same source Longfellow turned in "Evangeline," "Hiawatha," and "The Courtship of Miles Standish." Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* is still regarded as one of the finest bits of American fiction, and Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* is still acclaimed as one of the greatest sea stories ever written. The rough life of the new cotton states was drawn upon in James G. Baldwin's *Flush Times in Alabama and Mississippi.* Edgar Allan Poe is justly considered as the developer of a new literary form, the short story, exemplified by "The Murders in the Rue Morgue"; he is also famous for the rhythm of his poetry as found in "The Raven." In the same years James Russell Lowell was developing a reputation both as a poet and as a critic and commentator on public affairs.

Words and Phrases

abolition, academy, Brook Farm, emancipation, feminist movement, "gag" resolution, humanitarian, *New York Sun,* seminary, separation of church and state, temperance movement, Underground Railroad, Utopias

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What population changes took place between 1790 and 1840?
2. "Humanitarian striving was a characteristic of the new democratic spirit." What are the evidences of humanitarian striving? Why is it referred to as a characteristic of the new democracy?
3. What was the early attitude toward the question of slavery? How did the Constitution deal with this question?
4. Why should the question of the admission of Missouri have precipitated

a crisis? Were the chief factors involved economic, political, or humanitarian? Explain the provisions of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Under what circumstances was the law declared unconstitutional? (See pages 318–319.)

5. Why was the abolitionist movement a challenge to both North and South?
6. "New land was the raw material consumed in the production of cotton." Explain fully. How did this affect the problem of slavery? (Note the title of the following chapter.)
7. What educational changes took place during the Jacksonian era?
8. Why is the introduction of the cheap newspaper a factor in the growth of American democracy?
9. How did literature reflect the new America?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Prepare biographical sketches and estimate the value of the work of Dorothea Dix, Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, William Lloyd Garrison, Mary Lyon, Emma Willard, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony.
2. Investigate further the details of the "Utopian" experiments of Robert Owen and others. Suggest reasons for their failure. Are there any proposals today for the reform of society similar to those advocated by Robert Owen and other Utopians?
3. Is slave labor "cheap" labor? Discuss fully. (Consult the sections of an economics book on the efficiency and cheapness of labor.)
4. Why is it claimed that Emerson's philosophy of the "divine sufficiency of the individual" reflected the social and economic environment of his times? Explain the meaning of Emerson's statement: "The appearance of character makes the state unnecessary."
5. Contrast the educational advantages and opportunities of the average boy or girl today with those of the boy or girl of a hundred years ago.

Suggested Reading

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE: Beard and Beard, I, Chap. XVI; Brooks, *The Flowering of New England; The World of Washington Irving;* Carman, II, Chap. V; Commager and Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America,* 413–445; Fish, *Rise of the Common Man* (A.L.S.), pp. 200–255; Hart, III, 509–530; Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought,* II; Amherst Readings, *The Transcendentalist Revolt against Materialism.*

THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT: Beard and Beard, I, 693–710; Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War* (A.N.S.), pp. 17–36; Commager and Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America,* 483–504; Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom* (Y.C.S), pp. 24–70; Garrison, *Westward Extension* (A.N.S.), pp. 294–314; Hart, III, 595–614, IV, 56–79; Hart, *Slavery and Abolition* (A.N.S.), pp. 92–108, 136–187; Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade* (Y.C.S.), pp. 112–130; Commager, Nos. 149–151 – Several views on abolition.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Expansion and Slavery

THE WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY DETERMINES OUR NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY

Webster remains in Tyler's Cabinet. The death of President Harrison in 1841 and the inauguration of President Tyler mark the end of the struggle between the sections over the issues of the Bank, the tariff, and internal improvements. The new issues of expansion and slavery arose to take their place. We have already noted the quarrel which Tyler had with the Whig leaders, and how his repeated vetoes of Clay's measures caused the Whigs to read the "traitor" out of the party and to resign from his Cabinet. The only Whig who remained in the Cabinet was Daniel Webster. It may be that his chief motive was to complete the negotiations that were under way to settle our differences with Great Britain.

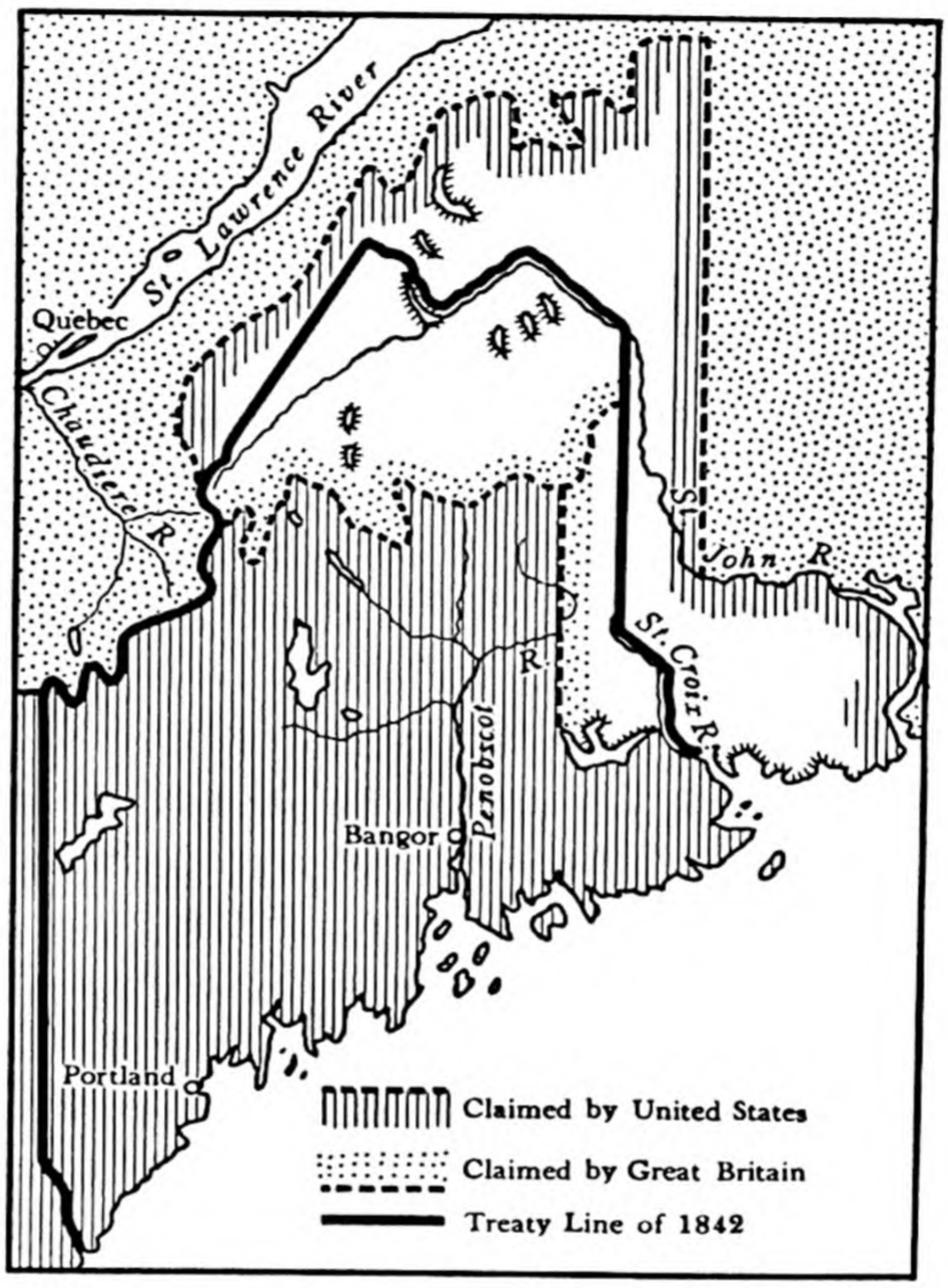
Difficulties with England. At the time relations with Great Britain were near the breaking point. (1) In the Oregon country, fur traders and missionaries were in frequent conflict. (2) In the Northeast there was much concern about the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. (3) In the Southwest there was a feeling that English antislavery interests were deliberately blocking efforts for the peaceful annexation of Texas. (4) The fact that during the panic of 1837 some American states had defaulted in their payments of interest to British creditors, or had repudiated their debts altogether, did not tend to make British capitalists feel any too well disposed toward the United States.

Fortunately, the administrations in both countries were anxious to settle the difficulties peacefully. Alexander Baring, Lord Ashburton, of the important banking house of Baring Brothers, was sent to Washington to negotiate a peaceful settlement. Lord Ashburton's large financial interests in the United States made peace seem essential to him.

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 1842. Neither side was prepared to yield in the Oregon dispute, nor was the United States ready to assume the foreign debts of the states. These matters were wisely set aside to await negotiations another time. The troublesome boundary dispute in the Northeast was settled by a compromise boundary line which divided the territory in dispute nearly equally. The fertile Aroostook Valley became part of Maine. (See map on page 288.)

The new Democratic party. Once the treaty was ratified, Webster

retired from Tyler's Cabinet, and President Tyler appointed A. P. Upshur of Virginia as Secretary of State. Within a year Upshur died, and Tyler honored John C. Calhoun with the position. Party politics had indeed taken a strange turn, for the President and his Secretary of State were able to rebuild the Democratic party around the leadership of the Southern planters. Old Jackson followers like Benton and Van Buren



THE MAINE BOUNDARY, 1782–1842

were no longer in the councils of the Democratic party. Every Democratic nominee for the presidency from 1844 to 1860 was either a Southerner or a pro-Southern Northerner. Tyler and Calhoun relied upon the issue of expansion, particularly the annexation of Texas and expansion to the Pacific to win popular support for the party.

"MANIFEST DESTINY" BECKONS AMERICA WESTWARD

The westward march of the frontier. The steady westward advance of the American frontier had reached a stage which the politicians could not long ignore. By 1844 more than fifty thousand Americans had moved beyond the boundaries of the United States into the republic of Texas. Three or four thousand had settled in the Willamette Valley in Oregon or were scattered among the trading posts and mission stations of the great Oregon country. There they disputed the question of

title with the British occupants. Even in California, then a part of Mexico, there were about seven hundred Americans.

Pioneers in the far Northwest. The first Americans to live in Oregon were the fur traders. Then came the missionaries to work among the Indians. The reports that the missionaries sent back aroused interest in the East. In 1843 a thousand pilgrims gathered at the Missouri River, and under leaders of their own choosing made the long, perilous journey to the Willamette Valley. They proved that loaded wagons and herds of cattle could be driven to Oregon. Thereafter, the migration grew by leaps and bounds. In 1843 the Americans in Oregon organized a government of their own "until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us." The hard times in the United States after the panic of 1837, the stories printed in local newspapers and missionary magazines, the love of adventure inborn in Americans, and the belief that the occupation of new lands was a patriotic endeavor — all operated to lure Americans to Texas and Oregon. The Oregon Trail, the Santa Fe Trail, and the Salt Lake Trail to California took on the aspect of national highways. In 1842 and again in 1843 the War Department sent Lieutenant John C. Frémont to the Rocky Mountains as a national "pathfinder." Frémont found no new routes, but his reports made older ones better known.

The Lone Star Republic. A few years after Mexico had won her independence, trouble started in one of her provinces — Texas. For some years large numbers of Americans had been migrating to Texas, where they were received cordially and given land generously and cheaply. Worried by the growing number of these settlers (nearly twenty thousand), in 1829 the President of Mexico ordered that no more American immigrants be admitted to Texas.

In addition to this cause for irritation the Texans had for a long time objected to the Mexican policy of freeing the slaves. The American inhabitants hoped to make the territory part of the United States. In 1836 the Texans, under the leadership of Sam Houston, revolted.

Texas seceded from Mexico, declared itself independent in 1836, and drafted a constitution which legalized slavery. At the Alamo, the Mexican president, Santa Anna, destroyed the entire garrison of 166 Texans. "Remember the Alamo!" became the battle cry of the revolting Texans. At San Jacinto on April 21, 1836, a band of Texan volunteers under General Sam Houston defeated the Mexican army and captured Santa Anna. Texan independence was achieved. An election was held and Sam Houston was chosen president of the "Lone Star Republic."

The demand for annexation. Houston and other Texas leaders frankly wanted their newly independent nation to become a part of the United States. They looked to President Jackson, well known as an ardent expansionist, to take the lead in securing the annexation of Texas in 1836. But Jackson held back, fearing that it would stir up sectional

jealousies dangerous to the election of Van Buren. Nonetheless, the demand for annexation, both in Texas and in this country, continued throughout Van Buren's administration. But Van Buren, bothered by the panic of 1837, lacked his chief's enthusiasm for expansion. President Tyler, however, was interested in annexation. Tyler and Calhoun submitted a treaty of annexation to the Senate for ratification in 1844. Fully expecting the necessary two-thirds majority, they were deeply chagrined when the treaty failed of ratification.

Some thought that ratification might involve us in a war with Mexico, because that country had not yet recognized the independence of Texas, or that it would create difficulties with England, who preferred to see Texas remain an independent state. Others feared that the annexation of Texas was merely a scheme to extend slave territory. For several years Mexican agents here had systematically spread the report that the movement to secure Texas was part of a Southern plot to extend slavery, and that Texas was, in addition, a den of thieves. Opponents of slavery repeated this propaganda.

There seems to be no satisfactory proof that the effort to secure Texas was a conspiracy upon the part of the South to extend slavery, but many Northerners believed this to be the case — another illustration that very often what people *think* are facts is more important than the truth or falsity of the facts themselves. As time passed, opinion in the North grew stronger against any expansion which would include territory available for slavery, and it became particularly opposed to the annexation of Texas. On the other hand, the South became more determined in its support of annexation. When the treaty was defeated there was talk in the South of secession; Robert B. Rhett, the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, declared, "Disunion, the only remedy!"

THE REANNEXATION OF TEXAS AND THE REOCCUPATION OF OREGON BECOME CAMPAIGN SLOGANS

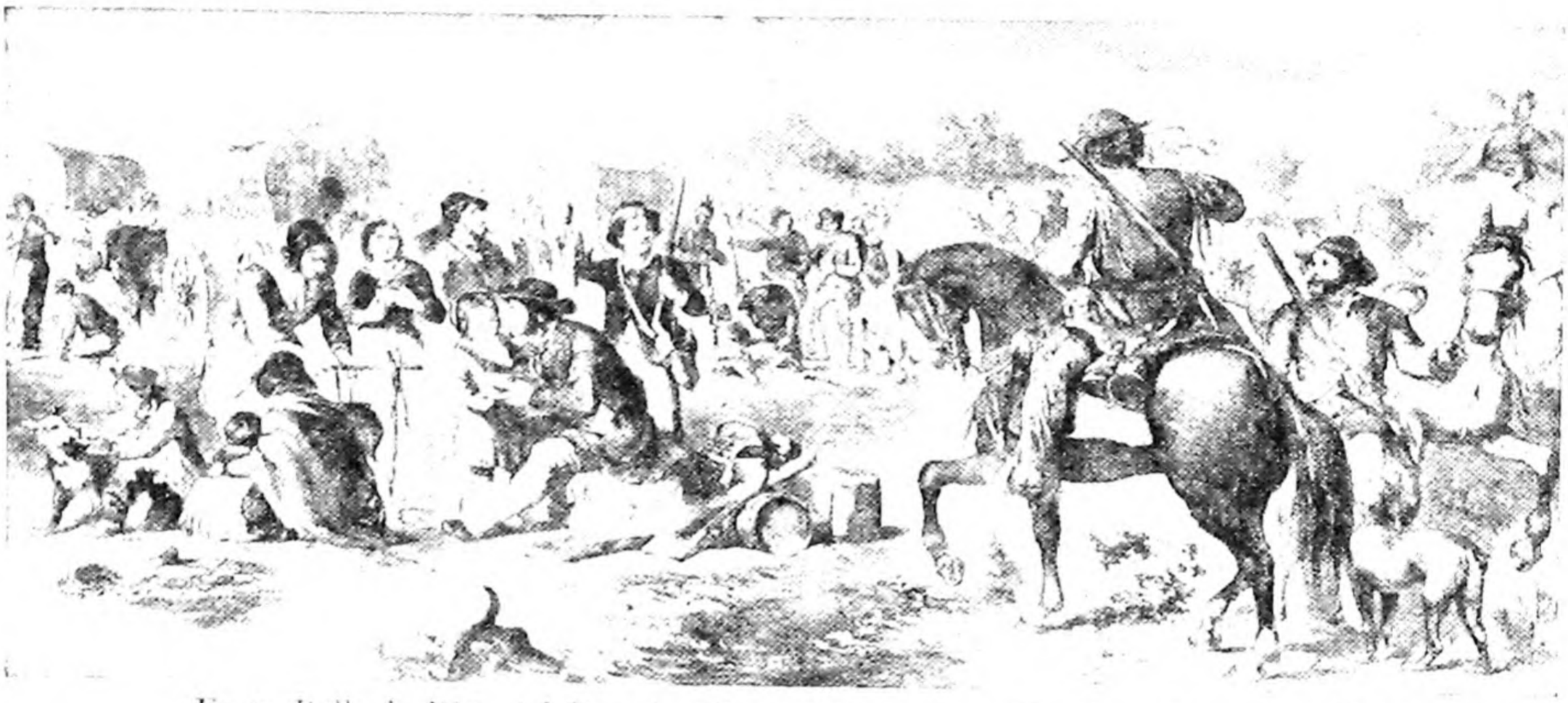
Expansion the issue. The year 1844, in which the annexation treaty was defeated in the Senate, was also a presidential election year. The Democrats boldly declared for the "reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period." However, they found difficulty in selecting a candidate for the presidency. The favorite Democratic candidates were Van Buren and Calhoun. As is often the case, the supporters of each of these candidates were able to block the success of the rival without carrying the convention for their favorite. The nomination finally went to a "dark horse," former Governor James K. Polk of Tennessee, expansionist and friend of Jackson.

The Democratic slogan in the campaign — "The reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon" — was a clever joining of two issues. It was hoped that Northerners who desired expansion, as long



Reproduced from *The Pageant of America*. Copyright Yale University Press

The Fandango, by Charles C. Nahl, catches a gay moment in the life of the Spaniards in California.



From *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*. Courtesy New York Public Library

Pioneers camp on the Oregon Trail. The movement to the Pacific Northwest over this trail in the 1840's gave popularity to the slogan "Fifty-four forty or fight."



From Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 1845

Traders approach Santa Fe, which was founded by the Spaniards in 1609. The Santa Fe Trail was an important highway of commerce to the Southwest.

as it did not involve slave territory, would be satisfied if the boundaries of the country would expand in the Northwest as well as in the Southwest. Equally clever was the argument implied in the use of the prefix in *re*annexation and *re*occupation.

The "Reannexation of Texas." This slogan suggested that Texas had really been part of the Louisiana Purchase territory and, therefore, that the United States was eager to get only territory which it really owned. There does seem to be good reason for believing that such was the case. Nonetheless, our statesmen, in their eagerness to secure West Florida, had actually abandoned all claim to Texas by definitely fixing, in the treaty of 1819 with Spain, the southwestern boundary of the United States at the Sabine River (pages 200–202).

The "Reoccupation of Oregon." The theory contained in the phrase "reoccupation of Oregon" was similar. It depended on the assertion that Americans had originally occupied Oregon — a claim based upon (1) the voyages of Captain Gray, who explored the Columbia; (2) the expedition of Lewis and Clark; and (3) the establishment of a fur-trading post by John Jacob Astor. These claims, however, conflicted with those of the English, because the Hudson's Bay Company had established fur-trading posts in the same region. In 1818 the United States and Great Britain negotiated a treaty providing for the joint occupation of the territory. This treaty, originally agreed to for a ten-year period, had been renewed in 1827 for an indefinite period, with the proviso that either nation could terminate the agreement on one year's notice. It applied to the Oregon country west of the Rockies between 42° and 54° 40′, north latitude. In 1844 the Democrats advocated that the United States should push its claim to the whole of this region. "Fifty-four forty or fight" became a campaign slogan.

The third defeat of Clay. The Whigs, unlike their opponents, found the choice of a presidential candidate easy. The delegates had only one candidate in mind, Henry Clay, who for a third time became a candidate for the presidency. They found it hard to decide what to say about expansion. How to reconcile the Western elements of the party, which generally favored expansion, with the Eastern, which looked upon it as a slaveholders' conspiracy, was a problem. As a solution, and the only practicable one, the convention's platform was silent on expansion of any kind.

The popular vote was extremely close; in a total of nearly 3,000,000, Polk's plurality was less than 40,000. The abolitionist vote for James G. Birney, candidate of the Liberty party on an antislavery platform in New York and Michigan, drew enough votes from Clay to give those states and the election to Polk.

Annexation of Texas by joint resolution. President Tyler looked upon the verdict at the polls as indicating popular approval of his policy. He proceeded to go ahead with the program of annexation with-

out waiting for the inauguration of the President-elect on March 4, 1845. The fact that the Mexican minister, when asked if his government would consent to annexation, replied that Mexico would regard it as an act of war, did not deter him. The feeling that Great Britain — with whom we were at odds over Oregon — was also working for a Texas independent of both Mexico and the United States, and was ready to assume the role of its protector, hastened action.

When Congress assembled for the final session of Tyler's administration, a joint resolution was approved which admitted Texas as a state into the Union. The resolution said that with the consent of Texas, four additional states might be formed out of her territory, and also that slavery should be prohibited north of the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′. President Tyler signed the act just a few days before Polk's inauguration. On December 29, 1845, Texas became a state of the American Union, with a constitution that legalized slavery.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS LEADS TO A WAR WITH MEXICO AND TO THE ACQUISITION OF THE SOUTHWEST

The Texan boundary dispute. The annexation of Texas brought on a war with Mexico. The Mexicans thought that we had been responsible for the Texan revolt. Now that Texas was part of the United States, we tried to make good the claim of Texas that her southern boundary was the Rio Grande, although, as a province of Mexico, the southern boundary was the Nueces River. President Polk's support of Texas in this claim lent color to the belief that we planned to acquire other Mexican territory.

President Polk acted in a way that made war practically inevitable. Not only did he desire to see the Texas boundary fixed at the Rio Grande, but he also wanted to obtain the large province of northwestern Mexico, known as New Mexico. Hoping that he might accomplish this without a war, he sent Slidell, of Louisiana, as minister to Mexico. The new minister had instructions to offer the cancellation of American claims against Mexico in return for accepting the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas. Slidell was also instructed to offer $5,000,000 for New Mexico, and was assured that "money would be no object when compared with the value of the acquisition of California." Since Mexico had broken off diplomatic relations after the annexation of Texas, Slidell was not received, and his mission accomplished nothing save to convince Polk that the only solution was war.

Occupation of disputed territory. Subsequent events illustrate the power of a President in conducting the foreign affairs of the country to get the nation involved in a war, in spite of the constitutional provision that only Congress shall have the power to declare war. General Zachary Taylor was ordered to Texas in the summer of 1845. When it

became apparent that Slidell's mission would fail, Taylor was ordered to occupy the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande.

On April 23, 1846, the President of Mexico announced that a state of war with the United States existed. Among the causes he listed "the ancient injuries," the occupation of "our territory" from the Nueces to the Rio Grande, and the annexation of Texas. The following day Mexican troops advanced across the Rio Grande into the disputed territory. The Mexicans were encouraged to risk war by a belief that the British would sooner or later assist them, for the Americans had boasted in the campaign of 1844 that they would have all of Oregon or fight.

Skirmishes and a declaration of war. On April 25, 1846, a portion of the Mexican army met a small scouting party of American soldiers and captured them. The main Mexican army crossed the Rio Grande and in a few days was met by the American army and defeated in two skirmishes. On May 18 Taylor crossed the Rio Grande and occupied the Mexican town of Matamoras.

Meanwhile, Polk in Washington was eagerly awaiting news from Taylor. On May 9, Polk proposed to his Cabinet that he ask Congress for permission to use the army to force the payment of American claims against Mexico. In the afternoon of May 9, news came of skirmishes in April on the "American" side of the Rio Grande. Polk called his Cabinet together on that same evening and told them the news; all agreed that Mexico had started war. Polk now changed the tone of his message to Congress and on May 11 informed that body that war "notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico. . . . Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil." Congress ordered the enlistment of men, and appropriated money for war. (The vote in the House was 173 to 14, and in the Senate 42 to 2.)

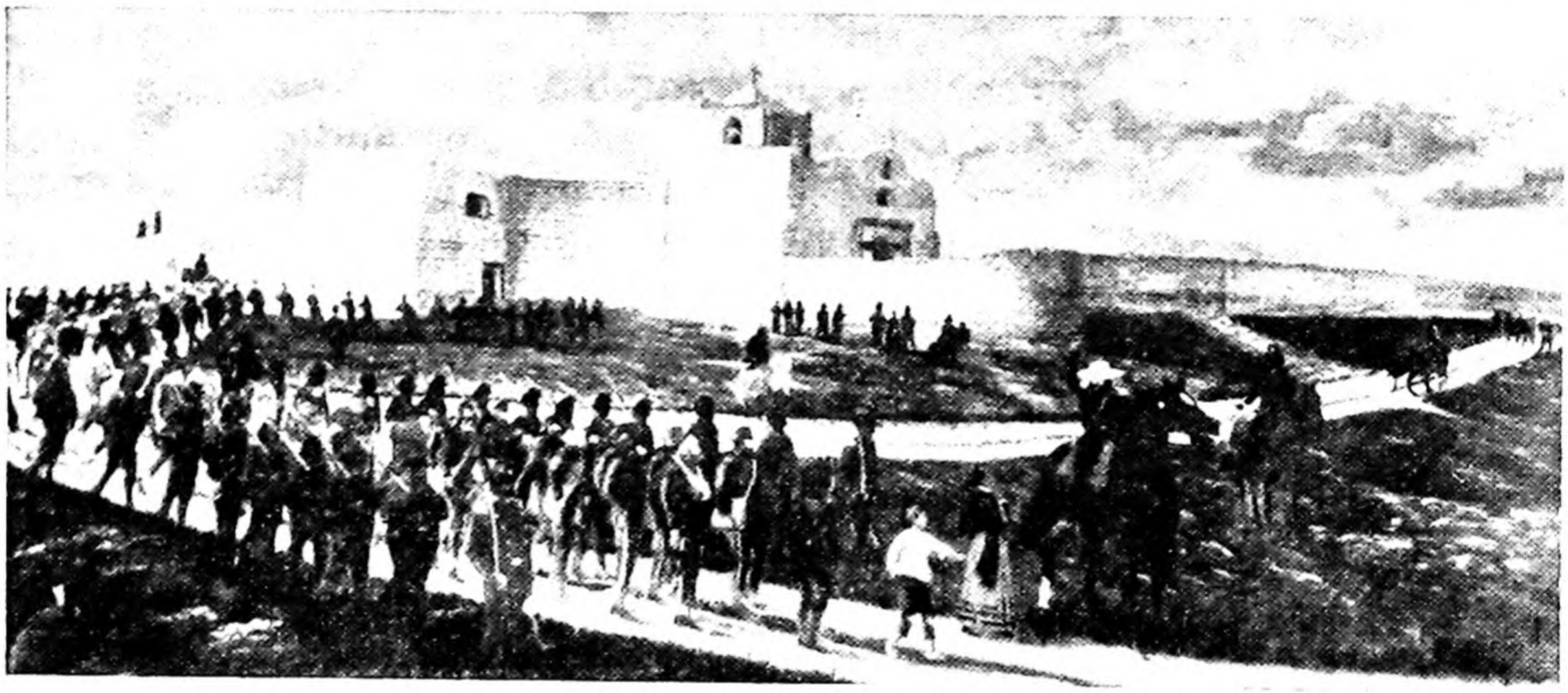
The causes of the Mexican War. Thus began the Mexican War, concerning the justice of which there has been much controversy. It would require the presentation of a much more detailed statement of events than we have here given to pass definite judgment on this question. In determining responsibility for the war it should be remembered that for several years relations between Mexico and the United States had been strained. We had had difficulties with Mexico over boundaries; more serious were difficulties over adjustment of the property losses sustained by American citizens. Even Jackson stated in a message to Congress that Mexico's refusal to pay American claims would justify, in the eyes of all nations, immediate war. Van Buren and Tyler had succeeded in getting Mexico to agree to a settlement, but by 1845 Mexico had paid only a small amount.

Many have criticized the United States for undertaking a war for the selfish purpose of acquiring territory from a weak and helpless nation. There is little doubt that Polk and others hoped to use the war to



Detail from the painting *War News from Mexico* by Richard Caton Woodville

During the Mexican War, weeks sometimes elapsed before the people at home learned that battles had been fought. Here a group listens eagerly to news from the front.



Courtesy of the artist, Brigadier General Andrew Jackson Houston

During their struggle for independence several hundred Texans surrendered to the Mexicans near Goliad, Texas, as prisoners of war and were shot as pirates.



From *History of the United States Navy*, 1894. Courtesy Boston Public Library

After the bombardment and occupation of Vera Cruz in March, 1847, General Winfield Scott led his army over the mountains and captured Mexico City.

increase the boundaries of the United States. A more patient expansionist than Polk might have brought about a peaceful settlement.

Military events. 1. Scott at Vera Cruz and Mexico City. The war dragged on for a year and a half. General Taylor was left in command of the army of occupation in northern Mexico, where he won a decisive victory at Buena Vista; while an expedition under General Winfield Scott captured Vera Cruz, then marched into the heart of Mexico and in September, 1847, captured Mexico City, the capital of the country.

2. Kearny and the "Bear Flag" Republic of California. Another field of operations was the Southwest. A small army under Colonel Stephen W. Kearny was instructed to occupy the outlying parts of the Mexican republic from the Rio Grande to the Pacific. Within ten weeks Kearny reached and occupied Santa Fe, and with a small detachment hastened on to California. On the way he was met by a messenger with news that the American settlers in the Sacramento Valley, urged on by the explorer Frémont and helped by the adventurer Kit Carson, had revolted. The American settlers proclaimed the Republic of California under a white flag with a bear painted on it. Kearny's arrival, some skirmishes with the Spanish near Los Angeles, and the seizure of San Francisco by the American fleet completed the "conquest" of California. The leaders of the Bear Flag Republic gladly pulled down the Bear Flag and ran up the Stars and Stripes.

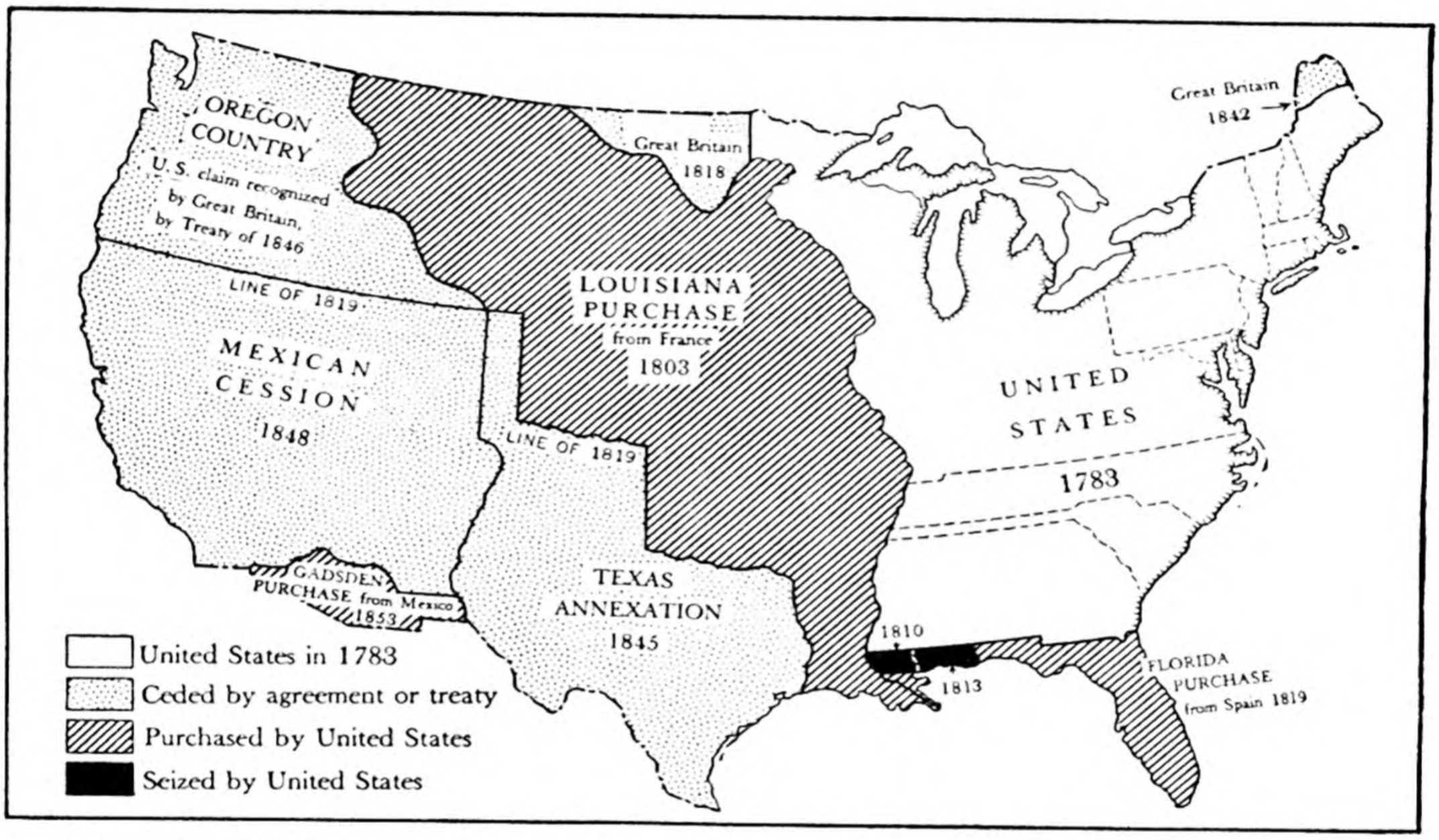
Acquisition of the Southwest from Mexico. By the terms of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, signed and ratified in 1848, Mexico acknowledged our title to Texas as far as the Rio Grande and ceded to the United States New Mexico and Upper California, an area of about 524,000 square miles. In return for California and New Mexico (the region embracing the states of Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado) we agreed to pay $15,000,000 to Mexico, and to take over the claims of American citizens against the Mexican government. (See map, page 297.)

The Gadsden Purchase. Five years later, in 1853, the United States, as a practical solution of a troublesome boundary dispute, and to give us control of the best possible route for a new railroad through the Southwest, purchased from Mexico a strip of territory south of the Gila River in what is now southern Arizona. We paid $10,000,000 for this strip of territory, which was small in comparison with what we obtained at the close of the war for $15,000,000. This "Gadsden Purchase," so-called because negotiated by James Gadsden, rounded out the present boundaries of continental United States. (See map, page 297.)

COMPLETING THE PROGRAM OF EXPANSION

Settlement of the Northwest boundary. While the Mexican War was in progress, Polk endeavored to fulfill the other promise of the

campaign of 1844 — the reoccupation of Oregon. However, he did not try to make good the campaign boast of "Fifty-four forty or fight." The decline of the fur trade in the Columbia Valley and the hostile attitude of American settlers had recently led the Hudson's Bay Company to move its headquarters to Vancouver. Why, after all, should the British government struggle to retain territory that the company was abandoning? In June of 1846, just one month after the Mexican War had begun, the British minister in Washington offered to accept the American compromise of a boundary at the forty-ninth parallel. A treaty was quickly negotiated and ratified. The northern boundary of the United States was at last definitely fixed. (See map below.)



TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES, 1783–1853

Efforts to secure Cuba: the Ostend Manifesto. President Polk's expansionist plans did not stop with the acquisition of Oregon and the Mexican territories. Hearing that a revolution was brewing in Cuba, Polk offered Spain $120,000,000 if it would cede the island to the United States. A few years later this interest in Cuba brought forth a curious document known to history as the Ostend Manifesto: a proclamation issued in 1854 at Ostend, Belgium, by the American ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain. The proclamation declared that if Spain refused to cede Cuba, the United States would be justified in taking the island by force. The United States promptly disavowed this daring and preposterous utterance.

Mid-century interest in Central America and the Pacific. The expansionist sentiment of the time is also illustrated by American attempts to start a revolution in Nicaragua in order to pave the way for annexation, and by President Polk's invitation to Congress to intervene

in a civil war in Yucatan. He doubtless reasoned that the possession of Yucatan and Cuba would make the Gulf of Mexico an American lake, while the possession of Nicaragua might make an isthmian canal exclusively an American enterprise. As events turned out, the United States soon found it desirable to negotiate with Great Britain the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) for the joint protection and supervision of a proposed canal across the Isthmus of Panama. In the Far East, Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1854 persuaded the government of Japan to open two ports to American trade. These events are forecasts of American activities a half-century later (pages 646, 699–712).



THE FIRST ATTACKS ON SLAVERY

SLAVERY BECOMES A POLITICAL ISSUE

Expansion and slavery. The absorbing question of the time and for another generation was slavery and its extension into additional territory. While most people in the North and South were eager to enlarge the boundaries of the United States — some even wanted to acquire all of Mexico — many Northerners, as we have seen, feared that expansion was simply a Southern trick to increase the slave area.

The Wilmot Proviso. In a debate in Congress during the Mexican War, David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, offered a resolution to exclude slavery from any territory that might be acquired from Mexico. This resolution is commonly referred to as the Wilmot Proviso. It was passed by the House of Representatives, August, 1846, and again in February, 1847, but failed to secure the approval of the Senate. It has been called the "turning point in the history of the slavery struggle," for it represents the determination of the North to prevent the extension of slavery. The South supported the "Davis Resolution," which called for the extension of slavery. The issue was clear, and shortly a definite decision would have to be made one way or another.

Squatter sovereignty. At about the same time that the Wilmot Proviso was being hotly discussed, another method of dealing with slavery was advocated by Lewis Cass of Michigan. Cass proposed the principle of "popular sovereignty," that is, that the people who inhabited the territories should themselves decide whether they desired slavery or not.

Possible methods of dealing with slavery. By the time of the election of 1848 there were four methods of dealing with the slavery question. *First*, there was the principle asserted in the Missouri Compromise that Congress had the power to regulate the existence of slavery and should restrict slavery to the Southern states and territories. The *second* appeared in the Wilmot Proviso: Congress should not permit the extension of slavery to the Mexican Cession even in the area south of 36° 30′. The *third* offered the principle of popular sovereignty: Congress should not concern itself with the question but should leave the matter to be determined by the individual states and territories. The *fourth*, a Southern proposal, advocated that slavery should be not only tolerated but also protected in the territories.

The election of 1848 — the Free Soil party. In the presidential campaign of 1848 the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan, while the Whigs chose the military hero, General Zachary Taylor. Both the party platforms and the candidates refused to grapple seriously with the slavery question. As frequently happens in our history, a third party appeared which made an issue of the burning question. The Free Soil party declared that the nation should not extend, nationalize, or encourage slavery, but limit, localize, and discourage it. Their standard was "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, Free Men." They did not go to the extreme of the Liberty party of the Garrison abolitionists. Their object was not to interfere with the institution of slavery where it existed already, but to insist that slavery should not be extended. For a presidential candidate the Free Soilers chose Martin Van Buren, who was also supported by the Barnburners, a radical reform section of the Democratic party in New York. The Free Soilers succeeded in electing thirteen members to the House of Representa-

tives, and their presidential candidate Van Buren had a popular vote of nearly 300,000. By running on the Free Soil ticket Van Buren split the Democratic party wide open in New York and caused Cass to lose the thirty-six electoral votes of that state and the election.

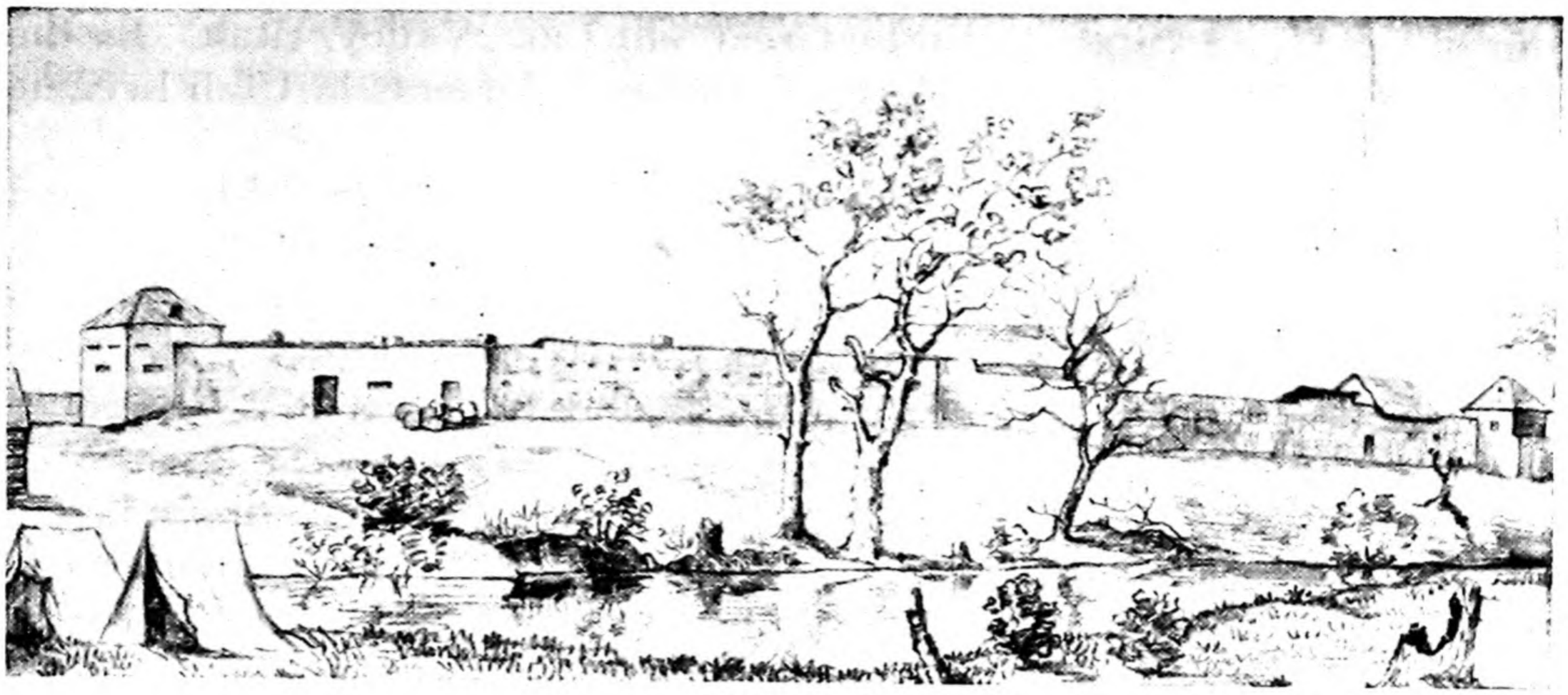
President Zachary Taylor — Louisiana sugar planter, slaveowner, independent Whig, and father-in-law of Jefferson Davis — began his presidency by selecting three Northerners and four Southerners for his Cabinet. He announced that "the people of the North need have no apprehension of the further extension of slavery." He hoped to steer a middle course in solving the major problem of his administration; namely, what should be the policy of Congress toward slavery in the recently acquired Southwest.

The discovery of gold in California. Although President Taylor urged Congress to avoid exciting topics of a sectional character, the sweep of events made this impossible. In January, 1848, just a few days before the treaty ending the Mexican War was signed, gold was discovered near Captain Sutter's sawmill in the Sacramento Valley. The news spread rapidly, and immediately fortune seekers rushed to the new Eldorado. "Settlements were completely deserted; houses, farms, and stores abandoned. Ships, deserted by their sailors, crowded the bay of San Francisco; soldiers deserted wholesale; churches were emptied; town councils ceased to sit; merchants, clerks, lawyers, and judges and criminals everywhere flocked to the foothills." The rush of '49 to the "Golden West" is famous in song and story:

> I'll scrape the mountains clean, old girl,
> I'll drain the rivers dry.
> I'm off for California, Susannah, don't you cry.
> Oh, Susannah, don't you cry for me.
> I'm off to California with my wash bowl on my knee.

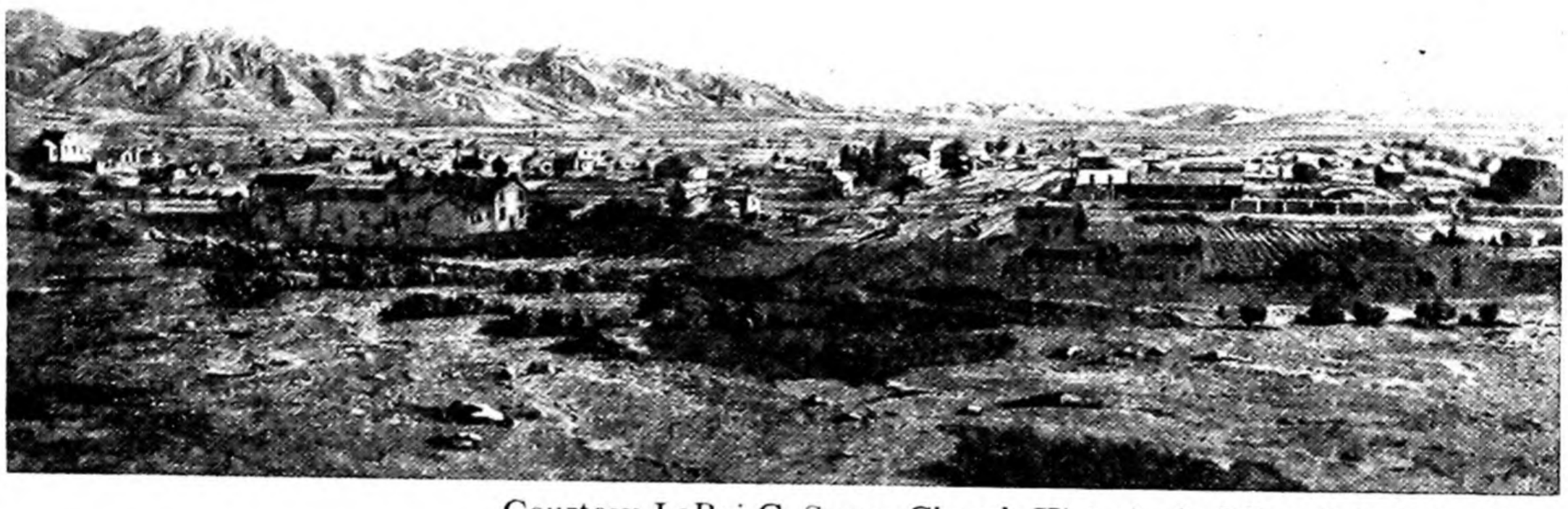
It is customary to refer to the thousands who went to California in 1849 as the "Forty-niners." Some went overland by the Santa Fe Trail; others took the long voyage by boat around South America; still others went by boat to the Isthmus of Panama, crossed the isthmus, on foot or by horse or stage, and then took a boat again to California.

The Mormons in Utah. Even before this rush to California the Mormons had settled in Utah. The Mormons were a religious sect, founded in 1830 by Joseph Smith, who claimed that he discovered a divine revelation inscribed on two golden plates. Smith organized the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" and rapidly won a large number of converts in both America and Europe. Largely because the Mormons practiced polygamy, they did not find themselves welcome in the communities of the East. They endeavored to establish themselves in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, but without success. Finally, in 1847, under the leadership of Brigham Young, they moved beyond the bor-



Courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, California

Near Sutter's Fort — where Captain John Sutter lived in baronial style — and on land owned by Sutter, gold was discovered in 1848.



Courtesy LeRoi C. Snow, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City

Salt Lake City (shown above in 1853) was settled in 1847 by the Mormons under Brigham Young, after they had been driven out of Missouri and Illinois.



From the painting by Oscar Berninghan

New Mexico, which became a territory of the United States by the Compromise of 1850, had been first explored by the Spaniards.

der of the United States into the Great Salt Lake Valley, Utah. By the treaty of 1848 with Mexico these Mormon settlements in Utah became part of the United States.

The status of California and New Mexico. In 1850 California had more than 90,000 inhabitants. California prepared a constitution which excluded slavery, elected a governor and a legislature, and asked for admission to the Union. When Congress convened in December, 1849, it could not ignore the demand of California for admission, nor could it overlook the necessity for providing a government for the territory of New Mexico — vital questions which could not be settled without bringing the issue of slavery to the fore. Present in the Senate of this Thirty-first Congress were the great triumvirate, Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, who for thirty years and more played a brilliant part in the nation's history. Benton, Cass, Douglas, and Jefferson Davis were also present. Significant of the new era was the presence of a new group of leaders with pronounced antislavery views — Sumner, Seward, Chase, and Hale.

Clay's proposals for compromise. Clay, the "Great Compromiser," now seventy-three years old, had returned to the Senate after an absence of seven years. He proposed a series of conciliatory resolutions providing for (1) the admission of California as a free state; (2) the application of the principle of popular sovereignty in the remainder of the Mexican cession; (3) fixing the northern boundary of Texas at 36° 30′; (4) the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and (5) an effective fugitive slave law.

A great debate ensued, not only in the halls of Congress but also in the state legislatures and throughout the country. In the Senate there was a series of remarkable speeches on the compromise measures. Clay, asserting that peaceful secession was impossible, called upon the quarreling sections to show a spirit of moderation and compromise. He pleaded for "concord, harmony, and peace," but said that: "At this moment we have in the legislative bodies of this capitol and in the states twenty-odd furnaces in full blast, emitting heat and passion and intemperance and diffusing them throughout the whole extent of this broad land." On March 4, Calhoun, the champion of the doctrine of states' rights and of the interests of the South, appeared in the Senate. He was too ill with consumption to speak, so his speech was read for him. He spoke for the Union, but foresaw disunion unless the interests of his section were safeguarded. He pleaded that the North put an end to antislavery propaganda, that Congress extend to the Southerners equal rights with the Northerners in the new territories.

On the seventh of March, Webster arose to defend the compromise. "I speak today for the preservation of the Union." His main argument in favor of the compromise was that Congress need not definitely exclude slavery from the new territories. Nature had already done that, for both the climate and the soil of the new region made it unsuited to

slavery. "I would not take pains uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of nature nor to re-enact the will of God. I would put in no Wilmot Proviso for the mere purpose of a taunt or a reproach." Webster's Seventh of March speech was severely criticized by New Englanders, who claimed that he was seeking Southern support in order to run for the presidency. Numerous public meetings denounced him — a bitter blow to the once popular idol. But many of more moderate views sympathized with Webster and shared with him the hope that compromise would heal the breach between the sections. A new note was struck in the speeches of Seward of New York, who declared that there was a "higher law" than the Constitution, and in that of Chase of Ohio, who said that the compromise was a base surrender to threats of disunion.

The Compromise of 1850. Finally Clay's resolutions were put in the form of three bills, the first of which was promptly dubbed the "Omnibus Bill." This provided for the admission of California as a free state; that the northern boundary of the state of Texas should be fixed at 36° 30′; and that Texas should be paid the sum of $10,000,000 as compensation. The remainder of the Mexican cession was to be divided at the thirty-seventh parallel into two territories, New Mexico to the south and Utah to the north, and when admitted as states, the said territories or any portion of them "shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe at the time of their admission." This would extend to the new regions the principle of squatter, or popular, sovereignty. The second bill provided for a fugitive slave law, and the third for the prohibition of the *slave trade*, but not *slavery*, in the District of Columbia.

For months there seemed little prospect that these bills would become law. President Taylor, who opposed Clay's measures, suddenly died in July. He was succeeded by Fillmore, who favored the compromise. In September the bills were passed, one by one.

Effect of the new laws. Which side secured the advantage in this compromise? The settlement with Texas interested neither the antislavery nor the proslavery men. The removal of the slave markets from Washington to the cities beyond the district boundaries inconvenienced the slave traders only slightly. It was a measure both the South and the North were quite ready to pass, and it deprived the Northern abolitionists of one of their most effective propaganda phrases. They could no longer say that the trade in human beings went on under the very shadow of the national capitol. The application of the principle of popular sovereignty to the territorial government in New Mexico and Utah left both sections in doubt as to which had secured an advantage.

If there were anything in the doctrine that slavery could not flourish in the arid lands of the Southwest, it would likewise fail to flourish in California. Yet to the people of the time the admission of California as a free state seemed a very real advantage to the North. For the

Southern leaders this was a bitter concession to make. However, they were victors in the Fugitive Slave Law, which they compelled Clay to include in his compromise. This law gave the slaveowners every legal advantage in recovering fugitive slaves in free states. It permitted the slaveowner to use the federal courts; the fugitive could not give testimony in court in self-defense; the sympathizers who aided his escape were made liable for damages to the slaveowner and to six months' imprisonment. The Fugitive Slave Law was most severely criticized in the North. The Underground Railroad became more active, and several states passed Personal Liberty Acts, which nullified the federal law.

The Compromise of 1850 merely a truce. We now know that the compromise was not a solution of the difficulty but merely a temporary adjustment of the differences between the sections. At the time it was represented as a final settlement because either state or federal law regulated slavery in all parts of the United States. (1) The legality or illegality of slavery in the area east of the Mississippi was determined by the laws of each state. (2) The Missouri Compromise regulated the question of slavery in the Louisiana Purchase territory (pages 271–274). (3) Finally, the Compromise of 1850 adopted the principle that in the Mexican Cession the people themselves would have the privilege of determining the status of slavery.

The Compromise has been called "a sectional truce" and "a businessman's peace"; for despite the presence of irreconcilable elements in the South, who felt that that section was unfairly treated, and a similar element in the North, who were especially bitter toward the Fugitive Slave Act, the majority of the people in both sections breathed a sigh of relief that a dangerous crisis had been passed.

The presidential campaign of 1852. The presidential election of 1852 reflects this attitude. The Democratic platform endorsed the Compromise measures and promised enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. Cass, Douglas, and Buchanan were the chief contenders for the nomination, but the delegates, unable to agree upon a strong candidate, finally nominated a man "without a record, without an enemy," Franklin Pierce. The Whigs also pledged themselves to the maintenance of the Compromise of 1850, and once again relied for success upon a military hero, General Winfield Scott.

In the cotton states there was a widespread desertion of the Whig candidate — largely because the antislavery Whigs of the North were outspoken in condemning the failure of the Whig platform to denounce the Compromise. Many Northern Whigs also deserted their party, for the only Northern states carried by Scott were Massachusetts and Vermont. Both Webster and Clay, the great leaders of the Whigs, died in 1852. Without them the Whig party, which had failed to achieve its program of the Bank, the tariff, and internal improvements, and which was unable to come to grips with the new issue of slavery and expan-

sion, went to pieces. The Democrats won easily, Pierce getting 254 electoral votes to 42 for his opponent.

Historians are agreed that it was fortunate for the Union that the extreme crisis did not come in 1850. It is doubtful whether Northern opinion was sufficiently consolidated then to wage a war to preserve the Union. Furthermore, the sections were more evenly matched in 1850 than they were in 1860. The decade of the 1850's was a time of remarkable changes which tended to strengthen the North rather than the South.

Words and Phrases

"Bear Flag" Republic, Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, "dark horse," "Fifty-four forty or fight," Gadsden Purchase, Omnibus Bill, Ostend Manifesto, polygamy, Seventh of March speech, popular sovereignty, Wilmot Proviso

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What were the outstanding difficulties between the United States and England that were adjusted by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty?
2. Why does a "dark horse" frequently obtain a presidential nomination?
3. Explain what is meant by the reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon.
4. How did England's attitude affect the question of the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico?
5. Account for the Senate's rejection of President Tyler's annexation treaty. How was annexation finally accomplished?
6. State the reasons for and the results of the war with Mexico.
7. Why was the slogan "Fifty-four forty or fight" abandoned?
8. State the various proposals for dealing with slavery.
9. What are the provisions of the Compromise of 1850?
10. What briefly is the argument of Webster's Seventh of March speech? Is it sound?
11. Distinguish between the programs of the Liberty and the Free Soil parties.

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. "The political situation that developed after the death of Harrison could not develop in England." What political situation? Why could not the same thing happen in England?
2. Was American expansion to the Pacific a form of imperialism? Reasons.
3. Why did Webster, Clay, and Calhoun fail to achieve the presidency?
4. "It makes little difference whether or not Southern leaders wanted Texas in order to extend slavery; the important fact is that many Northerners *thought* that such was the case." Explain.
5. Was the United States justified in waging a war with Mexico? Was President Polk responsible for the Mexican War? (Read four or five other accounts before forming an opinion on these questions.) Some of Polk's unfriendly critics have referred to him as the "mendacious" Polk. Prepare a brief supporting or attacking this charge.

6. Why was the Compromise of 1850 regarded as a "final" solution of the slavery question?
7. Account for the Mormon settlement in Utah. What part did it play in the nation's expansion program?

Suggested Reading

EXPANSION: Bailey, pp. 210–246; Bemis, pp. 261–266, 267–283; Gabriel, *The Lure of the Frontier* (Pageant), Chaps. VI, IX; Garrison, *Westward Extension* (A.N.S.), pp. 22–50, 67–84, 157–173; Ogg, *Builders of the Republic* (Pageant), Chap. X; Skinner, *Adventurers of Oregon* (Y.C.S.); Commager, Nos. 166, 167, 168 – Polk on Texas and Oregon.

TEXAS AND THE MEXICAN WAR: Bailey, pp. 247–280; Beard and Beard, I, 589–609; Bemis, pp. 215–244; Commager and Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America,* pp. 589–609; Gabriel, *The Lure of the Frontier* (Pageant), Chaps. X, XII; Garrison, *Westward Extension* (A.N.S.), pp. 85–156; Hart, III, 637–655, IV, 11–35; Stephenson, *Texas and the Mexican War* (Y.C.S.); Wood and Gabriel, *The Winning of Freedom* (Pageant), Chap. XV; Commager, Nos. 152, 165, 168, 171 – Documents on Texas and the Mexican War.

COMPROMISE OF 1850: Beard and Beard, I, 710–717; Bemis, pp. 320–339; Garrison, *Westward Extension* (A.N.S.), pp. 230–243, 254–268, 315–332; Hart, IV, 48–58; Commager, No. 174 – Compromise of 1850.

CHAPTER TWENTY

The Lull before the Storm

AMERICAN ECONOMIC PROGRESS PROCEEDS RAPIDLY IN MANY DIRECTIONS

The increase in the Northern population. The following table concerning the population of the United States in the decades before 1860 tells an interesting story:

1840	17,069,453
1850	23,995,000
1860	31,443,000

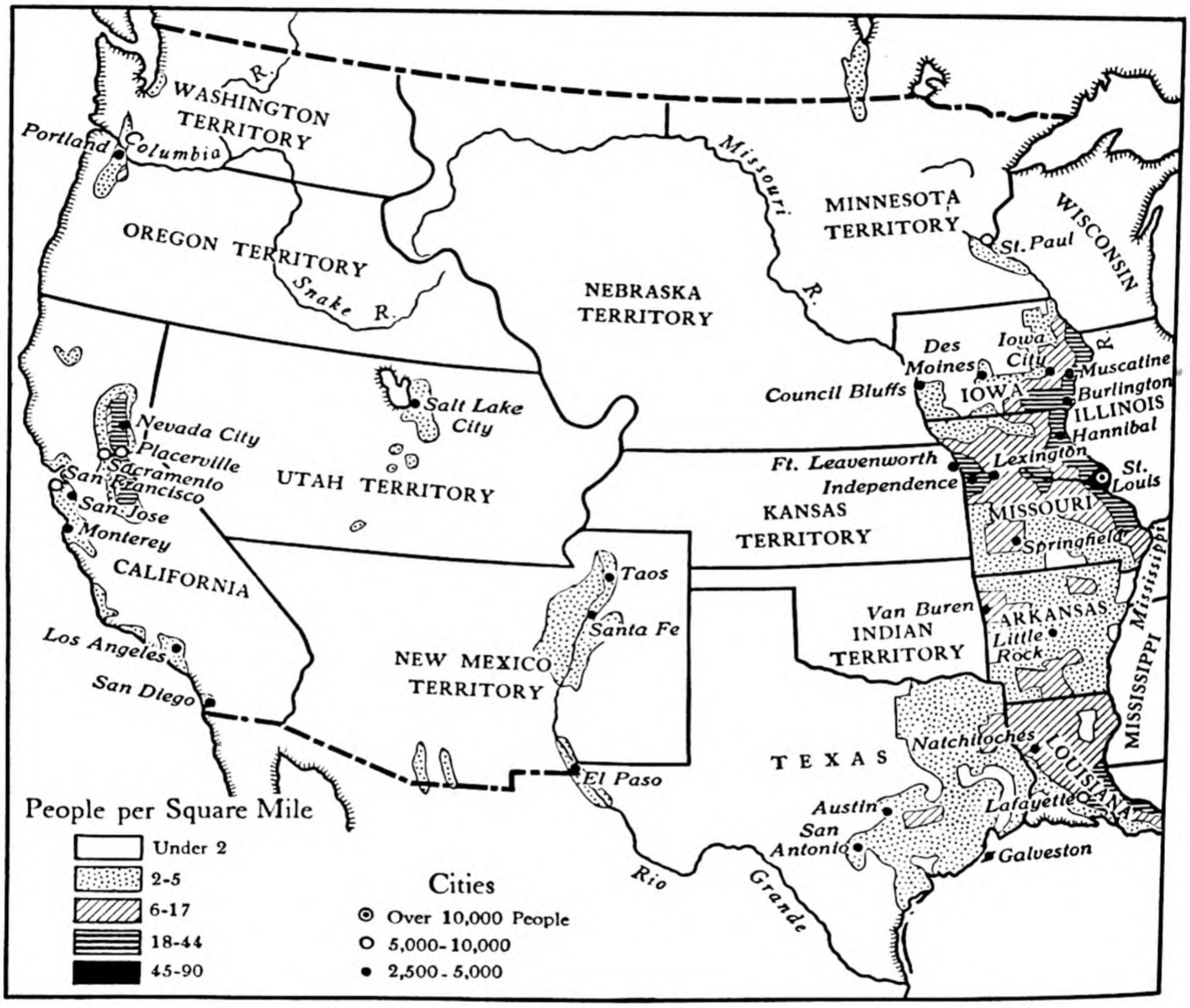
Within a twenty-year period the population had almost doubled. More than a million of the increase in population between 1840 and 1860 was the result of immigration. The Irish potato famine of 1845 and the revolutionary disturbances of 1848 in central Europe, coupled with the boundless opportunities for cheap land and free enterprise, lured hundreds of thousands of Irish and Germans to the New World. The immigrants established themselves in the growing factory towns of the North and on the farms of the Northwest; they did not go South, where they would have been compelled to compete with slave labor.

The South noted jealously the growing numerical strength of the North. There seemed little doubt that, as time passed, Southern influence in the councils of the nation was bound to be less and less. In 1860 the South had a population of twelve and a half million, including about four million slaves. The population of the North was nineteen million and increasing rapidly. For every white man of fighting age the South could give its armies, the North had three or four.

Economic conditions, North, South, and West. A larger population was not the only advantage of the North. The economic structure of the South was based, as we have seen, on the growing of cotton. The South did not grow all its own food nor manufacture the articles it needed. It depended on imports from the North or Europe. The North, on the other hand, was more nearly self-sustaining. It enjoyed the benefits of varied economic activities: manufacturing, commerce, farming, shipping. When the test of war came, the farms of the West and Northwest could supply the armies with food and supplies, and manufacturing in the Northeast could be adapted to war needs.

Railroad construction, 1850–60. The ten-year period from 1850 to 1860 (save for the panic year of 1857) was one of bustling activity and

prosperity. Railroad construction went on apace. Prior to 1850 about ten thousand miles of track had been laid (pages 369–370). By 1860 the railroad mileage of the country amounted to thirty thousand miles. Most of the railroad building in this period was in the North and Northwest. The short railway lines of the earlier period began to be consolidated into great trunk lines. The New York Central, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania, and the Erie connected the East with the West.



DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, 1850

Branch lines radiated in every direction from these trunk systems. Beyond the Mississippi, railroads were in process of construction. Many railroads were built so rapidly in undeveloped regions that they did not have enough freight and passengers to transport. Consequently, they did not earn enough money to make ends meet. The panic of 1857 was partly due to the overexpansion of railroad facilities.

Community of economic interests, West and East. Before the coming of the railroads, the products of the West naturally moved toward the Gulf ports on their way to the markets of the world. New Orleans was the great commercial center of the Mississippi Valley. The rail-

roads changed this, for goods began to move toward the Atlantic seaboard. Midwestern railroad cities had a remarkable growth and New Orleans declined in importance. The location of Chicago on the shores of Lake Michigan was destined to make it the great Midwestern metropolis. Slowly, Chicago began to outstrip St. Louis in population, although by 1860 it had just passed the 100,000 mark. As the Western terminus of the railroads, Chicago became the center of the growing traffic on the Great Lakes and of the trade in grain and livestock.

Most of the new railroads connected the East with the West. The railroads carried the goods of the Eastern factories to the Western farmers, and also carried the products of the Western farms to the populous sections of the East, and to the Atlantic seaboard for shipment to Europe. Western grain had begun to rival cotton as America's chief export. As American farm products were sent to Europe in ever-increasing quantities, the ties between East and West were strengthened.

The rapid growth of the West. The population of the West increased by more than four millions in the 1850's. California, Minnesota, and Oregon were admitted as states, and territorial governments were established for Kansas (admitted as a state in 1861), Utah, New Mexico, Washington, Nebraska, Dakota, Nevada, and Colorado. The railroads were one cause of this development. Other causes were, of course, the great fertility of the Western plains and the development of improved agricultural machinery. The most important of the new agricultural machines was the McCormick reaper, originally patented in 1834 but not perfected or produced in large quantities until the 1850's. In grain growing the reaper worked a revolution as far-reaching as Whitney's cotton gin. Cyrus McCormick had vision as well as confidence in the West when in 1847 he established his plant for the manufacture of reapers at Chicago near the center of the grain belt of the nation (page 377).

The growth of American manufactures. The output of American factories doubled in value from 1850 to 1860; in the earlier year the value of American manufactures was about one billion dollars — a little short of the value of agricultural products. One thing that helped both the farmers of the West and the manufacturers in the East was the great increase in immigration. To the factory owners of the thriving Eastern cities the immigrant was a source of cheap labor.

New inventions. However, a more important cause of the remarkable output of American factories was the large number of new inventions. The Patent Office, for example, issued nearly 6500 patents in the decade of the forties, while in the decade of the fifties the number was more than 28,000. In 1844 Charles Goodyear discovered the process of vulcanizing rubber; in the same year Samuel F. B. Morse perfected the telegraph. In 1846 Howe invented the sewing machine. McKay developed a sewing machine for use in making shoes. In 1847

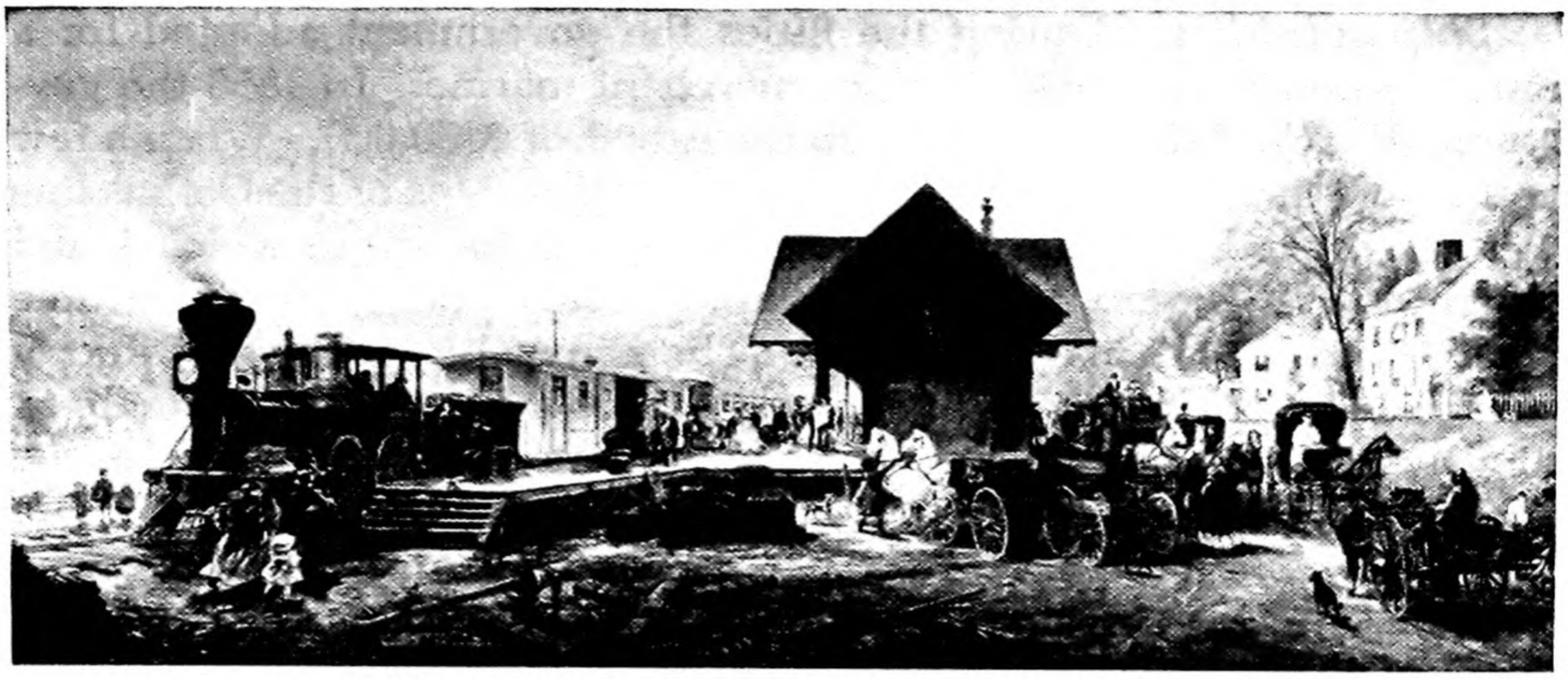
the rotary printing press, the invention of R. M. Hoe, came into use. William Kelly, in 1846, and an Englishman, Henry Bessemer, in 1856, revolutionized the process of steel-making when they discovered methods for removing the carbon in molten iron by forcing a blast of hot air through it. In 1858 cable communication was established for a short period with England, though the final triumph of cable communication did not come until 1866. Thus strode forward industrial America. A machine was no sooner in use in some crude form than it was improved.

With the help of the railroad, the telegraph, steam, river and ocean transportation, and cheaper postage, American business gradually ceased to be local in character and outlook. Plants and factories were enlarged in size. Enterprising businessmen, making use of the corporate form of business organization, began the process of large-scale production and distribution which has since characterized America's industrial development (pages 402–406). In the United States, more than anywhere else, the researches of science received practical application to the everyday things of life. The mechanization of American life was under way before the War between the States.

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE ENJOYS A BRIEF PERIOD OF PROSPERITY

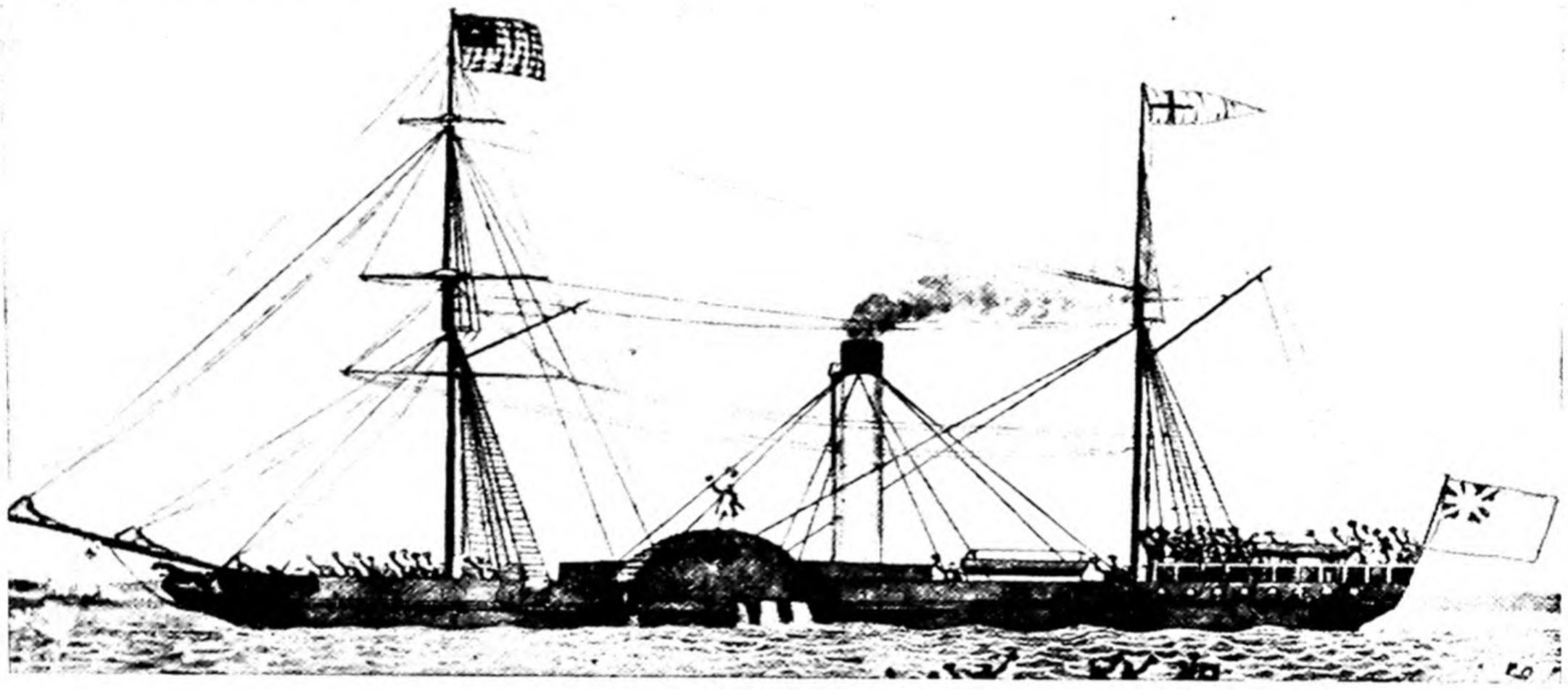
Growing foreign trade. The American merchant marine had flourished in the first years of the Republic's history, but following the Embargo Act and the War of 1812, shipping entered upon a period of decline. Recovery began in the 1830's and moved forward rapidly till the War between the States. There were several reasons for the recovery. The growth of factory towns in Europe created a great demand for American farm products. Two major European wars in the 1850's also stimulated American foreign trade; in 1857 the United States sold more abroad than it imported. By 1860 the value of American farm products was about two billion dollars, and the value of manufactures was close to the same figure. Although domestic markets consumed the bulk of these products, increasing quantities were sold abroad. This foreign trade ($700,000,000 in 1860) was a stimulus to American shipping.

The Yankee clipper ships. The development of the famous speedy Yankee clipper ship in the 1840's helped bring about the revival of American foreign commerce. The clipper ship had greater speed and endurance than the best ships that British builders could produce. It was so much better than its rivals that by 1860 the total tonnage of American ships engaged in foreign trade amounted to 2,250,000 tons, as compared with 750,000 in 1840. The period of the clipper ship coincides with the low tariff policy ushered in by the Walker tariff of 1846. The lowering of English tariffs in 1846 and the repeal of the British Navigation Acts in 1850 also helped revive American foreign trade.



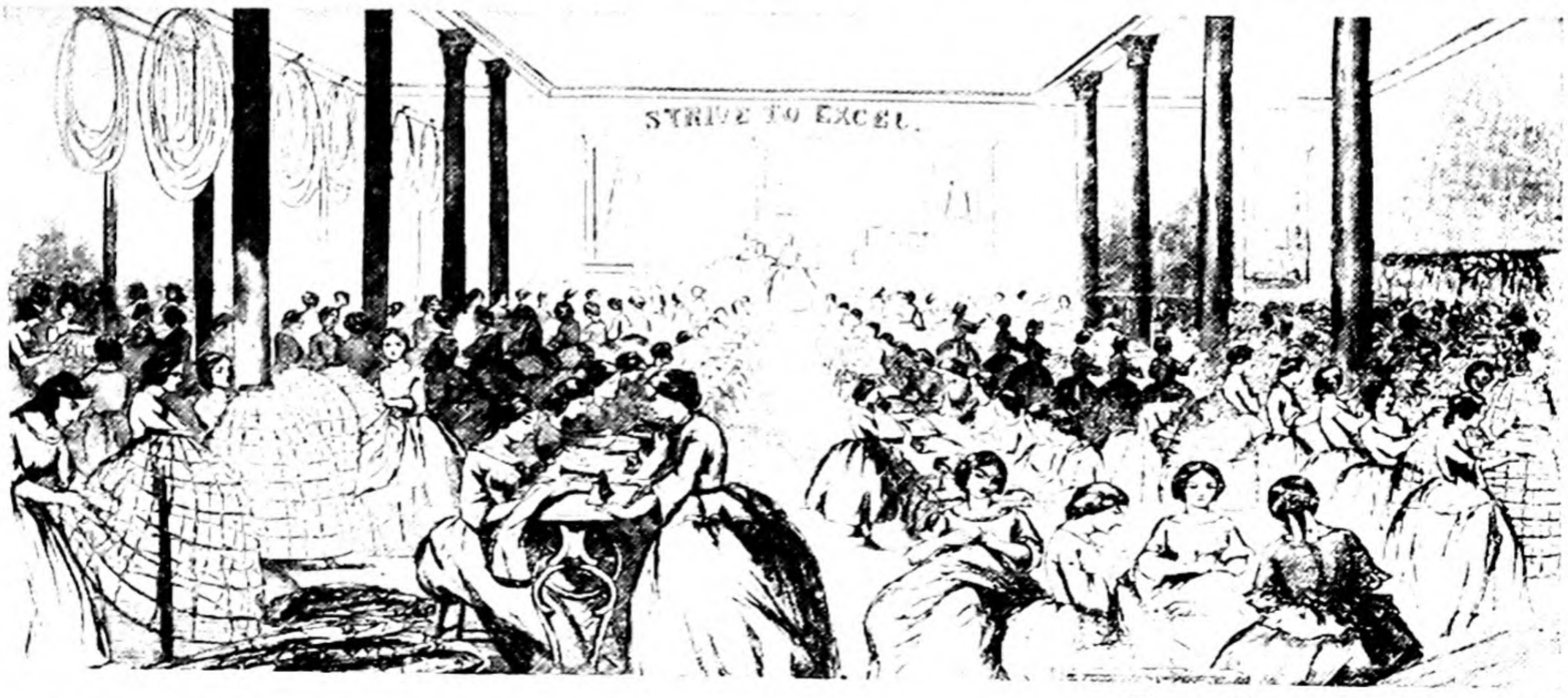
From a painting by Edward L. Henry. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art

The trains of the middle 1800's differed greatly in appearance from those of the present day. Small wooden cars were pulled by wood-burning locomotives with large smokestacks and open cabs.



Courtesy New York Public Library

The British ship *Sirius* was one of the first steamships to cross the Atlantic Ocean. In 1838 she made the trip from London to New York with one hundred passengers.



From *Harper's Weekly*, 1859

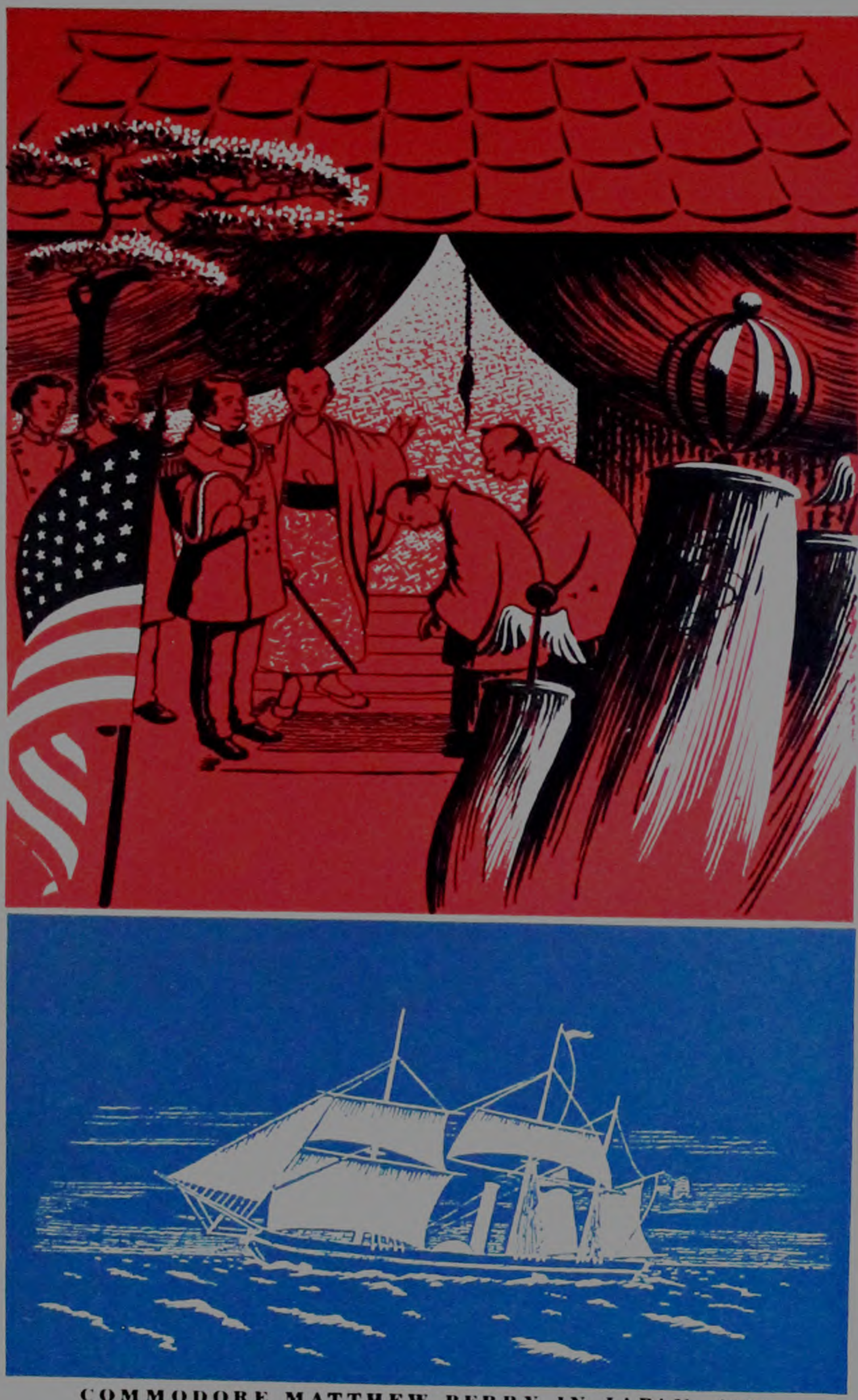
Shortly after Howe invented the sewing machine, it was in use in many factories. Notice the workers using sewing machines in this clothing factory.

Ship subsidies. During the fifties the government adopted for a time the policy of subsidizing our merchant marine. In 1853 the government backed the Collins line to the extent of $850,000. When a few years later the subsidy was lowered and several ships of the Collins line were destroyed, American shipping suffered a loss from which it did not recover. The abandonment of the subsidy policy came at a time when our shipping needed it most. The reversal in policy was due in part to Southern opposition which developed when the South realized that the subsidy had not succeeded in encouraging shipbuilding in the Southern states on the same scale as it did in the North.

The decline of the merchant marine. In 1860 our merchant marine tonnage equaled that of the great mistress of the seas, Great Britain. However, when iron began to take the place of wood in ship construction, and the War between the States absorbed our energies and our surpluses, and the country adopted a high protective tariff, the merchant marine once again declined. It was revived in the twentieth century by the impetus of World War I, World War II, and government subsidies (pages 350, 576).

AMERICANS CONTRIBUTE TO SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

While America was thus prospering, the scientific and cultural progress which began with the Jacksonian period continued. The decade of the fifties saw the full flowering of the genius of Hawthorne, Holmes, Thoreau, Emerson, and Lowell. American scientists were also beginning to achieve fame. Asa Gray made noteworthy contributions to the science of botany and became a defender of the Darwinian theory of evolution. Louis J. Agassiz, an American by adoption, made notable contributions to the sciences of geology and zoology. John J. Audubon, the great ornithologist, achieved a world-wide reputation by his studies of bird life. Matthew Maury did valuable work for the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and by his study of the ocean and ocean currents added to the safety of navigation and prepared the way for the laying of the Atlantic cable. James Smithson, an Englishman, had willed to the United States a half million dollars to found an institution to spread knowledge; in 1846 the federal government established the Smithsonian Institution and National Museum. In 1844 Dr. Horace Wells, a Hartford dentist, used nitrous oxide gas as an anesthetic. Dr. Crawford Long, of Georgia, used ether to deaden pain in 1842 but did not announce his results till 1849. Meantime, in 1846, W. T. Morton, a Boston dentist, and C. T. Jackson, a chemist, successfully operated with the use of ether in the Massachusetts General Hospital. Thus American scientists were active in many fields. Their discoveries made history and opened up new horizons of human welfare. In 1847 the American Association for the Advancement of Science was established.



COMMODORE MATTHEW PERRY IN JAPAN. 1854

The railroad, the telegraph, and the rotary printing press made the newspaper of the fifties a powerful force. Probably at no other time in our history was the editorial page of the newspaper of such influence in molding public opinion. It is the period when newspapers were identified with great personalities. James Gordon Bennett was editing the *New York Herald,* Samuel Bowles, the *Springfield Republican.* Henry Raymond was writing for the *New York Times,* which he founded in 1851. William Cullen Bryant was in charge of the *New York Evening Post,* and Horace Greeley, the most influential of all, was editing the *New York Tribune.*

Words and Phrases

anesthetic, clipper ship, merchant marine, metropolis, rotary press, subsidy, trunk line, vulcanize

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. How would the nation's continued increase in population affect the political power of the South?
2. How was railroad construction in the decade of the 1850's a factor in determining the outcome of the war between North and South?
3. How did inventions and the development of manufacturing give the North an advantage over the South?
4. What important contributions to scientific progress were made by Americans in the 1840's and 1850's?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. How do you account for the low tariff policy of the United States in the years before the War between the States?
2. Prepare brief biographical sketches of the scientists and inventors mentioned in the text. What other scientists or inventions do you think should be mentioned? Why?
3. "Peaceable secession might have been achieved in 1850." What is the basis for this opinion? Why could not peaceable secession have been achieved in 1860? Return to a discussion of this question after studying the next chapter.
4. Consult a book like *American Press Opinion* (Allan Nevins, ed.) and prepare a report on the career and influence of Horace Greeley, James Gordon Bennett, and Samuel Bowles.
5. What adverse criticism can you make of the title of this chapter?
6. "Two distinct organizations of society — one in the North, the other in the South — had come into being by 1850. Society in the North was born out of the various commercial, mechanical, and agricultural activities operating under the wage system. In the South society grew out of the production of staple agricultural crops by slave labor. Three courses were open: a complete separation of the two groups, an equality between them,

or the elimination of one or both of the social organizations." State your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with this statement.

7. Prepare a special report on the American Merchant Marine in the period 1840–1860. Outline the arguments for and against the granting of a ship subsidy by Congress.

Suggested Reading

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS: Beard and Beard, I, Chap. XIV; Carman, II, 443–466; Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict* (A.L.S.), pp. 1–33, 101–119; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, pp. 248–274; Faulkner, pp. 240–247, 284–294; Gabriel, *Toilers of Land and Sea* (Pageant), Chap. VII; Keir, *The Epic of Industry* (Pageant), Chaps. III, VIII; Schlesinger, pp. 3–9.

THE MERCHANT MARINE: Bemis, pp. 302–308; Carman, II, 155–157; Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*, pp. 262–266; Gabriel, *Toilers of Land and Sea* (Pageant), Chap. XII; Keir, *The March of Commerce* (Pageant), Chap. II; Paine, *Frigate and Clipper* (Y.C.S.).

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION: Beard and Beard, I, 738–750; Carman, II, 309–314, 359–366; Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, pp. 318–343; Gabriel, *Toilers of Land and Sea* (Pageant), Chaps. IX, X; Keir, *The March of Commerce* (Pageant), Chaps. IV, V; Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, II.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

The Storm Breaks

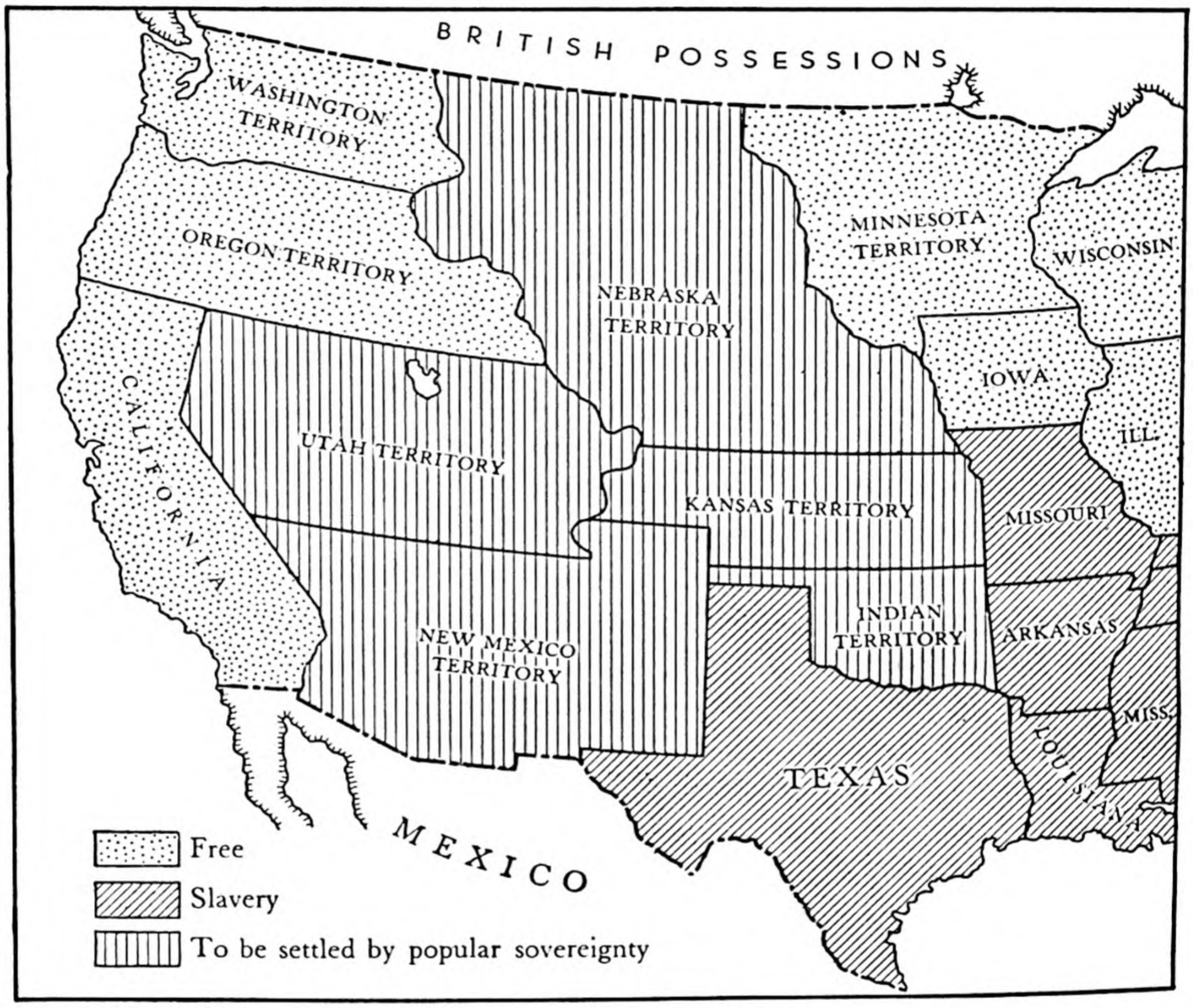
THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT REOPENS THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY

Southern Democrats in key positions. During the administration of Franklin Pierce, 1853–57, and of his successor, James Buchanan, 1857–61, Southern leaders were in practical control of the national government. Seven of the nine members of the Supreme Court were proslavery men. A majority of the House of Representatives were Democratic, the Senate overwhelmingly so; the chairman of every important committee in both houses was a Southerner. The President and his Cabinet were in sympathy with the projects of the Southern leaders. Jefferson Davis, upon whom the mantle of John C. Calhoun had fallen, was able to determine the policies of the administration.

A dispute over the Eastern terminus of a transcontinental railroad. Under the leadership of Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, the Southern planters even abandoned in one particular the states' rights theory. They proposed that the federal government should aid in the construction of a railroad to connect the South with the Far West, thinking that a railroad to the Pacific from a Southern city would promote the trade of the South and bind South and West together. Rival sectional interests interfered with the execution of this plan.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act. For the success of a Pacific railway project which might have Chicago as its Eastern terminus, it was necessary to have a territorial government which would protect property in the Indian country to the west and northwest of Missouri. (See map, page 316.) In 1854 Senator Stephen A. Douglas sponsored what has become famous as the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This bill provided that the Louisiana Territory between 37° and 49° latitude should be organized into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, with the fortieth parallel as the dividing line. The most important part of the law was a clause repealing that part of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 which excluded slavery from this region. Instead, there was substituted the provision that states formed from these territories "shall be received into the Union with or without slavery as their constitutions may prescribe at the time of their admission." Despite opposition from the antislavery group, Senator Douglas, with the help of President Pierce, steered the bill through Congress, and it finally became a law in May of 1854.

The motives of Douglas. It has been said that Douglas was eager to pose before the Southerners as their friend because he hoped to run for President. It has also been suggested that he honestly believed in the principle of popular sovereignty, and thought that its application was the only logical way to remove the dread issue of slavery from politics. Whatever merit there may be in this explanation, strong economic and



THE KANSAS–NEBRASKA ACT, 1854

financial interests were back of the Kansas-Nebraska Act because the North saw the advantages of a transcontinental railroad and the expected settlement of the Nebraska Territory. The more settlers, the more business there would be for the railroad and for Chicago.

"The most momentous measure passed by Congress." The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act angered the North and even the Northwest. Douglas reported that he "could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of his burning effigies." Among the immediate consequences of the Act may be listed an increased interest in abolitionist propaganda, the final collapse of the Whig party, the formation of the present Republican party, and a bitter renewal of the old sectional rivalry.

The formation of the Republican party. Antislavery men of the Northwestern and Eastern states met the challenge of the Kansas-Nebraska Act by organizing a new party determined to exclude slavery from the territories of the United States. At first they called themselves anti-Nebraska men and found recruits among Whigs, Democrats, and Free Soilers from the Northern states. It was at Ripon, Wisconsin, in February, 1854, while the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was under discussion, that the first suggestion for a new political organization was made. The idea spread rapidly, and the name Republican was applied to the group. On July 6, 1854, at Jackson, Michigan, the new Republican party formally began its long career. Similar conventions were held in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, and elsewhere. The new party succeeded in winning elections in Michigan in the fall of that year. By 1856 the new party was strong enough to win 114 votes for its candidate, John C. Frémont, as against 174 for the successful candidate, James Buchanan.

"Bleeding Kansas." Another result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was the struggle between proslavery and antislavery men for control of Kansas. Slaveowners from Missouri began to move into Kansas, and to offset this an Emigrant Aid Society was organized in New England to encourage antislavery settlers to settle in the territory. Riots, massacres, and civil war between armed bands that supported one or the other side characterized what was aptly described as "bleeding Kansas." Popular sovereignty did not succeed in Kansas. The news of events in Kansas, distorted to suit one's purpose, helped greatly to solidify both North and South in their opposite stands on the issue of slavery.

The Campaign of 1856. The Democrats met in convention while passions were still hot from discussion of the bloody conflict in Kansas. Their platform upheld the principle of popular sovereignty as the "only sound and safe solution of the slavery question." In order to avoid the Kansas-Nebraska Act as an issue, they nominated James Buchanan, whose absence from the United States as minister to England had kept him free from an active part in the controversy. The Republican party nominated as its first presidential candidate John C. Frémont, the "Pathfinder," and adopted a platform which opposed slavery *in the territories*, but which tolerated it *in the states* where it already existed. A third party — the Native American, or "Know Nothing," party — was also in the field, with ex-President Fillmore as its nominee for the presidency. As the name indicates, the Native American party was alarmed by the increasing tide of immigration, and declared that "Americans must rule America" and that "only native-born Americans should be selected for all state, federal, and municipal offices." The term "Know-Nothing" was quickly applied to the new party because in answers to questions regarding it, a member always answered "I know nothing." In 1856 it attracted many supporters who hoped its policies would draw attention from the slavery struggle. Buchanan had an

electoral vote of 174 to 114 for Frémont. During Buchanan's administration Southern influence continued to be the most powerful in the national government.

THE SUPREME COURT TRIES TO "SETTLE" THE SLAVERY ISSUE

The Dred Scott Case. In his inaugural address (March 4, 1857) President Buchanan referred to the slavery question as a "judicial question," and hinted that the matter would be "finally and speedily settled" by the Supreme Court. Two days after this prophecy, the Supreme Court in the case of Scott *vs.* Sandford — the famous Dred Scott Case — handed down an opinion which, if unchallenged, seemed to assure the perpetuation of slavery. Dred Scott was a slave whose master, an Army surgeon, had taken him from Missouri to a fort in that portion of the Louisiana Purchase Territory where, by the Missouri Compromise, slavery was forbidden. After Scott was brought back to Missouri, he was sold to Sandford of New York. With the aid of antislavery lawyers Scott sued for his freedom. His case finally reached the Supreme Court. The argument of Scott's lawyers was, briefly, that his residence in the Louisiana Territory, where slavery was excluded by act of Congress, had freed him from slavery.

Scott's right to sue in the federal courts depended upon his citizenship status, for the Constitution provides that the federal courts shall have jurisdiction in cases between the citizens of different states. Sandford was a citizen of New York. Was Scott a citizen of Missouri?

The opinion of the Supreme Court, a majority of whose members were Southerners, was prepared by Chief Justice Taney. The Court held that Scott was not a citizen, on the ground that Negroes were not citizens at the time the Constitution was framed, and that the Constitution applied only to the white race. Here the case might have ended, for if Scott was not a citizen the federal courts had no jurisdiction.

The "obiter dictum" on the status of slavery. But the Supreme Court decided to go into the whole question of slavery. The long opinion of the judges is called *obiter dictum* — "said by the way" — voluntary statements of the court which are not binding as precedents because they do not pertain to the real point at issue. Taney suggested that the Missouri Compromise excluding slavery from the Louisiana Territory north of 36° 30′ was itself unconstitutional and void, because Congress had exceeded its rights by depriving a person of property without due process of law — a right guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

This opinion seemed to say that slaveowners had a constitutional right to take their slaves, like any other property, anywhere into the territories of the United States. The Court declared that the regulation of slavery in the national territory was beyond the power of Congress.

Only when a territory became a state could the legal status of slavery be determined. (All the judges wrote separate opinions in this case which attempted to settle a political question by judicial pronouncement. Seven of the justices concurred, and two disagreed with the majority.)

Reaction to the decision. The South was jubilant over the decision. The doctrine of Calhoun had at last won. The North, angry and resentful, refused to accept the decision. If the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, even the doctrine of Northern Democrats, like Douglas, that the people of the territories might prohibit slavery as well as establish it, did not offer a solution. Lincoln stated that the Republicans would campaign to have the decision overruled, while Seward declared: "The people of the United States never can and never will accept a principle so unconstitutional and abhorrent."

OTHER EVENTS ALARM THE NORTH AND SOUTH

"Personal liberty laws" and the Underground Railroad. Northern opposition to the Dred Scott decision took the form of renewed interest in "personal liberty laws" and in greater activity in the "Underground Railroad." "Personal liberty laws" in many Northern states gave free colored inhabitants the benefit of habeas corpus and trial by jury (which they had not had before). The attempt of a slave-hunter to reduce a Negro to slavery under the pretense that he was a former slave was made a serious crime. Ardent antislavery people gave support to the Underground Railroad as a means of defeating a policy which they regarded as outrageous. Wiser leaders, like Lincoln, pointed out that the ballot box was an effective way of coming to grips with the use the South was making of its power in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government.

In spite of sober counsel, the conduct of the abolitionists came dangerously near mob rule and was a deliberate nullification of a federal law. To the South their conduct seemed an attack upon the Union. In 1857 a convention of seven hundred people at Worcester, Massachusetts, voted that the federal government should be dissolved and a convention of delegates from the free states called to form a new Union. Two years later the legislature of Wisconsin declared for secession if the federal government undertook to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act within that state.

John Brown's raid. Late in 1859 John Brown, almost singlehanded, tried to start a slave insurrection in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). Brown's project combined the rashness and the blind courage of a fanatic. With funds supplied by Northern abolitionists Brown and about twenty armed men seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry and, raiding the countryside,

"freed" about thirty Negroes. Federal troops under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee captured Brown and those of his followers not killed in the fighting. Brown was tried for treason, condemned, and hanged. His act drove the antislavery party of the North and the proslavery party of the South farther apart. To the more radical of the North, Brown was a martyr and hero; to the people of the South, he was a proof of Northern readiness to incite slaves to revolt.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin." Among the Northern extremists was Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, who for many years had been a keeper of a station of the "Underground Railroad" system. In order to arouse the North against slavery she had written *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). The book was not wholly a true picture of slave conditions in the South, although the North thought it was, for, like Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* during the Revolution, it said what the people of the North were coming to think. Hundreds of thousands read it and were greatly stirred by it. It is reported that Lincoln once greeted Mrs. Stowe as the "little woman who brought on the Civil War." Her influence was great upon the young men who would vote for the first time in 1860.

Helper's "The Impending Crisis." Another book, which did not have the extensive circulation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* but which was widely quoted by antislavery leaders, also played a part in leading to the "irrepressible conflict." Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina, in a book named *The Impending Crisis* pleaded for the great majority of the South who did not own slaves. Helper claimed that slavery interfered with the economic progress of the South, and impoverished the majority of the people because it prevented the growth of a varied industry and commerce. He advised the "white victims of the institution of slavery" to organize into a party to vote the slave-owning planters out of power and ultimately to crush slavery. The views of Brown and Helper made the Southern leaders fear a conflict with the slaves and the nonslaveowning population of the South. What would happen if the "Black" Republican party won the next election? One idea took possession of the South — self-preservation.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES CLARIFY THE ISSUE AND PREPARE THE WAY FOR LINCOLN'S ELECTION IN 1860

The strenuous contest for the senatorship in Illinois. Southerners were especially alarmed because in the election of 1858 the Republicans made substantial gains in a vigorous campaign for state and congressional offices. The most important contest was for the senatorship of Illinois, where Stephen A. Douglas was a candidate for re-election. Abraham Lincoln, an almost unknown Springfield lawyer, who had served in the state legislature and in Congress (1847–49), where he had supported the Wilmot Proviso, contested the election with Douglas.

Since senators were then elected by the state legislatures, the senatorial campaign was really a contest for the vote of the Illinois legislature.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand." The campaign revealed to the country at large a man whom the Republicans could respect and follow as a leader. Lincoln attacked the Dred Scott decision and pointed out that the slave power was in control of the Democratic party. In words that have become famous he proclaimed: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

The Freeport Doctrine. After the manner of the times the candidates met each other in a series of public debates which attracted attention throughout the country. Of the many questions they proposed to each other and the answers they gave, one was of great importance. It was put by Lincoln and answered by Douglas in the debate at Freeport. Douglas's answer came to be known as his "Freeport Doctrine."

Lincoln asked the question: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States (a slaveowner, for example, who under the Dred Scott decision could use the courts for the protection of his slave property), exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" If Douglas said "yes," he would repudiate the Dred Scott decision and antagonize the Southern Democrats; if he said "no," he would repudiate the doctrine of popular sovereignty, antagonize the North, and probably lose the election as senator. Lincoln foresaw that Douglas's answer would offend either the Southern or the Northern Democrats.

Douglas answered that the people of a territory could never, according to the Dred Scott decision, lawfully prohibit slavery. (Would not that satisfy the Southern Democrats?) But slavery could never exist if the territorial legislature chose not to pass legislation for the protection of slave property. (Would not that satisfy the antislavery people of the North, Democrats and Republicans?)

Douglas admitted virtually that slavery had, *in theory*, a legal right to exist in the territory, but that it could not exist there *in practice* if the majority of the people failed to enact or enforce laws for its protection. In a certain sense Douglas's position was sound, for it is practically impossible to enforce a law that the people dislike.

Douglas won the senatorship over Lincoln by a very narrow margin. The campaign in Illinois was a prelude to the greater one. Two important things had happened: Lincoln had made himself a national leader with a moderate, forward-looking policy toward the problem of slavery; Douglas, by showing how the people of a territory might fail to protect slave property, offended the Southern leaders of his own party.

The Campaign of 1860. 1. The Republican candidate and plat-

form. In May, 1860, the Republicans turned aside from William H. Seward, of New York, and Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, to select Lincoln as the standard-bearer of the party. The party platform asserted that the "normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom," and denied "the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any inhabitants to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States." The Republican platform thus took issue both with the doctrine of popular sovereignty and the Dred Scott decision. These clauses of the Republican platform naturally attracted the most attention. But the platform also contained other clauses of equal importance in understanding the rivalry between North and South: (a) "Sound policy requires such an adjustment of imposts (tariffs) as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country." (b) "We demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory Homestead measure which has already passed the House." (A law giving land to settlers.) (c) We declare "that appropriations by Congress for River and Harbor improvements of a national character . . . are authorized by the Constitution . . . that a Railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded . . . that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid . . . and that as a preliminary thereto a daily Overland Mail should be promptly established."

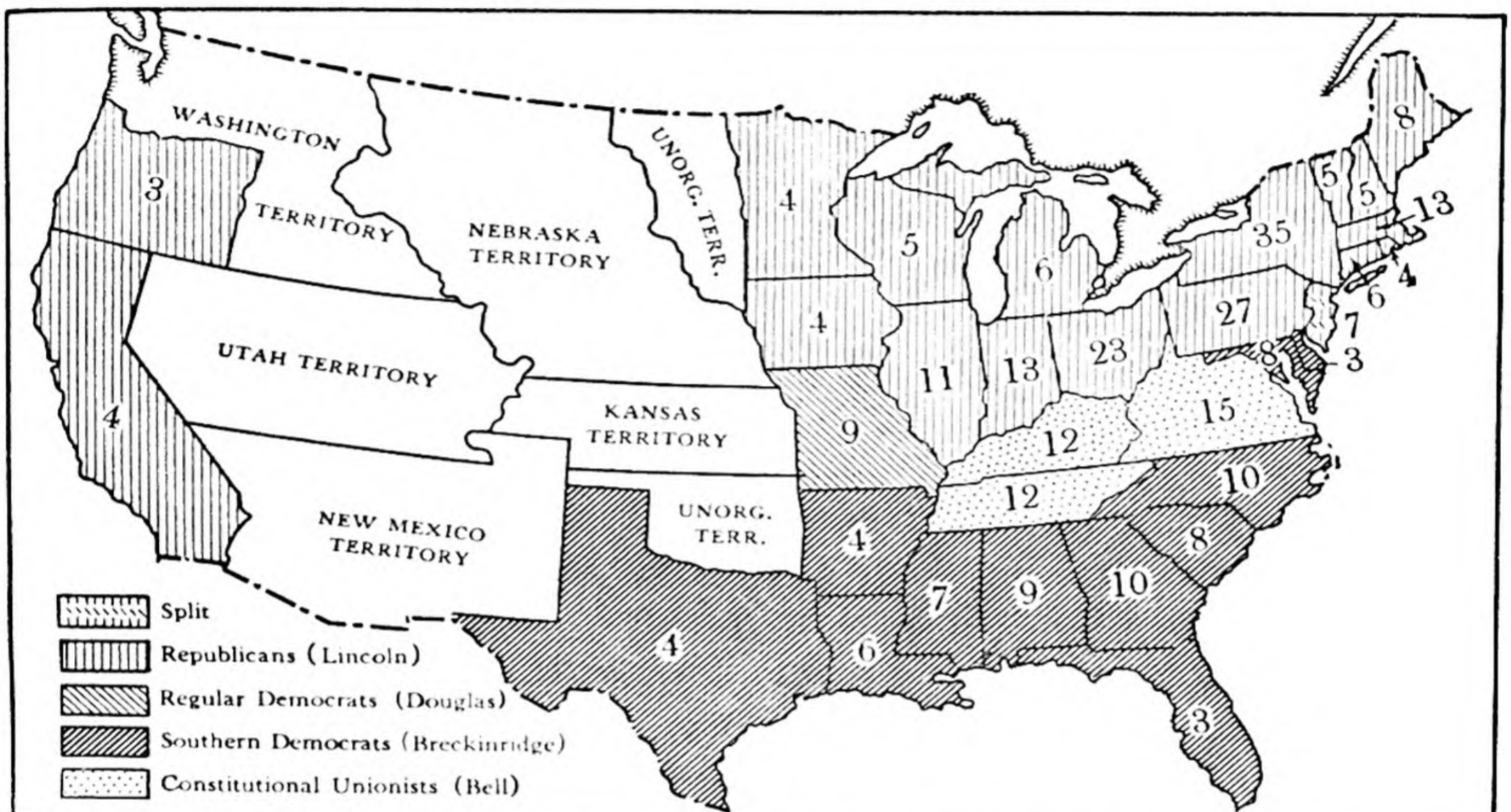
This was the Whig program and the program of Hamilton all over again. It was the program demanded by the industrial, commercial, capitalist economy of the Northeast, a program which the "agrarian" interests of the South thought would mean their social and economic ruin for the benefit of the North and Northeast. This economic program of the Republicans alone would have alarmed the South; coupled with the demand for the *restriction* of slavery, it drove the South to threats of disunion if a "Black" Republican were elected. *By 1860 the time had come for a showdown between two social and economic systems. The question of slavery was incidental to this major conflict* (pages 313, question 6, 325, 348–351).

2. The split in the Democratic party. The Democratic nominating convention was a struggle between those who were determined that slavery should be protected in the territories and those who would not go so far. There was no reconciling their differences. Finally, the delegates of the cotton states withdrew to a separate meeting place and nominated Vice-President Breckinridge of Kentucky upon a platform claiming that slave property should be protected in the territories. The Northern wing nominated Douglas upon a platform which evaded the great issue, hoping that time would settle the slavery question.

3. The Constitutional Union party. A remnant of the older Whig and the Native American parties joined forces to form a new party, called the Constitutional Union party, and nominated John Bell, of

Tennessee. Like the Northern Democrats, they thought that the slavery issue should be avoided and that the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of peace should be kept foremost.

4. Election of Lincoln. Apparently the problem before the voters in 1860 was to choose among Breckinridge and the Dred Scott decision; Douglas and popular sovereignty; Lincoln and opposition to the further extension of slavery into the territories; and Bell and "the union of the states." In reality it was a struggle between agrarianism and capitalism. The actual voting illustrates the sectional split. Breckinridge



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1860

carried every cotton state and Arkansas, Maryland, Delaware, and North Carolina. Lincoln carried California, Oregon, and every Northern state except New Jersey. Bell carried the border states of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Douglas carried only Missouri and split the New Jersey vote with Lincoln. The combined popular vote of Douglas and Bell in the slave states was greater than that for Breckinridge, which shows that the South wanted to preserve the Union. (See map above.) The electoral vote was Lincoln 180, Breckinridge 72, Bell 39, Douglas 12. Although he was elected, Lincoln's popular vote was a million short of a majority. His party was still in the minority in both branches of Congress and in the Supreme Court.

THE SOUTH SECEDES AND DECLARES ITS INDEPENDENCE

Policy of President Buchanan. To many Southerners the election of Lincoln seemed their doom. They talked of leaving the Union. President Buchanan faced a very trying situation in the four months that intervened between Lincoln's election and his inauguration. Influ-

enced by loyalty to the Democratic party and his Southern friends, and yet conscious of the responsibilities of his office, Buchanan simply did not know what to do. In his message to Congress in December, 1860, he told the country that a state had no right to secede, but neither he nor Congress had any power to compel it to stay in the Union.

Secession of the Southern states. Two weeks after this weak message had been delivered to Congress and the country, a convention met in South Carolina and repealed the ordinance of the convention of 1788 ratifying the Constitution of the United States (December 20, 1860). Within six weeks South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas declared themselves no longer members of the United States. One by one Buchanan's Southern supporters resigned high federal offices to take part in the formation of the Southern Confederacy. In February, 1861, at a convention held in Montgomery, Alabama, the first seven states to secede drafted a provisional constitution for the Confederate States of North America and selected Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, as President and Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, as Vice-President.

The Confederate constitution. Many of the clauses of the constitution of the Confederate States were an exact copy of the Constitution of the United States. But some of the differences between the two documents illustrate interesting points of view on the part of the South. (1) the President and Vice-President were to be elected for six-year terms and were ineligible for re-election. (2) Congress could grant no bounties and lay no tax on imports to promote or foster any industry. (3) Congress could not appropriate money for "any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce," except for coastal and river navigation. (4) Congress could by law grant to a Cabinet member "a seat upon the floor of either House with the privilege of discussing any measure appertaining to his department." (5) The importation of slaves was forbidden, but the institution of slavery was recognized and protected. (6) The Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States was incorporated into the body of the Confederate constitution.

Arguments for the right of secession. Throughout all the long discussions about secession the Southern leaders had emphasized the similarity of the position of the South to that of the thirteen colonies under British rule. In South Carolina the convention which passed the ordinance of secession also published a Declaration of the Causes of Secession. It imitated the Revolutionary Declaration of Independence, and enumerated a long list of grievances against the Northern states. (See Commager, No. 199.) Politically the South had long been the champion of states' rights, contending that secession was the "final resort for the protection of the interests of a state" (pages 242–243). Their argument for secession was that the states had always been supreme; that the war for independence, though waged jointly by the states, was

carried on by them as distinct sovereignties, and that Great Britain in 1783 acknowledged the independence of each state by name; that when the states united under the Constitution not one of them renounced its sovereignty, and each could withdraw from the compact at any time.

The economic and social causes of secession. The Southern people misjudged the immediate purposes and powers of Lincoln on the subject of slavery. They did understand correctly, however, the ultimate effect upon their economic life of the disruption of the old political parties and the development of a new one strongly entrenched in the majority of the states. Lincoln's election did mean the triumph of Northern industrialism. His election did mean that slavery would be limited to the Southern states, that it would be prohibited in the territories.

The decrease of cotton planting in South Carolina was at the bottom of nullification in 1832, and by 1860 the larger South was approaching the plight of South Carolina. Many economists believe that slavery eventually would have been abolished even if there had been no war, because slavery was becoming an unprofitable institution. What economists refer to as the "law of diminishing returns" was operating over a wide area. Cotton growing depletes the soil; where an exhausted soil is not replenished by the use of fertilizer and where labor remains unskilled and inefficient, the profits are insufficient. The South's trouble, therefore, was partly a wasteful agricultural system and partly a faulty labor system. Scientific farming might remedy the one; it would not the other. The South could not remedy either, though some of its leaders advocated crop diversification and manufacturing.

Furthermore, it has been said that by 1860 the "limits of slavery expansion either by purchase or by conquest had been reached." A slave who cost from $500 to $900 in 1810 cost from $1200 to $1800 in 1860 and sometimes $2000. At that price the ownership of slaves to work cotton plantations became unprofitable except on the very best land. As one writer puts it: "There was no corresponding growth in the price of staples over the same period. . . . The diminishing returns from slave ownership would have driven slave prices so low that in self-defense owners would have made tenants of their laborers . . . and placed dependence upon rentals for profits."

THE FIRING ON FORT SUMTER PRECIPITATES THE "BROTHERS' WAR"

Seizure of federal property by the Confederacy. During the last weeks of Buchanan's administration the Southern states prepared for the possible use of force by the new President. The Confederate states took over federal forts and arsenals, securing thereby a considerable supply of munitions and military equipment. They also took over other federal property, such as post offices and customs houses. When the

state of South Carolina tried to take Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, Major Anderson, in command of the fort, refused to give it up and asked Buchanan for reinforcements. The President weakly announced that if South Carolina would leave Fort Sumter unmolested, he would not send reinforcements during the remainder of his administration. He waited anxiously for the fourth of March to end his presidency.

The Crittenden proposal for compromise. While the President pursued a flabby policy of indecision, Congress attempted to revive the spirit of compromise that had avoided a crisis in 1850. Senator Crittenden of Kentucky proposed to Congress a compromise according to which the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′ would be revived and extended to the Pacific. In the territory south of the line slavery would be permitted and protected by the United States government; north of the line it would be forbidden while organized as a territory. When any portion of the territories either north or south were ready for admission to statehood, the state constitution would determine whether it would be a free or slave state. The Republicans, under the leadership of Lincoln, finally rejected this compromise. This momentous decision made all discussion of compromise futile. There was left only the submission of the Southern states or of the Northern states or civil war.

Lincoln's inaugural. President Lincoln's inaugural reaffirmed that he would not interfere with slavery in the states where it existed:

> I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. [But] no state upon its own motion can lawfully get out of the Union. . . . I shall take care . . . that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the states. . . . The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government and collect the duties and imposts. . . .
>
> In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I have the solemn one to "preserve, protect and defend" it.

Lincoln's decision to send supplies to Fort Sumter. Lincoln's inaugural seemed to say that he would not abandon Fort Sumter. Was the government prepared to send supplies to Major Anderson, although the Confederacy would regard that as a reason for taking Fort Sumter? What if sending supplies to Fort Sumter led to civil war? Would the Northern states support Lincoln? It was difficult to find time for the consideration of this all-important matter. There was more than the usual clamor of office seekers upon a new party's coming into power. The resignations of Confederates increased the spoils at the disposal of



Reprinted from *Abraham Lincoln: A Cartoon History*, by Albert Shaw, by permission

"Lincoln, Douglas, and the Rail-Fence Handicap" is the heading on this campaign poster of 1860 published in Buffalo. The Lincoln-Douglas debates attracted nationwide attention.



Bombardment of Fort Sumter by Albert Bierstadt, owned by Union League of Philadelphia

The bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, marks the beginning of the War between the States. It was Lincoln's momentous decision to send supplies to Fort Sumter that prompted the Confederate attack.

the Republicans. In Lincoln's homely phrase, "he sat there like a man letting lodgings at one end of his house, while the other end was on fire." Toward the end of March the President announced to his Cabinet his decision to send supplies to Fort Sumter.

Surrender of Fort Sumter. The relief expedition to Fort Sumter had been too long delayed. When Lincoln sent word of his intention to supply the fort, news of the intended expedition reached the Confederates. They demanded the surrender of the fort. When Anderson refused, the Confederate batteries in the harbor bombarded the fort and compelled him to surrender (April 13, 1861). The battle ended the period of suspense.

The call for volunteers. Monday morning, April 15, the newspapers carried two important announcements: a call from President Lincoln for 75,000 volunteers, and a statement by Douglas that he would support the President's efforts to preserve the Union. His decision was that of the majority of the Northern Democrats. President Davis also called for volunteers for the Confederate army.

The causes of the War between the States. With the fall of Sumter and the call for volunteers the conflict had come — the house was, indeed, divided. What followed was essentially a war for American nationality. The purpose of the war on the part of the North was to preserve the Union. The purpose of the war on the part of the South was to organize a government of its own. The cause of the war was sectionalism, brought about by differing economic interests which led to the formation of conflicting theories concerning the nature of the Constitution — a conflict of ideas and interests which could no longer be settled or postponed by compromise. There had been many issues between the sections, but it was the issue of slavery — its right to exist and its right to extend itself throughout the Union — which aroused men's passions so that the ordeal of battle was to determine whether or not the Constitution had created an indissoluble union of indestructible states.

The names which have been used to describe the four-year conflict reflect varying points of view concerning it. The most common term, "Civil War," emphasizes that it was a domestic, or internal, conflict, a war between families, brothers and sisters, which in many instances it actually was. The United States in its official records of the struggle at first called it the "War of the Rebellion" and later used the term "Civil War." Vice-President Stephens of the Confederacy called it the "War between the States," which emphasizes the states' right theory of the conflict. Professor Channing, sharing somewhat the same point of view, but also indicating the determination of the South to establish a new nation, preserving its economic and social institutions, has called it the "War of Southern Independence." Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, in *The Rise of American Civilization,* refer to the conflict as

the "Second American Revolution," by which they emphasize the tremendous social, economic, and political changes which took place. They have written:

> The armed conflict was only one phase of the cataclysm, a transitory phase; . . . at bottom the so-called Civil War . . . was a social war, ending in the unquestioned establishment of a new power in the government, making vast changes in the arrangement of classes, in the accumulation and distribution of wealth, . . . and in the Constitution inherited from the Fathers. . . . The South was fighting against the census returns . . . that told of accumulating industrial capital, multiplying captains of industry, expanding railway systems, widening acres tilled by free farmers. Once the planting and commercial states . . . had been evenly balanced; by 1860 the balance had gone.

Words and Phrases

"bleeding Kansas," Crittenden compromise, Dred Scott decision, Fort Sumter, Freeport Doctrine, Kansas-Nebraska Act, Know-Nothing party, *obiter dictum,* personal liberty laws

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What were the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act? What were the consequences of this act?
2. Describe the origin of the Republican party.
3. What influence did proslavery men have in the federal government by 1856?
4. What was the Dred Scott decision? How did it affect the political aspects of the slavery controversy?
5. What was the occasion of the Lincoln-Douglas debates? Define clearly the Freeport Doctrine. Why did the Freeport Doctrine antagonize the South?
6. Account for the choice of Lincoln as the Republican candidate in the election of 1860 and for his victory.
7. On what grounds did the South defend its right to secede?
8. In what respects did the constitution of the Confederate States differ from the federal Constitution? (Consult Commager, No. 201.) What is the reason for these differences? What features of the Confederate constitution are worthy of consideration by the American people today?
9. Summarize in parallel columns the political, social, and economic causes of secession. (Consult Commager, Nos. 197, 199.) What specific events or incidents contributed to the preparation of men's minds, North and South, for armed conflict?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Study more detailed accounts of Republican criticism of the Supreme Court after the Dred Scott decision and compare with Democratic criticism of the Supreme Court, 1934–37. (See also pages 590–591.)
2. Defend the proposition that the "Freeport Doctrine was logically sound, but politically unwise."

3. Defend and criticize the reference to the war between North and South as the "Second American Revolution."
4. *Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Impending Crisis,* the trouble in Kansas, and John Brown's Raid are frequently cited as having an influence on the course of events in 1860 and 1861. After reading these books and about these events, evaluate the influence of each. What other events or incidents should be included in this list? Is it probable that the conflict would have come without them?
5. Criticize or defend the policy of President Buchanan. Are events between Lincoln's election in November, 1860, and his inauguration in March, 1861, arguments in favor of the changes effected by the Twentieth Amendment?

Suggested Reading

SECTIONAL DISPUTES: Beard and Beard, II, 3–28; Carman, II, 484–505; Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War* (A.N.S.), pp. 67–89; Hart, IV, 97–135; Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade* (Y.C.S.), pp. 144–164, 182–232; Ogg, *Builders of the Republic* (Pageant), Chap. XI; Smith, *Parties and Slavery* (A.N.S.), pp. 94–108, 197–208; Commager, Nos. 185, 189 – Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott decision.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES: Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War* (A.N.S.), pp. 136–150; Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict,* pp. 230–266; Hart, IV, 151–163; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency,* I, 279–297; Commager, Nos. 186, 187 – Lincoln's and Douglas's speeches.

SECESSION: Bassett, *Makers of a New Nation* (Pageant), Chap. I; Beard and Beard, II, 42–51; Carman, II, 508–520; Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War* (A.N.S.), pp. 136–150, 166–246; Faulkner, pp. 317–339; Hart, IV, 164–227; Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction,* pp. 174–192; Stephenson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union* (Y.C.S.), pp. 81–101; Commager, Nos. 190, 195–200 – Resolutions on Secession; Amherst Readings, *Slavery as a Cause of the Civil War.*

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

The War of the Confederate States for Independence

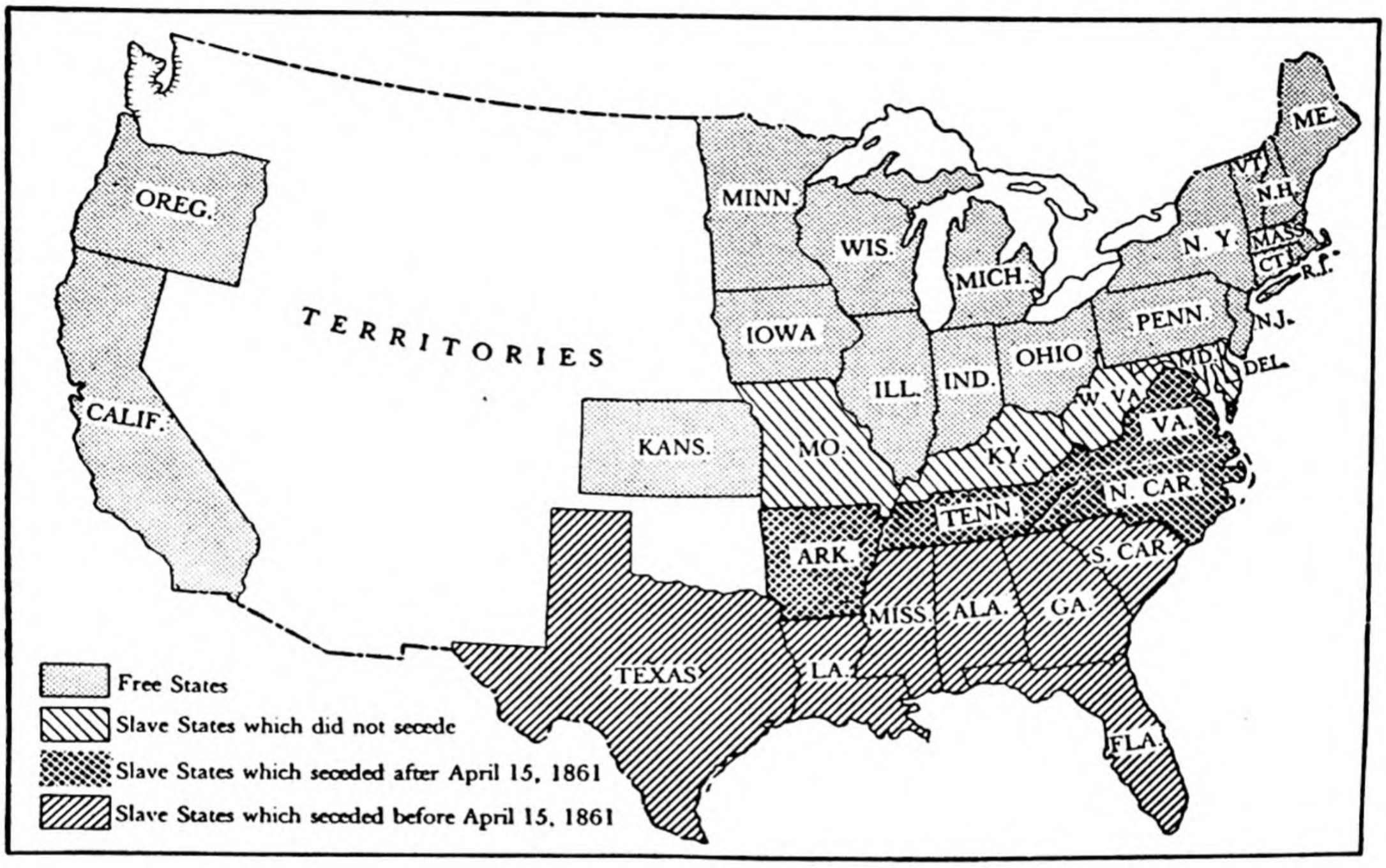
THE STRUGGLE FOR THE BORDER SLAVE STATES INFLUENCES THE OUTCOME OF THE WAR

The spread of secession. When Lincoln issued his call for volunteers on April 15, 1861, seven states had seceded and formed the Southern Confederacy. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, rather than join in an invasion of the other Southern states, seceded at once and joined the Confederacy. The secession of this tier of middle slave states brought the Confederacy to the very gates of Washington, and nearly doubled the area and population of the group of states arrayed against the United States. There was still another tier of slave states — Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri — bordering upon the North. If they, too, should join the Confederacy, two fifths of the population of the United States would be against the Union, and the capital surrounded (see map, page 332).

Holding the border states. The success of Lincoln's efforts to keep the border slave states from joining the Confederacy is an item of no small importance in explaining the ultimate victory of the North. It required all of Lincoln's tact and patience, combined at times with forceful action and hard fighting, to keep them in the Union. The authorities of Baltimore, Maryland, endeavored to stop the flow of troops through that city. Lincoln, without the approval of Congress, suspended the writ of habeas corpus, and the leading Confederate sympathizers in Maryland were arbitrarily held in prison. Gradually the movement for secession in Maryland collapsed. Lincoln, however, was bitterly assailed for his assumption of "dictatorial power." In Missouri the Unionists prevailed only after the two factions within the state had resorted to armed conflict. The governor of Kentucky tried to calm the antagonisms within his state by declaring that Kentucky would remain neutral. But Kentucky found this course impossible and finally joined with the Union. However, many soldiers from Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri served in the Confederate army.

Hard decisions. A boundary line separating the people who sided with the South from those who sympathized with the North would be

difficult to draw. Both in the North and South, and particularly in the border states, families were divided. Robert E. Lee, son of Light Horse Harry Lee, who had fought with Washington and Greene in the Revolutionary War, had proved his dislike for slavery by freeing his own slaves long before the war. However, he thought that the encroachment of the national government upon the powers of the states was a more serious matter. For him, Virginia was his country. For thirty-two years after graduating from West Point, Lee had served the Union



STATES OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH IN 1863

gallantly. When Lincoln offered him the highest place in the army of the United States, he declined, saying: "Though opposed to secession . . . I could take no part in an invasion of Southern states." One of the ablest military commanders the United States has produced, Lee became a tower of strength to the South.

Many officers thought and acted as did Lee. Generals like Joseph E. Johnston, P. G. T. Beauregard, "Stonewall" Jackson, and "Jeb" Stuart, all veterans of other wars, were worth more to the South than regiments would have been. On the other hand, some Southern officers, like Major George H. Thomas, a Virginian, and Captain David G. Farragut, a Tennessean, remained loyal to the Union.

The formation of the state of West Virginia. In the counties of western Virginia the proportion against secession was great. The majority of the people in the western counties of Virginia were not slaveholders. They held a convention at Wheeling, declared that they represented the wishes of the people of Virginia, and refused to secede. Later another convention met which drafted a constitution for the pro-

posed state of West Virginia and asked for admission to the Union. Lincoln approved this action (1863), although the Constitution provides that no state may be divided without its own consent. It was argued, however, that the loyal citizens of Virginia had really given their consent. The best argument for the creation of West Virginia was, of course, the necessity of war.

Divided loyalty in the North. If there were strong differences of opinion in the South and the border states, there was also confusion and bewilderment in the North. Even in the Republican party there was a large faction — called radical Republicans — who were extremely critical of Lincoln because he postponed taking action on the abolition of slavery. The Democratic party was divided into two groups — the "war" Democrats and the "peace" Democrats. Many prominent leaders in the party, such as Stephen A. Douglas, supported the Union cause. Thousands of them served loyally as soldiers in the Union army. Many of them broke with their party and voted for Lincoln's re-election in 1864. The "peace" Democrats represented a large faction of the party in all parts of the country. They were particularly strong in some of the counties bordering the Ohio River in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, where many of the inhabitants were descendants of immigrants from Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky. Some of the "peace" Democrats, called "Copperheads" by the Unionists, openly favored the Confederate cause and even shipped supplies and sent information to the South. C. L. Vallandigham and others stopped little short of treason in their criticism of Lincoln, Congress, and Northern generals. Vallandigham was arrested and banished to the Confederacy. Most of the "peace" Democrats, however, sought partisan advantage and wanted the war to end in a compromise — with neither side the victor.

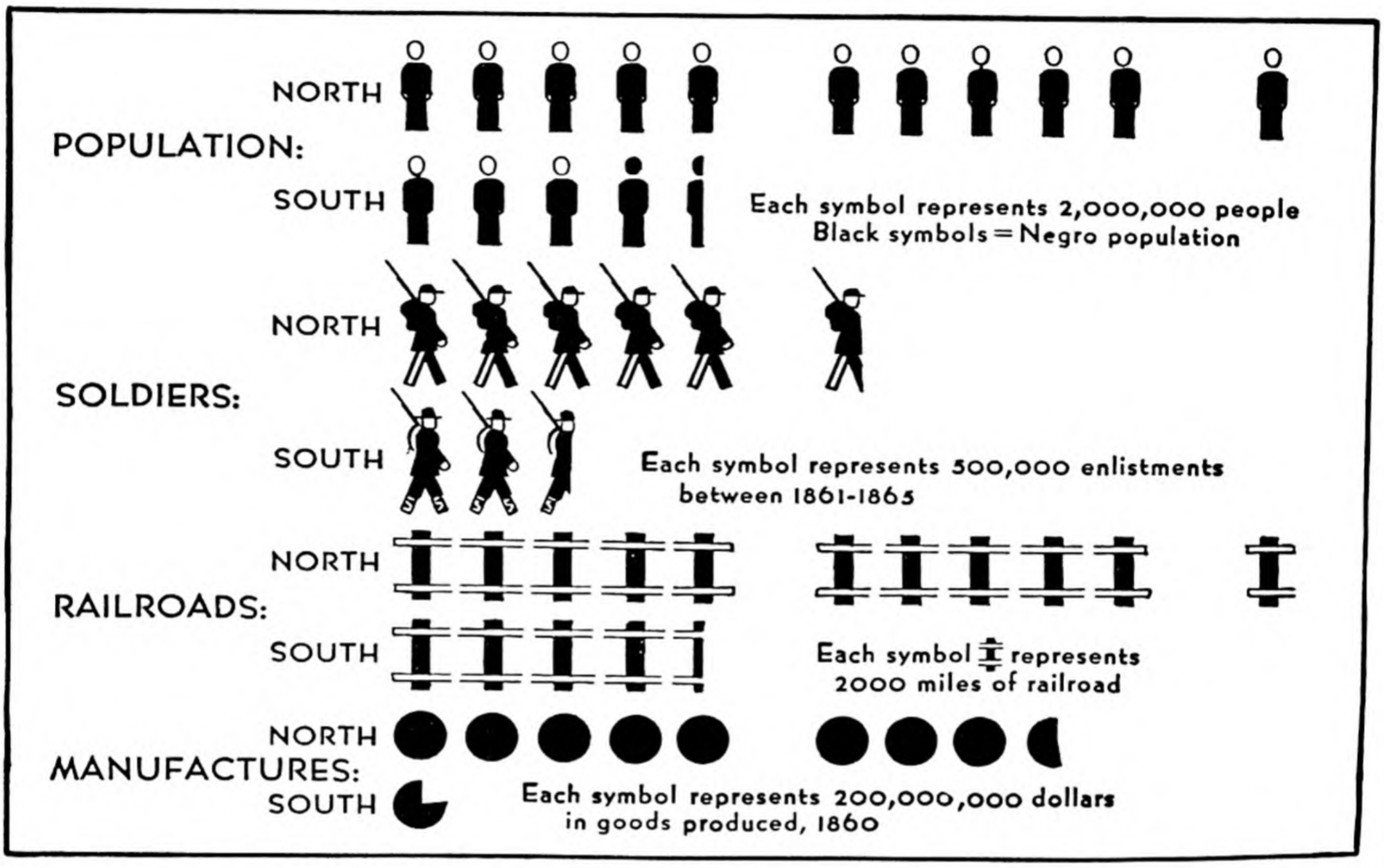
GEOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS INFLUENCE THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

Rivers and mountains. The War between the States was fought almost entirely on Southern soil. Geographic conditions determined its course. The Navy remained loyal to the Union, and that gave the North an advantage on the sea; before long, Southern seaports could be attacked at will. The Chesapeake Bay and the deep rivers, like the James and the Potomac, flowing into it, were highways for the movement of federal troops into eastern Virginia. The Mississippi River was a road across the Confederacy. It could be used by the North or the South. Since the North alone possessed the facilities for building armored steamboats in large numbers, the advantage was with the Union side.

The Appalachian Mountains divided the South into two fields for military operations — Virginia in the east and the Mississippi Valley in the west. Passes from the Shenandoah through the Blue Ridge to the east and the Cumberland Mountains to the west facilitated sudden at-

tacks on any Union army which drew too near. The rivers and wildernesses lying between Washington and Richmond were ready-made barriers to any direct attack on the Confederate capital.

Railroads. Railroads were another important factor in the operation of all the armies. The North had the advantage here, with numerous railroads which touched the South at Washington, Harper's Ferry, Wheeling, Cairo, and Cincinnati. The South had few lines, and these were used to the utmost until worn out.



COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH IN 1861

Wagon roads. Wagon transport, on which the North largely depended for supplies, was greatly handicapped by the poor roads in the South. "Have I been through Virginia? Yes, in several places," was a Northern soldier's witticism that might have been made of any state where armies went. Until Union officers organized river transportation and built lines of railroad into the territory they occupied, geographical conditions within the South worked against them.

The superiority of Northern resources. If the North with a population of 22,000,000 was superior in manpower to the South with a population of about 9,000,000, it also possessed decided advantages in the varied resources of its farms, shops, and factories. The South was hardly more than a large farming community. The North had much more highly developed iron resources and means of transportation by canals and railroads. Under the stimulus of war, factories increased in number and productivity in both the North and the South. The North had the great advantage, however, of a long industrial head start.

THE NORTH AND SOUTH RESORT TO THE DRAFT

The collapse of the volunteer system. In both North and South there was, at first, a rush of volunteers. This early enthusiasm soon waned. When Lincoln called for 300,000 volunteers in August, 1862, the response was 87,000 men. Recruiting had already broken down in the Confederacy. Both governments were forced to resort to conscription, or the "draft."

The draft. The draft system as adopted in the North was an attempt to stimulate volunteering. The law provided that if a congressional district would not furnish its quota the deficiency would be made up by a draft. If a drafted man wished to avoid service, he could either hire a substitute or pay the government $300. But the poor naturally grumbled at the unfairness of a law which allowed wealthy young men to escape military service. Resistance to conscription occurred in several Northern states. In one district in New York City there was a very serious riot against drafting in July, 1863, and about one thousand were killed or wounded before quiet was restored by federal troops.

Increased power of the President. On the same day that Congress passed the Draft Act (March 3, 1863) the President was authorized to proclaim martial law, and to substitute the summary procedure of military courts for that of trial by jury before the regular courts, "whenever the public safety may require it."

Federal officers reported to President Lincoln a short time later that in certain parts of the Northwestern states the Copperheads, through their control of the courts, were preventing the draft law from being enforced, and that hundreds of thousands organized in secret societies were drilling nightly for an uprising. In September, 1863, President Lincoln, to check the spread of the movement, announced the suspension of the right of trial in civil courts for all "spies" or "aiders or abettors of the enemy, . . . deserters, . . . or [persons] resisting a draft" anywhere in the United States. Censorship was resorted to, and some of the Democratic newspapers were temporarily suppressed. Vigorous and forceful in the denial of civil rights in wartime, Lincoln was, however, generous in granting paroles to political prisoners.

President Davis of the Confederacy had a similar problem. Early in the war the Confederate Congress gave him the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and proclaim martial law. With the assumption of national powers by the President and the Congress of the Confederacy, a states' right party arose, determined to preserve local freedom even if it meant the obstruction of the plans of the Confederacy.

NORTHERN CONTROL OF THE SEA CRIPPLES THE SOUTH

Efforts to get supplies from abroad. Both the North and the South endeavored to secure arms and munitions from existing shops or fac-

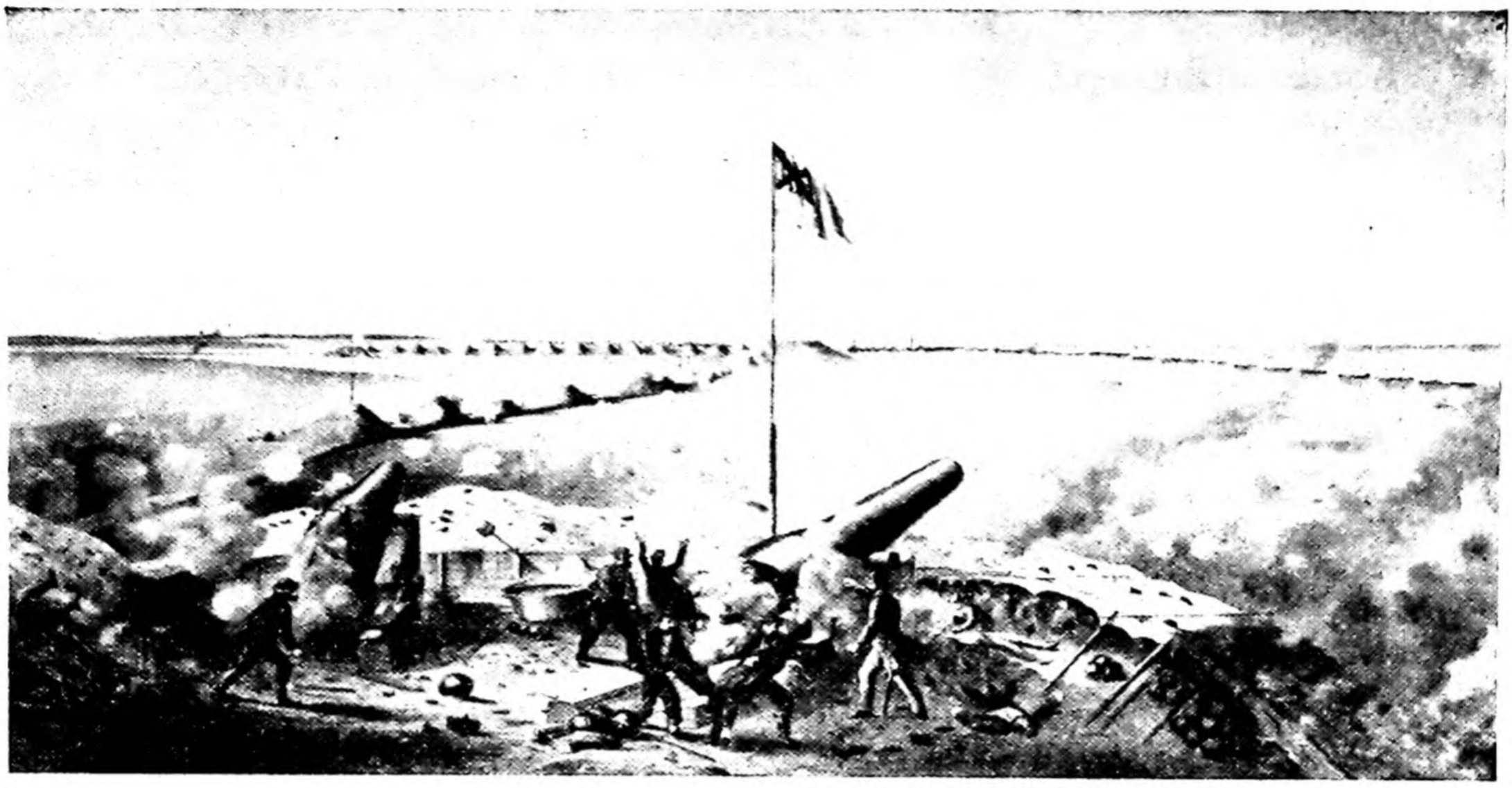
tories and from new ones set up for the purpose. Considerable quantities had also to be imported from abroad. The agents of the two American governments scurried through Europe in a keen battle for supplies. It was a contest in which the government of the United States had an advantage, because of ships and credit.

The blockade of Southern ports. On April 19, 1861, President Lincoln announced the blockade of the Southern ports. To patrol a coast of nearly three thousand miles, there was a small navy, chiefly old wooden sailing ships. There were, all told, only two dozen steam vessels, but none of them were protected by armor. Besides, most of the vessels were in distant waters at the time. It required months to assemble the little navy and to strengthen it by purchase and new construction to a point where it could destroy the trade of the South. The Confederate government attempted to meet the blockade by granting "letters of marque" to privateers to prey upon Northern commerce, and by building fast blockade runners to trade with the outside world.

The Merrimac *and the* Monitor. In the panic days following the attack on Fort Sumter, the Norfolk Navy Yard was partially destroyed by the federal government and left for the Confederate forces to occupy. A half dozen ships of war, among them the steam frigate *Merrimac,* were dismantled and sunk. The Confederacy set about raising the *Merrimac* and converting it into a new type of warship by covering its sides with armor. The federal naval authorities knew of this plan and anxiously watched its progress. To counteract it, they assigned to John Ericsson the problem of constructing in the Brooklyn Navy Yard a vessel which could successfully meet an ironclad. Ericsson planned a small, nearly flat, iron hull, carrying a revolving turret — a "cheese box on a raft." It was named the *Monitor.* The test of strength finally came in March, 1862, when the *Merrimac* (which, meanwhile had been renamed the *Virginia*) attempted to leave the blockade. It was met by the *Monitor.* After hours of indecisive firing the *Monitor* maneuvered into shallow water, and the *Merrimac,* unable to follow, presently retired to the protection of the Norfolk harbor. This encounter is of importance, first, because it enabled the North to maintain its blockade of the South, and, second, because it established the superiority of ironclad vessels. The wooden warship was doomed.

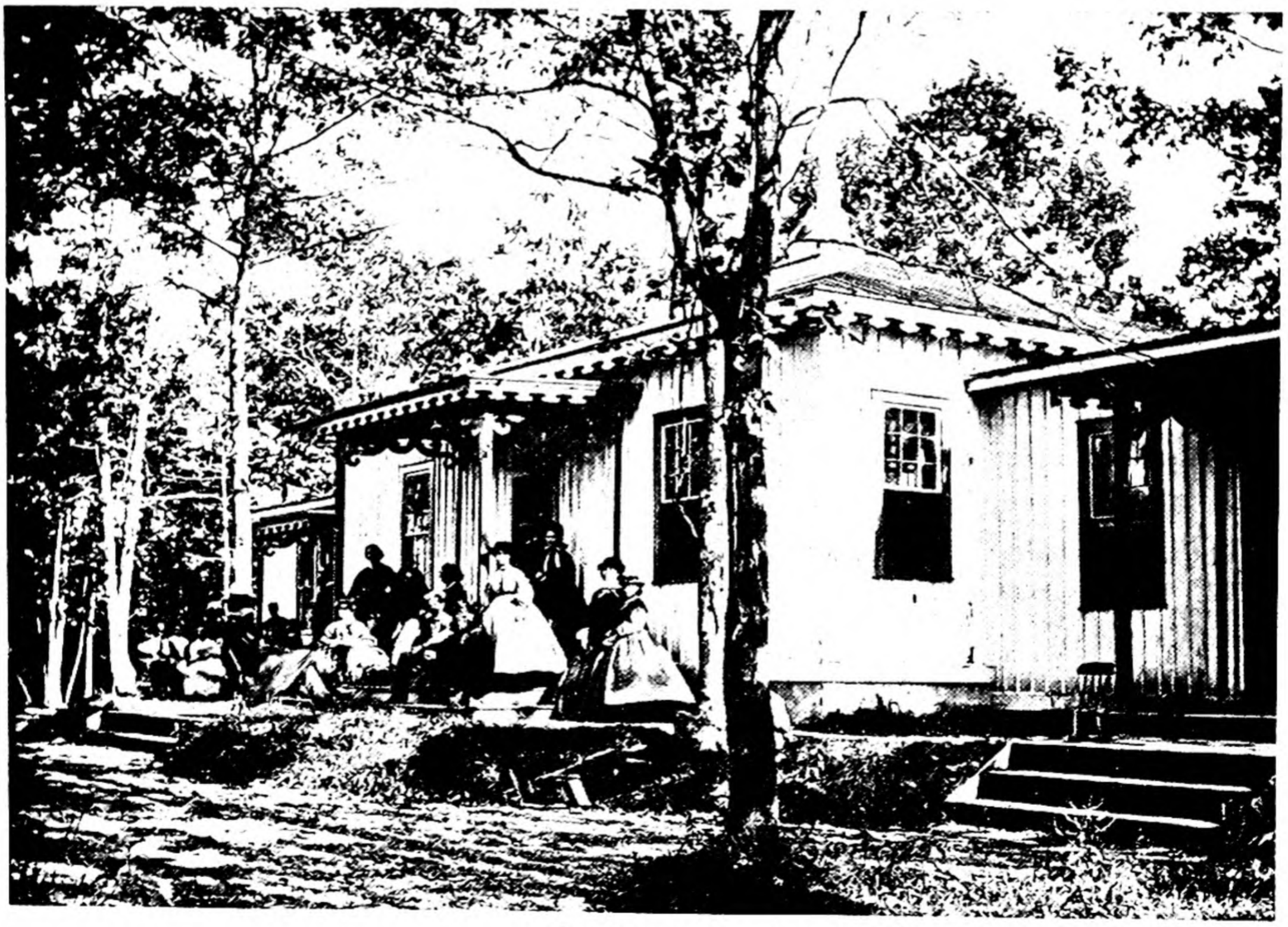
The victories of Farragut. A fleet under Farragut and Porter passed up the Mississippi in April, 1862, and occupied New Orleans, the largest city and chief commercial center of the South. Later in the conflict (August, 1864) Admiral Farragut's fleet captured Mobile and almost completely closed the Southwest to the outside world.

Confederate cruisers. The effort of the Confederate government to build a navy in British and French waters, and thereby counter the blockade by destroying the commerce of the United States, failed in the end. In July, 1862, the British government allowed the *Alabama,* a



Courtesy Sterling Library, Yale University

The Northern blockade of Southern ports was a most effective weapon. It prevented the South from importing and exporting, thus cutting off an important source of much needed money and supplies.



Courtesy National Archives, Photographic Records Office

General Samuel P. Heintzelman, Northern general who captured Alexandria, Virginia, with his army very early in the War between the States (May 24, 1861), visits a convalescent camp near that city.

Confederate warship built in England, to leave her ports to attack Northern commerce. Several other ships were similarly fitted out. The *Alabama,* built at Liverpool, manned by British seamen but operated by Confederate officers, alone destroyed fifty-seven American commercial vessels and over $6,500,000 in property before it could be destroyed. But in 1864 the North finally sank the *Alabama* and captured the *Florida.* The loss of these two chief commerce destroyers left the South helpless on the high seas (page 341).

The success of the Northern blockade. All through the war, swift blockade runners attempted to carry cotton from obscure inlets of the Southern coast to Havana, Bermuda, and Nassau, and to return with cargoes of supplies. But as the Northern blockade became more and more effective, cotton ceased to be a source of large revenue to the South. In 1860 the South had exported $191,000,000 worth of cotton; by 1862 its exports of cotton dropped to $4,000,000. These vanishing cotton exports meant that the main source of wealth was gone. The South found it difficult to sell its bonds in Europe. Lack of money and the increasingly tight blockade made it practically impossible for the South to keep its armies supplied. The Northern blockade was as effective in overpowering the South as were the Northern armies.

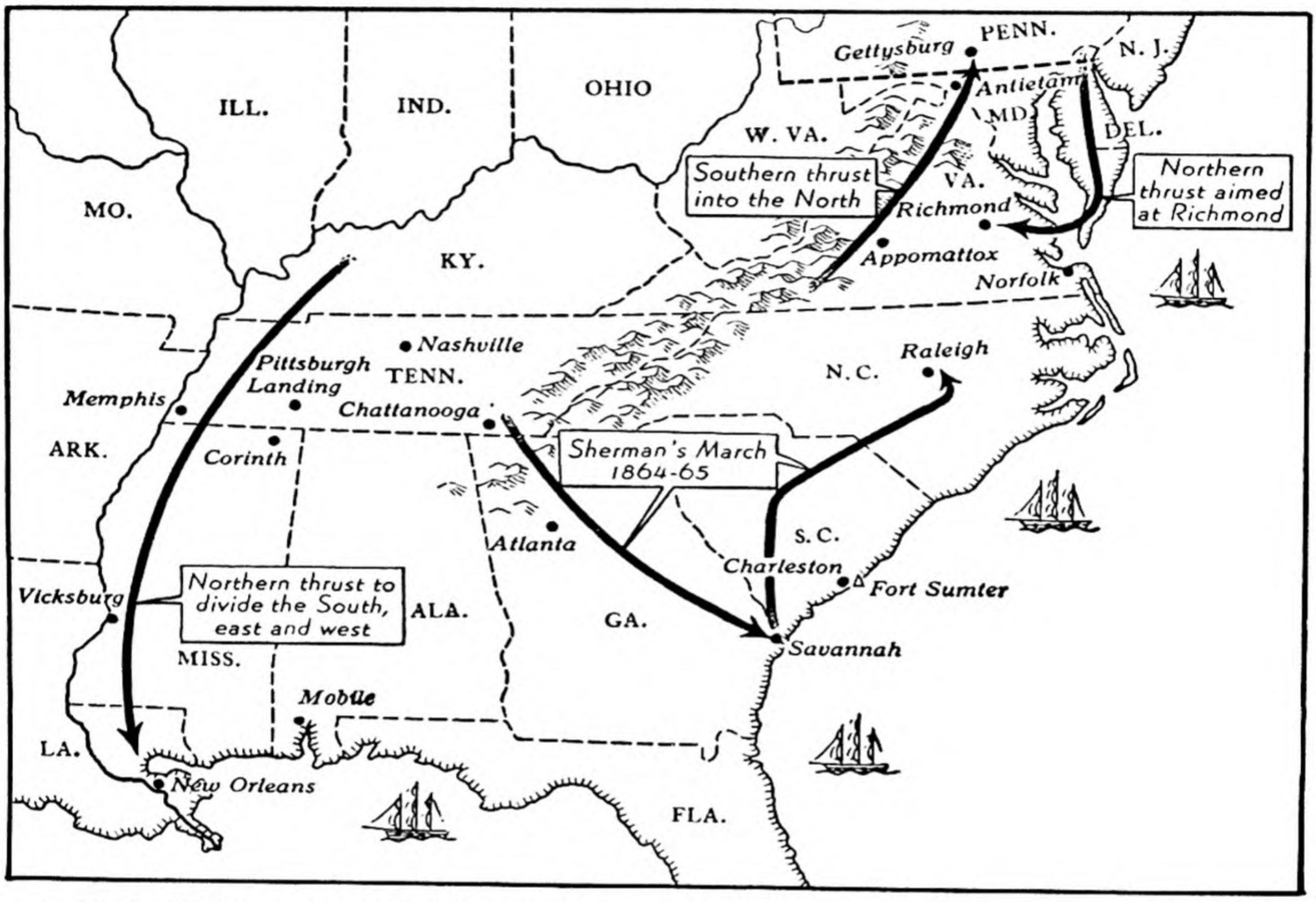
MILITARY EVENTS CENTER AROUND EFFORTS TO CONTROL THE OHIO AND THE MISSISSIPPI AND TO CAPTURE RICHMOND

The war in the East. The early defeat of a Northern army at the Battle of Bull Run (near Manassas, Virginia, close to the national capital) taught the North that defeat of the South would be no easy task. It would be necessary for Northern armies to invade and overpower the South. In the Eastern campaign the Union's objective was the destruction of the Southern armies protecting Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy. It was in the East, however, that the South placed its greatest commander, Robert E. Lee. Twice Lee attempted to invade the North, and twice he was repulsed, first at the battle of Antietam, in Maryland, in September, 1862, and again in July, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The battle of Gettysburg was in many respects the turning point in the struggle. Early in the next year Ulysses S. Grant, who was placed in command of all the Northern armies after his success in the West in 1862–63, mapped out a general campaign and began hammering away at Lee. Well supplied with men and guns, Grant's army was ultimately successful in Virginia against the thinning ranks and poorly equipped soldiers of the Confederacy.

The war in the West. In the West the Union forces achieved earlier triumphs. Here the objectives were to prevent the South from acquiring control of the Ohio River and to hem in the enemy. With Grant's victories at Forts Henry and Donelson, February, 1862, the

North established a line across West Virginia and Kentucky to the Mississippi. There ensued some brilliant fighting for the control of the Mississippi, which culminated in Grant's capture of Vicksburg (July, 1863) at the same time that Lee was being defeated at Gettysburg. The "Father of Waters rolled unvexed to the Sea," and the Confederate states west of the Mississippi were cut off from the East.

The last year of the war. Grant's plan, when he took command of all the Union forces, was to pound at Lee, and to send Sherman from



PRINCIPAL THRUSTS IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

Tennessee to Savannah in an effort to separate Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia from the rest of the Confederacy. Sherman accomplished his task, leaving desolation and ruin in his wake. He reached Atlanta in September, 1864, entered Savannah in December, 1864, and then started northward through South Carolina. (See map above.) Meantime, Grant began to weaken Lee's position south of Richmond. The end came on April 9, 1865, when Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House. Soon afterward the remaining forces of the Confederacy either surrendered or disbanded.

"The prize we sought is won." The rejoicing of the North was turned to sorrow a few days later when, on the evening of April 14, the fourth anniversary of Fort Sumter, Lincoln was shot in Ford's Theater by a half-crazed actor named John Wilkes Booth. The great President died a few hours later. Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, prophetically declared: "Now he belongs to the ages." Walt Whitman lamented:

O Captain! My Captain! Our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won.

There seems to be no disagreement among historians that Abraham Lincoln, more than Northern armies, more than Grant, Sherman, Farragut, or anyone else, was the sympathetic, tolerant, yet indomitable force that brought the Union successfully through the war. Maligned, hated, criticized by his contemporaries, his stature has grown with the years. One of his most violent critics, Horace Greeley, eventually wrote in 1868:

> Looking back through the lifting mists of seven eventful, tragic, trying, glorious years, I clearly discern that the one providential leader, the indispensable hero of the great drama — faithfully reflecting even in his hesitations and seeming vacillations the sentiment of the masses — fitted by his very defects and shortcomings for the burden laid upon him, the good to be wrought out through him, was Abraham Lincoln.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES INVOLVES THE UNITED STATES IN DIFFICULTIES WITH FOREIGN NATIONS

The South hopes for European aid. The leaders of the Confederacy entered the war with the confident hope that they would obtain help from Europe. Convinced that cotton was king, they thought Europe would try to maintain trade with the South lest their cotton mills be closed for lack of raw cotton. The South also felt that Europe would welcome an excuse for breaking in two the great republic with its tariff barriers. If European countries would compel the North to leave the cotton trade open, the South would be able to exchange its staple crop for the supplies it needed.

In general, the governing classes in England and France supported the Southern cause. Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, desiring to weaken the United States in order to further his own ambitions in Mexico (pages 648–649), was particularly willing to lend his support to the South. He waited for England to adopt a definite policy before openly disregarding the obligations of neutrality. The manufacturing and commercial classes of England and France also sympathized with the South, for as importation of cotton from the South ceased, the cotton mills of central England and the Seine Valley had to be closed.

The Trent *affair.* The South, in an effort to take advantage of European hostility to the North, undertook to send ambassadors to Europe to protect its interests. Late in 1861 occurred an event which increased the ill feeling between the North and England. A Northern ship stopped the English mail steamer *Trent* and took as prisoners two Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell. England protested that this action was a violation of the rights of a neutral nation. Lincoln, realizing that England was, after all, but asserting one of the rights of

neutrality which we ourselves had defended in the War of 1812, ordered the release of Mason and Slidell. He chose to receive the biting criticism from dissatisfied Northerners rather than to give England a pretext for intervention on the Southern side.

Violation of neutrality by British shipyards. A still more serious dispute arose because British shipyards constructed several raiders for the Confederacy. Despite the repeated protests of our minister to England, Charles Francis Adams, a year passed before the British government finally put a stop to this. On the ground that England had violated the obligations of a neutral, the United States held her responsible for the damages suffered through the activities of these British-built ships, of which the most famous was the *Alabama*. For some time after the war the question of settling the bill for damages (the "*Alabama* claims") very nearly caused an open break between the two governments. By the Treaty of Washington in 1871 England finally agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration — one of the outstanding examples of two powerful nations agreeing to settle a major dispute in this way. The arbitration tribunal, held at Geneva in 1872, awarded $15,500,000 to the United States, thereby vindicating the American theory that England had violated her obligations as a neutral.

Why Great Britain remained neutral. Despite England's leanings towards the South, various factors combined to keep her neutral. One was the realization of England's increasing need for wheat from the United States — a need which some historians believe to have been more vital than the need for cotton. Moreover, although there was widespread unemployment in the English cotton mills, the mass of English workingmen sided with the North. They were represented in Parliament by such famous Liberal leaders as Richard Cobden and John Bright. The Liberals were opposed to slavery, and so favored the Union cause. Their support of the North was especially influential after the Emancipation Proclamation had made it clear that the abolition of slavery was an issue of the war. They even held mass meetings in protest against giving help to the South. In one of his famous letters Lincoln thanked the workingmen of Manchester for their support.

Russian friendship for the North. Of all the European nations Russia was the most friendly to the Northern cause. Under Tsar Alexander II, who freed the Russian serfs in 1861, Russia rejected a French suggestion for joint recognition of Confederate independence. A visit by the Russian fleet to the waters of New York and San Francisco was viewed as a friendly gesture. Seward was so grateful for Russian friendliness that a few years later (1867) he was willing to be ridiculed for negotiating a treaty at Russia's suggestion for the purchase of Alaska (page 646). As most Americans regarded Alaska as worthless, only gratitude for what was regarded at the time as Russia's friendly attitude prompted the Senate to ratify the treaty of purchase.

Northern hesitation toward abolition. One reason why European people did not lend their sympathies more readily to the Northern cause was that the federal government hesitated to take a definite stand on the question of emancipating the slaves. Lincoln was personally opposed to slavery and — if he could have had his way — would have provided for gradually buying the slaves from their owners and setting them free. Yet he did not forget that he had been elected on a platform which was opposed to the extension, not to the existence, of slavery. Furthermore, any drastic step in the direction of emancipation might drive the border slave states out of the Union. Apart from this political difficulty there were also legal and constitutional scruples, for it was by no means certain in just what way the abolition of slavery could be effected. Despite these difficulties, a group of "radical" Republicans, led by Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune*, General Frémont, and Thaddeus Stevens, were in favor of immediate emancipation.

Lincoln's bold stand. An editorial written by Horace Greeley, called the "Prayer of Twenty Millions," bitterly attacked Lincoln for his failure to take definite action on emancipation. Replying to this attack in August, 1862, Lincoln stated his position with such clarity and force that it had a wholesome effect on the country.

> My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

The Emancipation Proclamation. At the time this famous letter was published, Lincoln had already determined upon a course of action, but because the Union forces had met a long series of defeats, he did not think that the time was yet ripe to publish it to the world. In July he told his Cabinet of his intention to issue a proclamation freeing the slaves of the Confederate states, but at Seward's suggestion he decided to wait until a Northern victory would make the proclamation seem more than empty words. In September, 1862, Lincoln considered Lee's defeat at Antietam an opportune time to announce that if the Confederate states had not laid down their arms by January 1, 1863, their slaves would be free. On January 1 he issued the final proclamation designating the states and parts of the states still controlled by the Confederacy. Since the Proclamation applied only to such territory, it could not immediately effect the freedom of a single slave. It was only a war measure. The Proclamation did not apply to the four slave states

— Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri — which had not seceded, nor to those parts of the Confederacy which were already occupied by Northern troops.

Effect of the Proclamation on the purpose of the war. The Emancipation Proclamation made it plain to all that the war meant much more than the preservation of the Union and the exclusion of slaves from the federal territories. If the North were victorious, it would mean a new nation without slavery. Whether the Proclamation made more friends for the President in the United States than it cost him is hard to say. Lincoln had repeatedly stated that the war would go on until the Union was safe. Now he seemed to say that it would go on until the slaves were free. A popular bit of verse widely used by the Democrats in the Congressional campaign of 1862 stated:

> Honest Old Abe, when the war first began
> Denied abolition was part of his plan;
> Honest Old Abe has since made a decree,
> The war must go on till the slaves all are free.
> As both can't be honest, will someone tell how,
> If Honest Abe then, he is Honest Abe now?

It is impossible to say whether the losses sustained by the Republican party in the mid-term elections of 1862 were due to dislike for the Emancipation Proclamation or whether the Proclamation saved the party from complete defeat.

The Thirteenth Amendment. In December, 1863, a Constitutional amendment for abolishing slavery was proposed in Congress but failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. It again came up for vote in January, 1865, when it obtained the necessary majority and was immediately sent to the states for ratification. Three fourths of the states approved, including the provisional governments of eight states formerly in the Confederacy. It was proclaimed in effect in December, 1865, as the Thirteenth Amendment.

LINCOLN ENCOUNTERS SERIOUS POLITICAL OPPOSITION

Faultfinding. It is not to be expected that any democratic government can carry on in war or in peace without serious opposition. The War between the States was no exception. Nearly everything that Lincoln did was the subject of merciless criticism. If he delayed in taking action on the abolition of slavery, the radical Republicans denounced him; when he did issue the Emancipation Proclamation, he was pounced upon by the conservative Republicans. C. L. Vallandigham, the leader of the Copperheads, habitually referred to Lincoln as "Caesar," and Wendell Phillips called Lincoln "a more unlimited despot than the world knows this side of China"; and yet in his own party Sumner

exclaimed, "How vain to have the power of a god, and not to use it god-like!" If arbitrary arrests were made to stifle opposition so violent that it amounted to giving aid to the South, Lincoln was roundly condemned. His defense of his policy was simple: "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert?"

Whether it was the Emancipation Proclamation or frequent changes in the high command, restraints upon civil liberties or the draft, the release of Mason and Slidell or the adoption of a conciliatory tone toward England, scandals concerning the sale of supplies to the government or the disheartening progress of the war, bitter and savage criticism poured forth against Lincoln.

The presidential election of 1864. With the turn in the fortunes of the war, the violent opposition to Lincoln and his party began to weaken. But even then a few disgruntled members of his own party sought to prevent his renomination. Lincoln, however, was renominated unanimously. For his running mate the Republican convention chose Andrew Johnson, a Southerner and a Democrat, who had refused to follow the South into secession and who was at the time military governor of Tennessee. The nomination of Johnson was expected to prove to the country that the Republican party was really nonsectional and primarily interested in the Union. The platform of the party endorsed Lincoln's conduct of the war and urged an amendment to the Constitution to abolish slavery.

The Democrats nominated the popular General George B. McClellan upon a platform of "immediate cessation of hostilities" and a "convention of the states" as a means by which "peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." General McClellan repudiated the platform, however, and urged the vigorous prosecution of the war. The *New York Herald* thus summarized the bewildering confusion in the ranks of the Democratic party: "*Resolved*, That the war is a very good war, that it is a most unrighteous war, and while it must be stopped at once, it must be carried on with vigor."

In the midst of the campaign (August, 1864) Lincoln wrote that it was "extremely probable" that the administration would be defeated. But Sherman's entrance into Atlanta, Farragut's capture of Mobile, and Sheridan's successful raids in the Shenandoah Valley saved the day for the Republicans. To use Lincoln's homely phrase, the people decided that it would be unwise to swap horses while crossing the stream. Lincoln received 2,200,000 votes to McClellan's 1,800,000 — a bare majority of the popular vote. However, the vote in the Electoral College was overwhelming, Lincoln receiving 212 votes to McClellan's 21.

On March 4, 1865, when the war was nearing its end, Lincoln delivered his famous second inaugural, one of his many great speeches. Deeply religious in tone, the inaugural indicated Lincoln's policy of



Courtesy United States Army Signal Corps



Courtesy United States Army Signal Corps

Left: General Ulysses S. Grant (1822–85) first achieved military fame through his success in securing control of the Mississippi River. When Lincoln put him in command in the East, Grant "hammered away" at Lee's armies. His presidency (1869–77) was marred by political scandals.

Right: General Robert E. Lee (1807–70) did not believe in slavery and had freed his own slaves. He was a believer in states' rights, however, and remained loyal to his native state, Virginia, and to the South. After the war he became president of what is now Washington and Lee University.



From "Dixie," one of *The Chronicles of American Photoplays*. Copyright. By permission of Yale University Press

The women of both the South and the North staunchly supported the cause for which their men were fighting. Southern women often gathered in groups (as above) to make uniforms for the Confederate soldiers.

moderation to the people of the South. It ended with the sublime words:

> With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

THE WAR IS FINANCED WITH DIFFICULTY

Heavy duties and taxes. Both North and South found it difficult to obtain funds necessary to carry on the war. For two years the government of the United States drifted along without financial plan or leadership, meeting the abnormal expenses in the easiest manner, chiefly by borrowing money and by issuing bonds bearing high rates of interest. Time and time again Congress raised the duties on imports. Internal taxes were placed on everything — luxuries, manufactured products, advertisements, occupations, business earnings, inheritances, and incomes. In all, the government derived about $300,000,000 from internal taxes.

The issuance of greenbacks — a forced loan. In 1862 Congress authorized the issue of $150,000,000 of paper money, called legal-tender notes, or "greenbacks." At the close of the war $431,000,000 of greenbacks were in circulation. The greenbacks were simply promissory notes of the government to pay the holder a specified sum of money, unsupported by any reserve. Laws of Congress compelled creditors to accept the greenbacks in payment of debts; hence they are referred to as legal-tender notes. The more greenbacks that were issued, the more the people lost confidence in the ability of the government to redeem (make good) its promises. Naturally, the paper money steadily declined in value and had the effect of greatly increasing prices, and hence the cost of war (pages 494–496).

Borrowing money by selling bonds. The entire cost of the war to the United States was more than three billion dollars. About two fifths of this amount was obtained from taxes on imports, internal taxes, and the greenbacks; the remaining three fifths came from the sale of bonds. But the government bonds sold slowly. Secretary Chase employed Jay Cooke, a Philadelphia banker, in a country-wide campaign of selling bonds directly to the people. He also began to sell bonds to banks on a commission basis, which made it worth their while to work hard to dispose of them to the people.

The National Banking Act of 1863. Finally, in 1863, Chase induced Congress to pass a National Banking Act, which helped the sale of bonds and created a sound national currency. Under this law and its amendments any group of five men who desired to go into the banking business

could obtain a charter from the national government and enjoy the privilege of issuing notes, provided they bought United States bonds and left them on deposit with the treasury at Washington as security for the note issue. Thus the federal government resumed active supervision of the nation's currency for the first time since Jackson's day. The new national bank currency was much more stable and sound than the note issues of the state banks upon which everyone had had to depend from 1836 to 1863. Moreover, it had the great additional virtue of uniformity, which was gravely lacking in the currency of state banks. Notes that circulated in all parts of the nation with the same value were a great boon to business. A law in 1865 imposed a tax on the note issue of state-chartered banks, and so drove out of existence all except the currency of the new national banks. Today all banks which have the word "national" in their title are chartered by the national government under this law of 1863 and its amendments; all other banks are chartered by the various states. (Originally the law permitted the national banks to issue notes up to 90 per cent of the value of the bonds purchased, but in 1900 this was increased to 100 per cent [pages 495, 508].)

THE WAR BRINGS ECONOMIC CHANGES TO THE SOUTH AND TO THE NORTH

The Confederate soldier returned home to find the railroads broken down, business stagnant, and industries silent. The war had taken the last year's harvest and most of the livestock. Seed for a new start was lacking. Even the farm tools were worn out. The war had destroyed the farmers' equipment, and later the Fourteenth Amendment destroyed their fluid capital of cash and credit by repudiating the debts incurred by them in waging the war (page 359).

The breakup of the old plantation system. The emancipation of the slaves provoked an economic as well as a social revolution in the South. The old plantation system gradually crumbled. The large planter was burdened by debts, lacked funds with which to work his vast plantations, and found it difficult to adjust the Negro laborers to a wage system. He finally found some relief by renting his estate in parcels of forty or eighty acres either to the poor whites or to the Negroes. The rent paid for the use of the land was frequently a share of the crop grown. The sharecropping system of farming in time became general in many parts of the South.

As time passed, although there were many rural slum areas, there was less waste in the use of land, dead lands were reclaimed, fertilizer was used more freely, and the growing of other crops besides cotton tended to prevent rapid soil exhaustion. Slowly the Southern farms recovered their productivity; in 1879 the cotton crop equaled that of 1860.

Eventually, with improved machinery and more careful cultivation, agriculture in the South became more prosperous under free labor than it ever was under slave labor.

Diversified farming. Under slavery, Southern agricultural staples were tobacco, rice, sugar, and, of course, cotton. They continued to be the staples after the war, but many farmers found their soil suitable for the growth of peanuts, fruits, and vegetables as well. In a few years, as a result of the use of refrigeration in freight cars and steamships, Southern farmers had access to the populous markets of the North. Furthermore, the South was not dependent upon other sections of the country for its foodstuffs as formerly. Diversification also tended to soften the hardships that might attend the failure of the cotton crop.

Industrial transformation of the "new" South. 1. Use of natural resources. Under the slavery system the rich natural resources of the South were undeveloped. After the war a great change set in. In 1880 the mineral output of the Southern states yielded $10,000,000; twenty years later the yield was $100,000,000. Birmingham, Alabama, became the "Pittsburgh of the South." The timber resources of the South were also developed. In the early years of the twentieth century the lumber yield of the Southern states was greater than that from the great forests of the Northwest.

2. Large-scale manufacturing in the South. Manufacturing in the South kept pace with the development of its natural resources. The South has abundant water-power facilities, and since the raw material was at hand and labor was cheap and plentiful, cotton mills were built with astonishing rapidity. Northern capital assisted in the establishment of factory towns and villages. In 1860 the Southern cotton factories had about 300,000 spindles and 10,000 workers; by 1900 there were more than 4,000,000 spindles and nearly 100,000 workers. In the twentieth century the shift of the textile industry from the Northeast to the South went on apace. This movement has brought new problems both to the towns of the Northeast, which suffer by the transfer of labor and capital to other centers, and to the South, which has to adjust itself to the problems of an industrial civilization (pages 395–398).

Postwar conditions in the North. The North and West escaped most of the devastating effects of the war. The need for war supplies created a demand for products from Northern farms and factories; therefore boom times resulted. Increased prices brought profits to manufacturers and farmers. Surplus capital was used to expand and develop the resources of the nation. The returning Northern soldier found the farms, the railroads, the shops, and the mills better equipped with machinery and producing more than when he left them.

1. Increased use of machinery. The scarcity of farm labor and the demand for wheat and other farm products furnished an excellent opportunity for the manufacturers of the new farm machinery. The

scythe and the cradle gave way almost completely to McCormick's reaper in the cutting of grain in the West during the War between the States. McKay's shoe-sewing machines displaced the village shoemaker. Machinery supplied the place of the men called to serve in the army and each year yielded a greater output.

2. New resources and new industries. Only a nation with unusual resources can destroy wealth by military operations and replace the losses at once by the development of other forms of wealth elsewhere; yet this is what the North did during the War between the States. In western Pennsylvania, where oil had been discovered in 1859, the owners of oil wells and the lands on which they were located found fabulous wealth. In Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Buffalo, oil refiners established a new industry and changed almost overnight the mode of lighting homes. With the opening of oil wells in the Middle West there followed a trail of booming cities and the growth of a "petroleum aristocracy."

3. Rapid settlement of the rich Western prairie lands. The greatest resource of the United States was the untilled lands of the prairie West. The westward movement of the frontier continued its course in spite of the war. In May, 1862, in keeping with its platform pledge, the Republican majority in Congress passed the famous Homestead Act. By the terms of this act any citizen or any alien who expressed his intention of becoming a citizen could acquire a farm of 160 acres on payment of a ten-dollar fee for registration of his title, provided he lived on and cultivated the land for five years. Soldiers were allowed to deduct the period of their army service from the five-year period of occupancy. It was the withdrawal of the Southern representatives from Congress which made it possible to pass this law, for they had long opposed giving such encouragement to westward expansion. Under the liberal terms of this act the Western prairie land was quickly settled. To a large extent, the settlers came from the East; but, with the close of the war, hundreds of thousands of immigrants, lured by the promise of free land and quick riches, came from Europe (pages 371, 601–602).

In the same year (July, 1862) Congress also passed the famous Morrill Act, giving lands to the several states and territories to help them establish colleges. Each state was given 30,000 acres of land for every Congressional representative it had in 1860 or at the time of admission. The proceeds from the sale of the land were to be set aside to endow colleges which would teach "branches of learning related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." In all about 13,000,000 acres of the public domain were given to the states for the establishment of what have been called "land-grant" colleges. The effect of this act was to encourage the creation of state universities. The Morrill Act was of great value to American agriculture; it also ranks with the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance as being among the most important laws of Congress for the encouragement of education.

4. Railroad expansion. In the prosperous decade that followed the Mexican War, railroad builders, their expectations high, overbuilt. The nation now profited by what seemed then to have been a mistake. The New York Central Railroad, with several short lines west of Buffalo, and the Pennsylvania system, with its connections west of Pittsburgh, formed two lines across the North. The Baltimore and Ohio, with short lines west of Wheeling, was a third, although the operations of war frequently interrupted its through service. The Erie Railroad was extended from western New York through the oil fields to Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. This became the fourth railroad route to the West and the first with a standard gauge throughout its length. There was not much railroad construction during the war, but there was a good deal of improvement of the old work. A second feverish era of railroad building was to follow the coming of peace (pages 369–370).

5. The Far West. West of the Mississippi the stagecoach and the wagon were still the carriers. The states of the Pacific West — California and Oregon — might have been beyond the seas, so remote were they from the rest of the country. They were not asked to supply troops to the Northern armies during the war, though they sent volunteers and helped to pay the cost of the conflict. To supply the need of communication with the Pacific states a telegraph line was built across the intervening prairies, mountains, and deserts in the summer of 1861. A railroad from Omaha to the Pacific Coast, to be assisted by a federal land grant and loan, was authorized in 1862. Thus another platform pledge of the Republican party was kept. This Pacific Railroad Act, like the Homestead Act, was passed by Congress during the war, since there were no Southern congressmen present to press the rival claims of Southern cities to be the eastern terminus of the road. Before the war ended, the construction of the railroad had merely begun.

6. Decline of the merchant marine. Although business within the United States ran under high pressure as a result of war prices and the excitement of patriotic appeals, foreign trade, on the contrary, fell off. Confederate privateers and high protective tariffs were barriers to the freedom of such trade. The American merchant marine, which had slowly been built up since the War of 1812, was well-nigh ruined. There was practically no cotton to carry; insurance rates were high; importations declined; and the government commandeered many merchantmen. When the war ended, the merchant marine was about half as large as it had been in 1860. After the war, profits in manufacturing and other enterprises were so great that the merchant marine was not restored. It took nearly a half century to recover.

7. The development of a high protective tariff system, 1861–83. In 1861, just as the war began, the Morrill Tariff Act was passed. It raised somewhat the general level of duties. Throughout the war the Morrill Act was amended almost monthly, always in the direction of higher

rates. By 1862 the general level of duties was as high as 37 per cent; by 1864 the average duty was as high as 47 per cent. In ordinary times this almost revolutionary increase in protective duties would have been impossible. However, the Republican party had pledged itself in 1860 to a protectionist program. Those who had charge of financial legislation levied the high tariffs with the promise that they would be reduced when the war had ended. But for nearly twenty years, until 1883, the rates of the war tariffs remained substantially unchanged. As time wore on, industry adapted itself to the tariff; new industries were established, and the old expanded with the expectation that the tariff would remain unchanged. Thus it was that gradually the high tariff policy established during the war became a permanent institution.

8. The growth of corporations. One other pronounced effect of the war on our economic life needs to be mentioned. Heretofore the corporate form of business enterprise had been used for banks and canal and railroad companies. Rarely was it used to conduct the business of manufacturing. Before the war was over it was used for the management of all sorts of enterprises (pages 402–410).

The Republicans as the promoters of business. When the war ended, the victors were enjoying high prices and large profits. Manufacturing had expanded; the agricultural resources of the West were opened up as the result of the liberal land policy of the federal government; agricultural machinery was in wide use. A large number of immigrants helped both to supply and to consume the increased productivity of mill and farm, while new and old industries flourished under the protective system which the war had brought into being. The decline of the merchant marine was more than offset by the almost unbelievable progress in agriculture and industry.

In the economic policies of the Republican party, during and after the war, there is evidence to justify the Southern planters' fear of the triumph of the "Black" Republicans. A national banking system, free land, railroad land grants, a high tariff, industrial expansion and increased prosperity, as well as the extinction of slavery and the ruin of the South, were among the accomplishments of the Republicans. The Republican party retained control of the national government for the next twenty years. A political and social revolution had been effected. Western farmers, Northern merchants, bankers, and manufacturers were in command of the ship of state. (Reread quotation, page 329.)

Words and Phrases

Alabama claims, blockade, Copperheads, Emancipation Proclamation, forced loans, Geneva Award, Gettysburg, greenbacks, Homestead Act, land-grant colleges, legal tender, martial law, national banks, political prisoner, suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, *Trent* affair

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. Why was the attitude of the border slave states of special importance?
2. Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that the Northern blockade was just as important as military events in determining the final outcome?
3. Why was the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* important?
4. What were weaknesses of the draft system adopted during the war?
5. What is meant by the statement that the Emancipation Proclamation was a war measure? What did it accomplish?
6. State the provisions of the Thirteenth Amendment. Why was it necessary?
7. Why may the issuance of greenbacks be referred to as a forced loan?
8. Explain (a) how the National Banking Act helped the sale of bonds, and (b) provided the country with a uniform currency.
9. Contrast the economic conditions in the North and in the South during the War between the States and in the years that immediately followed it.
10. How did the Republican party redeem the pledges of its 1860 platform? (Review pages 321–322, 349–351.)
11. Explain how each of the following affected the outcome of the War between the States: (a) foreign immigration, 1850–1860; (b) the naval blockade; (c) the opening of the Mississippi River; (d) the Emancipation Proclamation.
12. How did the War between the States affect industrial development in the North and in the South?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Protesting to the British prime minister against the construction of ships for the Confederacy, Adams, our minister to England, declared: "It would be superfluous in me to point out . . . that this is war." What principles of international law are involved in this statement?
2. Why was there a movement within the Republican party to prevent Lincoln's renomination in 1864?
3. "Our President is now dictator — imperator — whichever you like; but how vain to have the power of a god and not to use it godlike." (Sumner) What basis is there for the statement that President Lincoln had the powers of a dictator? Should the President possess extraordinary powers in wartime? Do you agree or disagree with the implied criticism that President Lincoln did not take full advantage of his power?
4. "The power to tax is the power to destroy." How does this apply to the taxation of notes issued by state banks?
5. Investigate and report on the career of C. L. Vallandigham.
6. Report on the services of the Negro to the South and the North in the war.
7. Investigate and report on (a) the "dictatorial" powers of Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt in wartime, and (b) the political criticism directed against them.
8. Briefly outline the points of view expressed by Lincoln in his first and second inaugural addresses. (Consult Commager's *Documents.*)

Suggested Reading

CONDUCT OF THE WAR: Carman, II, 520–537; Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War* (A.N.S.), pp. 54–66; Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict* (A.L.S.), pp. 285–407; Hart, IV, 256–259, 356–358, 376–381; Hosmer, *Appeal to Arms* (A.N.S.); Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, pp. 259–337, 512–593; Ropes, *History of the Civil War;* Wood and Gabriel, *In Defense of Liberty* (Pageant), Chaps I–VIII.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN NORTH AND SOUTH: Beard and Beard, II, 104–106; Carman, II, 563–573; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, Chaps. XII, XIII; Faulkner, pp. 340–355; Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, pp. 338–381, 625–645.

FINANCING THE WAR: Beard and Beard, II, 69–72, 105–111; Carman, II, 537–549; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, pp. 271–330; Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, pp. 444–458; Schlesinger, pp. 77–81; Commager, No. 231 – National Banking Act.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS DURING THE WAR: Bailey, pp. 340–376; Beard and Beard, II, 81–88; Bemis, pp. 364–383; Carman, II, 549–563; Hart, IV, 298–301, 416–418, 550–556; Hosmer, *Appeal to Arms* (A.N.S.), pp. 306–322; Commager, No. 226 – The French in Mexico.

RESULTS OF THE WAR: Beard and Beard, II, 115–121; Carman, II, 576–592; Dunning, *Reconstruction: Political and Economic* (A.N.S.), pp. 136–150; Hart, IV, 390–411; Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America* (A.L.S.), pp. 1–31; Taussig, *Tariff History of the United States*, pp. 194–229; Commager, No. 222 – The Emancipation Proclamation.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

The "Crime of Reconstruction"

PRESIDENT LINCOLN PROPOSES AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON CARRIES OUT A MODERATE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

Relation of the seceded states to the Union. When the war ended, the most important political problem confronting the victorious North was the question of determining the relation of the seceded states to the Union. Three questions reflect different points of view. (1) Did the termination of the war automatically restore the seceded states to their former place in the Union? (2) Did the act of secession cause them to lose their rights as states so that now they were to be treated as *territories* of the United States? (3) Were they to be treated as a defeated foreign nation?

There was another interesting problem: Who had the right to answer questions — the President or Congress.

Lincoln's theory of the War between the States. Lincoln held to the view that the Southern states had never legally seceded, but that the people had been misled by some disloyal leaders into a defiance of federal authority. In his eyes the war was the act of individuals, and the federal government would have to treat with these individuals and not with the states. Lincoln believed that the President, as commander in chief of the Army and Navy, and possessor of the power to pardon, had authority to restore the states to the Union. However, he recognized that Congress had the right to refuse to seat the senators and representatives sent by the Confederate states.

Lincoln's "ten-per-cent" plan. Acting upon this theory, Lincoln by proclamation (1863) declared that if in any state 10 per cent of the voters of 1860 would form a government that was loyal to the Constitution, and acknowledge obedience to the laws of Congress, he would recognize the government so created as the legal government of the state. Congress rejected this plan and challenged Lincoln's right to deal with the question without consulting it. On the other hand, Lincoln refused to sign a much more stringent bill which passed Congress in 1864.

The attitude of Congress. Some members of Congress wanted to impose severe punishment on the Confederate states. Thaddeus Stevens, leader of the Republican party in the House of Representatives, wanted to keep the Southern planters under military rule for a period of probation. He wished to confiscate their lands, using them to pay the

national debt, to establish a pension fund for soldiers, and to give each freedman a small farm. Stevens and his followers were called "Radicals," and the plan they advocated was known as the radical plan of reconstruction.

Lincoln actually set up governments in Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Congress passed the Freedman's Bureau Act (March, 1865) to take care of the emancipated Negroes who were without homes, work, or money and were, besides, dangerously near starvation. Congress also proposed the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery. This became part of the Constitution in December, 1865. With the war ended and the great leader gone, would his successor be able to co-operate with Congress?

Lincoln sensed the coming struggle between the executive and the legislature over the policy of reconstruction. After Lincoln's death this struggle fell to the lot of his successor. Johnson, a Tennessee Democrat, possessed none of Lincoln's tact or wisdom. He was inclined to be unpleasantly blunt in dealing with those who disagreed with him. Rumors were current that he appeared in public while intoxicated; although the truth of these rumors has been challenged, the fact remains that they were widely believed at the time.

The "Johnson" governments. Throughout the summer of 1865 President Johnson proceeded to carry out, except for minor differences, Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. By presidential proclamation he appointed a governor for each of the various Southern states, and freely restored political rights to large numbers of Confederates through the use of his pardoning power. Conventions were held in the various Southern states which repealed the ordinances of secession, repudiated the war debt, and drafted new constitutions.

In time the people in each state elected a governor and a state legislature. When the legislature of a state approved the Thirteenth Amendment, Johnson considered the state back in the Union. With few exceptions this process had been completed when Congress convened in December, 1865. But the Southern states were not yet fully restored to their rightful places within the Union, because Congress had not yet seated their senators and representatives. Under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, the Radicals in Congress proceeded to work out a plan of Congressional reconstruction quite different from that which Lincoln had started and Johnson completed.

Objections of Congress to presidential reconstruction. 1. Congressional resentment of executive power. A mixture of motives caused Congress to reject the presidential plan of reconstruction. Because of the delicate balance of power between legislature and executive, the Congress of the United States has usually been on its guard lest the executive usurp powers that belong to Congress. The power and prestige of the President is greatly increased during a war. In 1865 the

Radicals thought Congress should curb the executive's exercise of the powers which, under the necessities of war, it had tolerated.

2. Demand for Southern punishment. Furthermore, there was some feeling in the North that the South should be punished with severity. The Radicals took advantage of the fact that many of the Southerners who now sought to become senators and representatives in Congress had ten months before been taking an active part in the war to destroy the Union. Vice-President Stephens of the Confederacy, for example, presented himself as senator from Georgia. From the Southern point of view the election of their leaders to office was natural, but under the circumstances it irritated the Northern Radicals.

3. Republican party demands. Another reason for Congressional hostility to the Johnson governments was the purely partisan fear that a combination of Southern Democrats and Northern Democrats might wrest control of affairs from the Republican party. In addition, the Northerners were alarmed over the fact that the South would be entitled to a larger representation in Congress, for now the number of representatives to which the South would be entitled would be based upon the total population. That the party which had won the war, saved the Union, and freed the slaves should have its power weakened was something that ardent Republicans could not be expected to tolerate.

4. Alarm over the "black codes." The Southern legislatures, organized under the presidential plan of reconstruction, enacted a variety of laws designed to regulate the privileges and rights of freedmen. These vagrancy laws, which were called "black codes" by the Radicals to arouse Northern sentiment, varied from state to state; but, in the main, these acts allowed the Negroes certain rights — the right to own and hold property, to sue and be sued, and to make contracts. But various restrictions were also imposed upon them. They could not obtain a license to carry weapons. They could not give testimony in a court unless the case involved members of their own race. They were especially restricted in making labor contracts. In Mississippi a freedman could not become the owner of property; in one part of Louisiana a Negro had to be in the employ of some white person; in South Carolina the occupations of the Negro were practically limited to farming and domestic service.

5. Protection for the Negro. To many in the North these laws seemed to indicate that the gains of the war were being undone. Northern Radicals publicized the worst features of these laws in an effort to prove that the South was bent on re-establishing slavery. They argued that the federal government would have to protect the Negro against discrimination. Many accepted the point of view of Senator Sumner that the Negro must be given the right to vote, and that the civil and political rights of the Negro, and of all persons, would have to be protected against interference by the states.

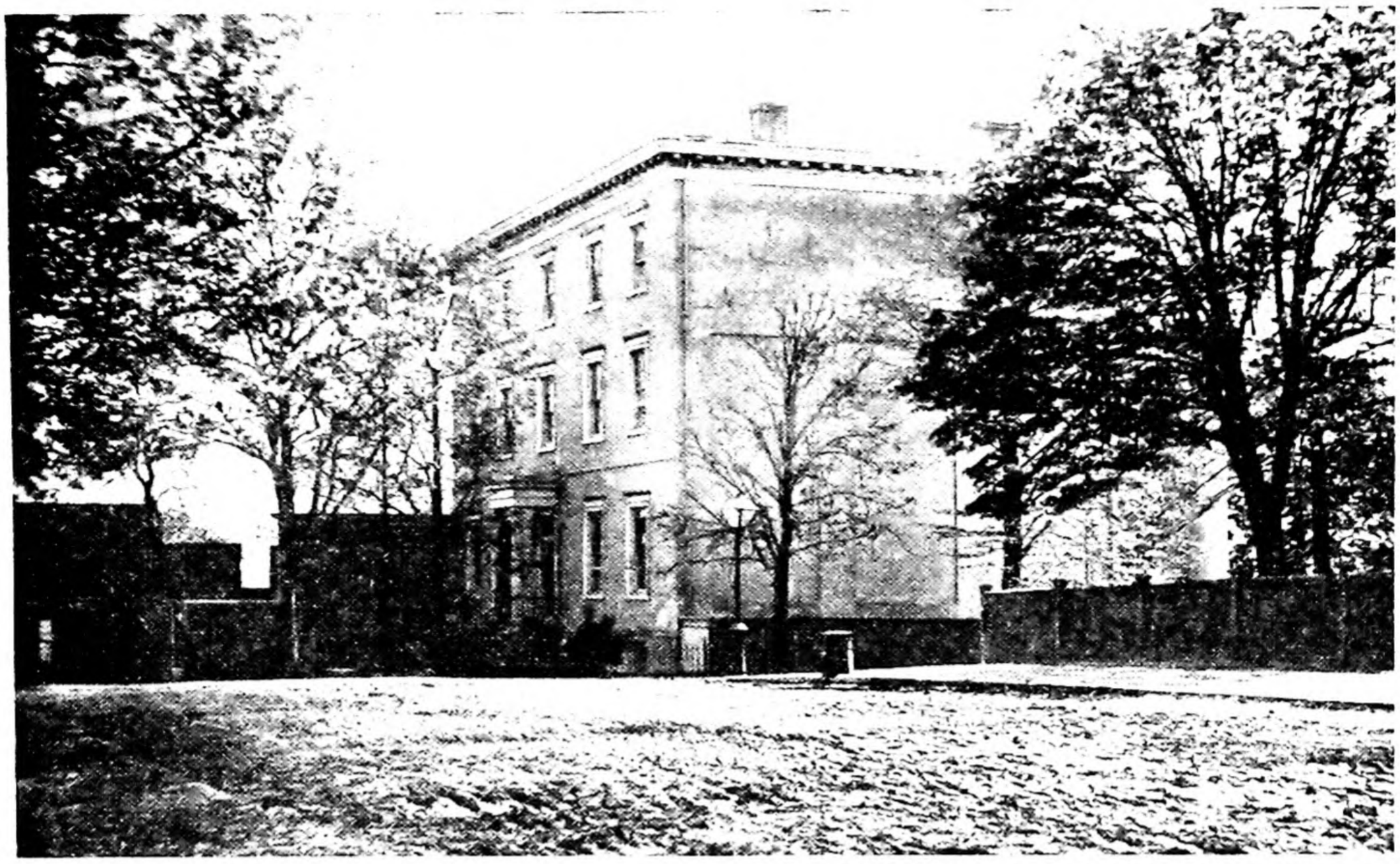


Photo by Brady, War Department Collection

When Jefferson Davis was President of the Confederate States, he lived in this house in Richmond, Virginia. The "White House of the Confederacy" is now the Confederate Museum.



From a drawing by John Tenniel in *Punch*, May 6, 1865

During the War between the States many Englishmen sympathized with the South. The editors of *Punch*, an English magazine, had scoffed at Lincoln during his presidency, but at his death they expressed their remorse and published this drawing, which shows Britannia sorrowfully laying a wreath on Lincoln's bier, beside which Columbia and a slave are weeping.

CONGRESS UNDOES PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION AND INAUGURATES A TRAGIC ERA FOR THE SOUTH

Congress assumes control of reconstruction. Gradually there developed a wide popular sympathy for the program of the Radicals in Congress. They proceeded to undo the work of Johnson. Congress announced that it would not admit senators and representatives from Southern states until it determined that the state was entitled to representation. Congress then proceeded to enact a Civil Rights Bill (April, 1866) and a new Freedman's Bureau Bill (July, 1866) over Johnson's veto. This made it possible for the Negroes to appeal to federal military authority to prevent the Southern states from discriminating against them. Since the Civil Rights Bill, which extended United States citizenship to the freedman and protected him against discriminatory state action, was of doubtful constitutionality, the Radicals proposed the Fourteenth Amendment (June, 1866; ratified July, 1867).

The Fourteenth Amendment. 1. The new nationalism. Since the Fourteenth Amendment contains the substance of the congressional plan of reconstruction, it is worthy of detailed analysis. The first sentence reads: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside." This simple sentence declared definitely that there was such a thing as United States citizenship. After its adoption, persons born or naturalized in the United States possessed a dual citizenship — of the United States and of the states. It sums up the new nationalism which the war created, but the immediate intention was to confer United States citizenship upon the Negroes.

2. Limitations on the power of the states. The sentences immediately following limit the states by prohibiting any state from interfering with the rights of United States citizens. "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." The apparent intention of these words was to make it impossible for the Southern states to curtail in any way the rights of Negroes. However, as these simple sentences were later interpreted by the courts, they became the chief means of safeguarding the rights of individuals and the property of corporations. The United States Supreme Court has been called upon again and again to interpret this amendment, many times in cases not at all related to the reconstruction controversy. It is sufficient for our present purpose to note that their net effect was further to limit the power of the states (pages 498–500).

3. Repeal of the three-fifths clause. The second section of the Fourteenth Amendment repealed the "three-fifths clause" in the Constitution by declaring that "representatives shall be apportioned among the

several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed."

4. A threatened reduction of representation. The framers of the amendment feared that the Southerners would not allow many of the Negroes to vote. The next sentence, therefore, provides that a state's representation in Congress shall be reduced proportionately if it deprives a male citizen twenty-one years of age or over the right to vote for any reason except "participation in rebellion or other crime." This clause has not been enforced, even though some states, North as well as South, limit the suffrage.

5. Political disability and debt repudiation. The next clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment denied to leading Confederates the right to hold political office unless the disability were removed by a two-thirds vote of Congress. Another clause provided that neither the United States nor any state should assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of "insurrection or rebellion" against the United States.

Southern opposition to the Fourteenth Amendment. The amendment contained harsh terms for the South. The repudiation of the Confederate debt meant serious economic losses to many Southerners who had given their all to the Southern cause. The South could not turn to its outstanding and experienced statesmen; and there was the possibility that Negro suffrage might be imposed upon them. All the Southern state legislatures, with the exception of Tennessee, refused to ratify the amendment; some of them voted against it unanimously. Such action seemed proof enough to the Radicals that severe punishment was necessary and that the North must intervene to protect the rights of the freedman.

Congress compels Southern acceptance. 1. The Military Reconstruction Act. Fearing that President Johnson would use every means at his command to defeat their program, the Republican Radicals first limited his power to oppose them. A Tenure of Office Act, March, 1867, compelled the President to secure the consent of the Senate to the removal of federal officers. An Army Act, March, 1867, took the control of the Army out of his hands and placed it in those of General Grant. The Radicals were then ready to proceed with their substitute for the presidential plan of restoring civil government in the South. A Reconstruction Act, March, 1867, ignored the civil governments the presidents had built up in the South. The South was divided into five districts and placed under military rule, as though it were a conquered country. The Reconstruction Act provided a way of escape from a permanent military government by declaring that if the people of the Confederate states would take an oath of allegiance, ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, and adopt Negro suffrage, they might establish civil governments and be restored to the Union. Some months later, a supplementary Reconstruction Act also made the ratification of the

Fifteenth Amendment a necessary condition for the states not yet restored to the Union.

3. The Fifteenth Amendment. In 1869, in order to impose Negro suffrage upon the South beyond the power of repeal by a future Congress, the Fifteenth Amendment was pushed through Congress and the state legislatures. It provided that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This Amendment, like the Nineteenth, does not take away from the state its control over political rights, but simply limits the state in its exercise of that power. A state could still deny to its citizens, Negro and white, the right to vote, but it could not make color, race, or previous servitude the basis for such denial. The provisions about Negro suffrage in the Reconstruction Act and later in the Fifteenth Amendment were bitter ones for the whites of the Southern states. In Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina the new Negro voters considerably outnumbered the white voters; in the other Southern states the Negroes could poll a large vote. Those who two or three years before were in slavery would now become the rulers, because in addition to establishing Negro suffrage, the Radicals disfranchised many whites for their part in the war.

The impeachment of Johnson. The fact that the Reconstruction Act meant the defeat and humiliation of President Johnson was no small reason for the energy with which Congress pushed it. Having accomplished so much, Congress undertook to get rid of Johnson by the process of impeachment. The Constitution provides that the President may be impeached by the House of Representatives for high crimes and misdemeanors. But Johnson was guilty of no high crimes and misdemeanors. His sole offense was that he was opposed to the policies of Congress and resorted to strong language in criticizing the congressional policy; yet his criticism of Congress had been no more violent than congressional criticism had been of him. The most serious charge that his enemies could level against him was that, despite the Tenure of Office Act, he had courageously removed from his Cabinet one of their supporters — Stanton, Secretary of War. The real wonder is that Johnson retained Stanton in his Cabinet so long, for the Secretary worked hand in hand with the Radicals in Congress and did all he could to obstruct the President's policies.

When the impeachment trial was held by the Senate (1868), Johnson's lawyers pointed out that technically Johnson had not violated the Tenure of Office Act because that law provided that the President could not remove a Cabinet officer during the term of office of the President appointing him. Since Stanton had been appointed by Lincoln, and not by Johnson, the law, it was argued, did not apply in this case. More important, however, was the argument that it would establish a



Courtesy Public Roads Administration

Andrew Johnson (1808–75) was born in poverty in Raleigh, North Carolina. Later he ran this tailor shop in Greenville, Tennessee. Lincoln named him as military governor of Tennessee in 1862 and suggested him as candidate for Vice-President in 1864.



From a sketch by James E. Taylor in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, March 28, 1868

On Friday, March 13, 1868, at the opening of the trial of Andrew Johnson, the United States Senate met for the first time as a high court of impeachment. By a very close vote the President was acquitted of the charges brought against him by his political enemies.

dangerous precedent if Congress should attempt to get rid of a President merely because he disagreed with a majority of Congress. The vote in the Senate for Johnson's conviction was thirty-five, as against nineteen for acquittal. But this vote meant acquittal, for the Constitution provides that conviction requires a two-thirds vote of the Senate; the final vote was just one short of the number necessary. Johnson remained in office, therefore, till his term expired (March 4, 1869).

"Negro," "carpetbag," and "scalawag" governments. Under the Reconstruction Act, with the help of Northern troops, the freedmen were given the privilege of voting and holding office. But far worse than the inexperienced Negroes were the white adventurers from the North ("carpetbaggers") who rose to power with the votes of the Negroes. Some of them grew rich by corruption in public office. Southern whites who co-operated with the carpetbaggers in manipulating the ignorant and unsuspecting Negroes were referred to as "scalawags." The carpetbaggers and scalawags organized the Negroes into Loyal, or Union, Leagues in order to capture and control the Negro vote.

The activities of carpetbaggers and scalawags, protected by federal troops, gave the former slaves control of the legislatures of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi; in several other states Negroes, though a minority in the legislature, were a strong voting power. The Radicals in Congress, through their policies, tolerated one of the most shocking exhibitions in the legislative history of democracy. By 1868 North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas had framed new constitutions, ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and been admitted into the Union. This process was not completed in Texas, Virginia, and Mississippi till 1870. In 1868 in the seven "reconstructed" states, four governors and ten of the fourteen senators were Northerners who had been in the South for only two or three years.

The corruption, bribery, and incompetence of the carpetbag governments are almost unbelievable. In South Carolina $200,000 was paid for $18,000 worth of furniture. Sixty-dollar spittoons and $750 mirrors are some of the items. The legislature even voted the Speaker a gratuity of $1000 upon hearing that he had lost that sum in betting upon a horse race. The public debt of the Southern states skyrocketed. Of course, the carpetbaggers and scalawags who were spending the money and making themselves rich paid no taxes at all. It was an astonishing first lesson in government that the white man gave the freedman.

THE SOUTH GRADUALLY EMERGES FROM CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The Ku Klux Klan. The Southern whites who could find no legal remedy to stop the waste, extravagance, and crime that the carpetbag regime imposed upon them started to resort to extralegal means. In

opposition to the carpetbaggers and to the Union Leagues the Southern whites organized numerous secret societies, local in character, which amounted to vigilante organizations. Certain of these secret societies, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Knights of the White Camellia, spread rapidly. The Ku Klux Klan developed an organization that covered ten Southern states. It had officials with weird titles, calculated to frighten the Negro — Grand Wizard, Dragon, Cyclops, Nighthawk. In 1868 the conflict between the Union Leagues, backed by federal troops, and the Ku Klux Klan plunged the South into a new civil war of the worst kind — a guerrilla war. The lawlessness of some members of the Klan, and the deeds of violence that were ascribed to it, led the men at the head of the organization to order its dissolution in 1869; but Klan activities continued, though the number and the severity of their acts of violence diminished. The federal government by means of a Ku Klux Klan Act and Force Bills, which drastically punished those who attempted in any way to deprive the Negro of his civil rights, practically put an end to the worst of the Klan's activities in 1871.

The change in Republican attitude toward the South. Throughout the worst period of disorder, confusion, and misgovernment, General Grant was President. He was elected in 1868 and re-elected in 1872. Grant did little to put an end to the miserable conditions which his party had fastened upon the South, for he allowed himself to come under the influence of the extreme Radicals. But in 1872 a "Liberal" Republican movement gained strength. It criticized the corruption of Grant's administration and demanded a more liberal attitude toward the South. Under the influence of the Liberal Republicans a general Amnesty Act in 1872 restored political rights to all but about five hundred Confederates who had been excluded from the right to hold office by the Fourteenth Amendment. (It was not till 1898 that pardon was finally extended to all.) Helped by the Amnesty Act, the Ku Klux Klan and other secret societies, and especially by the influence of the Liberal Republicans upon the Radicals, the Southern whites slowly recovered control of their governments.

The end of "reconstruction." Because it approved the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866, Tennessee, except for a few counties, was not placed under military reconstruction. The Southern whites recovered control of these areas in 1869; of Virginia and North Carolina in 1870; of Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas in 1874; and of Mississippi in 1875. During the presidential campaign of 1876 the carpetbag regime was still in power in only three states — Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. It remained in power in these states only because of the presence of federal troops. When President Hayes took office in 1877, he ordered the withdrawal of the last of the troops, and in short order Negro-carpetbag rule was over, and Southern white supremacy was re-established throughout the South. But it was a South handicapped

by a burden of debts created by carpetbag misgovernment and demoralized by a decade of racial warfare. Thus, after eleven years (1866–77) of "false" reconstruction, real efforts to rebuild the South could begin. In the process the Southern whites by various means evaded the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. For several decades Republicans and Democrats alike were content to close their eyes to Southern policies toward the Negro (pages 448–451).

CHRONOLOGY OF RECONSTRUCTION

1863 Lincoln proclaims his ten-per-cent plan and policy of leniency.
1865 Johnson carries out Lincoln's plan. Johnson "reconstruction." Thirteenth Amendment ratified.
1866 Congress refuses to accept Johnson's plan and proposes the Fourteenth Amendment.
1866–77 "Congressional," or military, reconstruction.
1867–70 Southern states "reconstructed" by Congress; Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments ratified. The worst of Negro-carpetbag misrule; the years of the Klan's greatest activity.
1870–77 The Southern whites gradually recover control; the era of "false" reconstruction completed when President Hayes orders withdrawal of troops from the South.

The Solid South. The "Crime of Reconstruction" or "The Tragic Era," as the Republican effort to establish Negro control in the South has been called, left a heritage of hate which only the passing years have been able to soften. Not the four years of the War between the States, but the twelve years of Republican "reconstruction" explain the Southern dislike for Republicans. "The Solid South," an expression used to describe the devotion of the Southern whites to the Democratic party, is the result of Republican policy between 1865 and 1876. The South elects an almost solid block of Democratic senators and representatives, and since 1876 has usually cast its electoral vote for the Democratic presidential candidate. Tennessee, which was never under military reconstruction, has voted Republican three times – in 1920, 1928, and 1952. Four states which did pass through military reconstruction also voted Republican in 1928, instead of for Democrat Alfred E. Smith, who was "wet" and a Roman Catholic. Three of these voted for Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952. In 1948 four other Southern states deserted the Democratic party to vote for States' Rights candidate Thurmond; Tennessee gave him one of its twelve electoral votes.

The victory of big business. The punishment of the South by the Radical Republicans consolidated the political power of the economic groups in the North and West which had been chafing under the influence of the Southern planter and King Cotton. The Fourteenth Amendment and the decisions of the Supreme Court cloaked with constitu-

tionality and legal sanctions the triumphant nationalism of business, banking, commerce, and industry. All persons born or naturalized in the United States were made citizens of the United States, and the states were deprived of the right to interfere with the personal and property rights of citizens of the United States. Thus extreme sectionalism, in the form of nullification and secession, was crushed; but sectional or regional divisions on economic and political problems have continued to be a feature of American life.

Words and Phrases

"black codes," carpetbagger, Fourteenth Amendment, impeachment, "Johnson" governments, military reconstruction, Solid South, ten-per-cent plan

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. Who had the right to name the conditions for the "readmission" of Southern states — the President or Congress? Reasons.
2. Enumerate the reasons for congressional opposition to "presidential reconstruction." How might the "readmission" of the Southern states weaken the influence of the Republican party?
3. What was the Freedmen's Bureau Bill? the Civil Rights Bill?
4. (a) What were the reasons for the proposal of the Fourteenth Amendment? (b) What devices were used to secure its ratification?
5. (a) Define impeachment. (b) What is the part of the Senate and of the House of Representatives in cases of impeachment? (c) Distinguish between the real and the alleged reasons for Johnson's impeachment.
6. How did the reconstruction policy of Congress delay the real reconstruction of the South?
7. What is meant by "the Solid South"?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. "If Booth had missed," do you think Lincoln would have experienced the same difficulties with Congress that Johnson did?
2. How did the Fourteenth Amendment tend to consolidate the position of economic groups that won the War between the States?
3. (a) How does the Fourteenth Amendment tend to limit the power of the states? (b) How did the Fourteenth Amendment tend to increase the power of the Supreme Court? (c) Was the South justified in its opposition to the Fourteenth Amendment? (d) Account for the fact that the clause in the Fourteenth Amendment providing for reducing a state's representation under certain conditions has not been enforced. Do you think this clause should be repealed?
4. (a) Is the "Solid South" a result of the Republican program of reconstruction or a result of Democratic policies prior to the War between the States? (b) How may the continued economic and industrial transformation of the South affect political conditions? Reasons.
5. "The organization of the Ku Klux Klan, and similar societies, was an extralegal means to accomplish a desirable end." Are such methods justifiable?

In what other periods of our history have the people resorted to extra-legal methods to accomplish their purposes?

6. What amendments to the Constitution restrict the control of the states over suffrage? What events led to the adoption of these amendments?
7. Investigate and report in some detail on the reconstruction program in one of the Southern states. Indicate the social and economic reforms attempted during the Reconstruction as well as the evils and abuses. Consult Amherst Readings, *Reconstruction in the South.*

Suggested Reading

Presidential and Congressional Reconstruction: Bassett, *Makers of a New Nation* (Pageant), Chap. II; Beard and Beard, II, 115–121; Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, pp. 4–20, 45–64, 85–96; Carman, II, 598–612; Dunning, *Reconstruction; Political and Economic* (A.N.S.), pp. 3–35, 51–90, 174–190; Fleming, *Sequel to Appomattox* (Y.C.S.), pp. 54–89; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 11–27; Hart, IV, 471–489; Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, pp. 689–760, 847–879; Schlesinger, pp. 3–22; Commager, Nos. 230, 245, 249, 265, 267, 270 – Plans for Reconstruction. For varying interpretations of the Reconstruction period, consult Amherst Readings, *Reconstruction in the South.*

Impeachment of Johnson: Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, pp. 143–197; Commager and Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America*, pp. 824–827; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 23–27; Hart, IV, 489–492; Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, pp. 312–313; Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, pp. 761–783; Commager, No. 269 – Impeachment of Johnson.

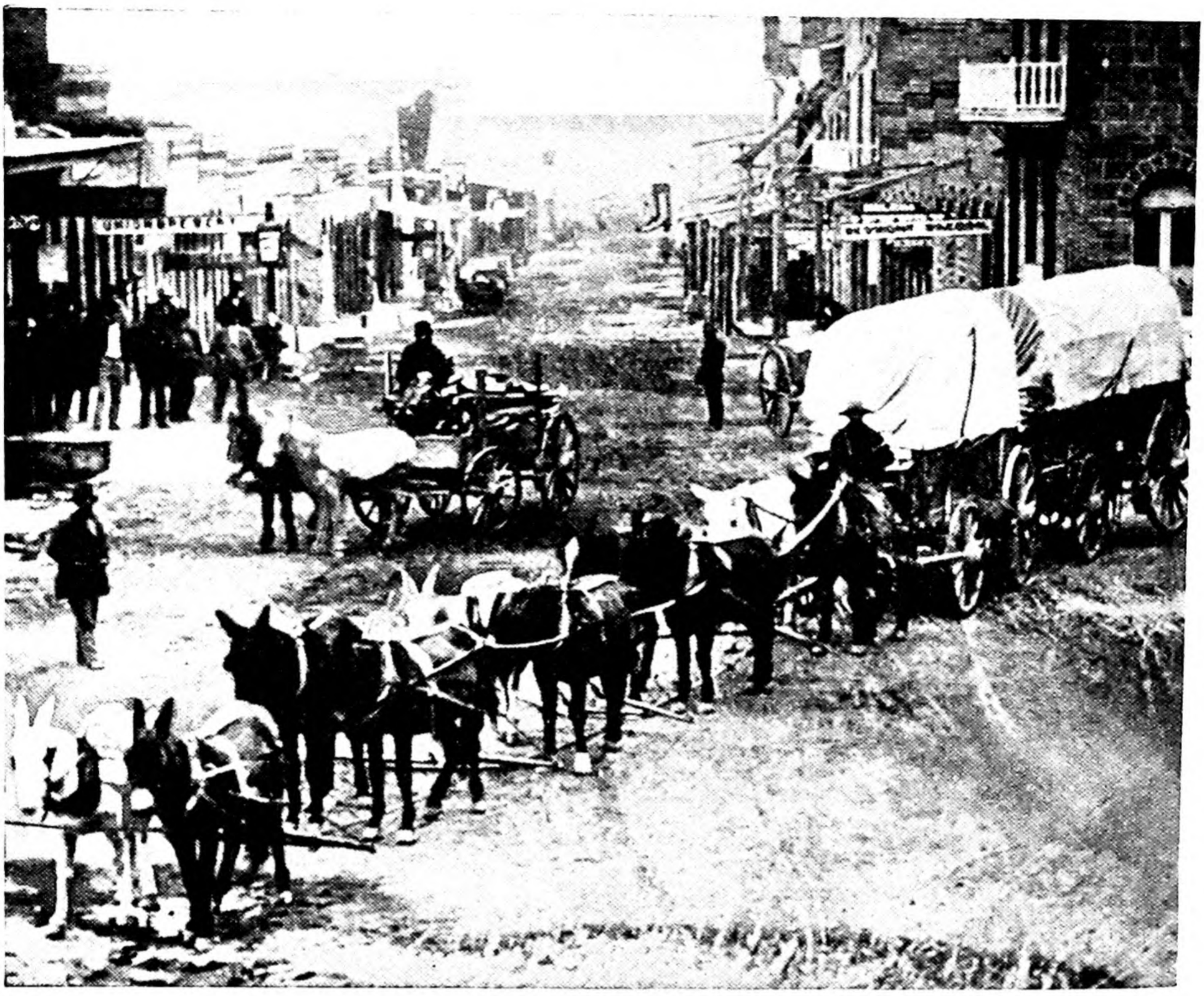
Civil War Amendments: Bassett, pp. 607–609, 635–640; Carman, II, 597–599; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 15–20, 32–37; Hart, IV, 482–485, 492–494; Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, pp. 784–813; Commager, Nos. 272, 273 – Fourteenth Amendment.

V

CHANGING AMERICA

CHAPTERS

24 *The Closing of the Frontier*
25 *The Machine and Industrial Expansion*
26 *The Modern Corporation and Big Business*
27 *The Rise of Organized Labor*
28 *Social and Intellectual Changes*



Courtesy Northern Pacific Railway Company

Last Chance Gulch (now the main street of the state capital, Helena) is shown above as it looked in 1864 at the time of the Montana gold rush. The America we know today began to take shape in the quarter century after the close of the War between the States. In this period the West was rapidly settled. Railroads spanned the continent. Cities increased in number and in size. Industry developed rapidly and "Big Business" evolved. Workingmen and farmers organized. Sectionalism and states' rights gradually yielded to the demand for federal legislation to regulate many details of our national economic life.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

The Closing of the Frontier

ECONOMIC CHANGES INFLUENCE OUR HISTORY MORE THAN THE OUTCOME OF BATTLES

A contrast. Eighty years ago the United States was predominantly an agricultural community. Most of its inhabitants lived on farms and in small villages, dependent on foreign countries for the greater part of their manufactured articles and necessary capital. It was a relatively unimportant nation as far as world affairs were concerned. Today it is a world power. Instead of being dependent upon the rest of the world for manufactured products and for capital, the United States is dependent on the rest of the world for markets as an outlet for its surplus of manufactures, foodstuffs, and capital.

Factors in the economic revolution. A peculiar thing about the development of the United States is the speed with which the transformation took place. There are, of course, many factors which explain this quick transformation, but these four are probably the most important: (1) the rapid development of means of transportation, enabling men and goods to be moved everywhere throughout a broad continent; (2) the application of machinery to farming, which made it possible to utilize the fertility of the Great West; (3) the rapid increase in population, assisted by a liberal immigration policy and the willingness of foreigners to try their fortunes in this rich land of opportunity; and (4) the stability of the government, which made foreigners willing to lend the necessary capital for the development of our resources.

The very heart of our present economic order is the system of communications and transit. This includes highways, canals, waterways, railways, telephone, telegraph, cable, radio, pipe lines, air lines, and the postal system. The transportation and communication system binds and knits the whole country into an economic unit for the production and distribution of goods.

A NETWORK OF STEEL BINDS THE COUNTRY

The transcontinental railroad — the wonder of the age. A little more than a hundred years ago the steam locomotive began to play its part in bringing about great economic changes. The beginning was slow, but between 1830 and the opening of the War between the States

in 1861, more than 30,000 miles of railroad had been built. When, in 1869, the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads joined near Ogden, Utah, the continent was for the first time crossed by rail from Atlantic to Pacific. The achievement seemed gigantic, and the builders national heroes. In Philadelphia the old Liberty Bell in Independence Hall was once more rung in celebration.

By 1884 three other trunk lines — the Southern Pacific, the Northern Pacific, and the Sante Fe — joined the Pacific coast with the East and opened wide belts of fertile land for settlement. In five years, from 1868 to 1873, 28,000 miles of railroad were built, nearly as much as the total mileage that had been laid in the thirty years from 1830 to 1860. (Review page 350.)

Federal aid to railroad building. The construction of a railroad was a long and costly process. Much money had to be invested and spent before the railroad could begin operating and paying dividends. To encourage investors and to speed up construction, the governments of the nation, states, and cities were generous in the matter of subsidies, loans, special concessions, and land grants. To help the Union Pacific the federal government offered from $16,000 to $48,000 for each mile built and gave, in addition, alternate sections of land along the route over a belt twenty miles wide. The federal government gave to railroad companies about 131,350,000 acres of land. Many of the states also made generous land grants.

The panic of 1873, partly caused by the railroad boom, checked construction for a time, but by 1880 the country had 92,000 miles of railroad. The decade from 1880 to 1890 saw this fabulous total nearly doubled. In 1910 the railroad mileage of the country had reached 237,000 miles, which is more than the present mileage. No other country has so large a ratio of mileage to population as the United States.

Constant improvements in railroad service. The construction of new railway lines was only a part of the change that took place in transportation. In 1866 there were twelve different gauges of track. Within a few years tracks were relaid to bring all to the standard gauge (4 feet, 8½ inches) adopted by Congress for the Pacific Railroad. About the same time hard steel rails replaced soft iron ones, and heavier cars the first rude ones. Iron bridges replaced ferries. Through freight and passenger arrangements were introduced. In the passenger cars gas lamps and steam heat replaced oil lamps and wood-burning stoves.

In 1872 the Westinghouse air brake came into use. Automatic car coupling was developed about the same time. Curves were straightened and steep grades over mountains were cut down. Legislatures compelled the adoption of many safety devices. Sleeping cars and dining cars became common on all main lines. In 1883 the adoption of the system of standard-time zones (Eastern, Central, Mountain, and Pacific) made easier the long-distance operation of trains. In spite of the

cost of some of these improvements and the greed of some of the promoters, railroad rates were cut in two between 1850 and 1880.

THE GREAT PLAINS ARE OCCUPIED AND SETTLED, 1865–1900

Favorable conditions for Western settlement. In 1865 the Great Plains west of the Mississippi were without railroads. But after the war, railroads influenced settlement in this region as in earlier times rivers had influenced settlement in the East. The places selected by the railways for stations became the centers from which the settlements spread. The division points of the railroads and other places which promised to become business centers took on the activity of "boom towns."

All conditions were favorable for the rapid occupation of the region. No other part of the United States had ever had so complete a system of transportation at hand. The railway companies fostered the movement by special freight and passenger rates to settlers and tourists. Fuel, machinery, and materials for building were easily transported by rail. Moneylenders from the East lent the settler capital in return for a mortgage on his farm.

Furthermore, there was a large number of people ready to move westward. There were about two million veterans of the War between the States whose old community ties had been broken. Many of them were attracted by the opportunities which the free homesteads and the boom town offered to them. The railroads, eager to obtain settlers to buy their land and to increase their volume of business, advertised extensively. Steamship companies, too, by elaborate advertising campaigns throughout western Europe, lured new settlers to the West. Immigrants from Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and the British Isles came in increasing numbers. So influential was the advertising of the railroad companies, the steamship lines, and the new states which wanted to increase in population, that one authority has suggested that the "desire to get cheap labor, to take in passenger fares, and to sell land have probably brought more immigrants than the hard conditions of Europe, Asia, and Africa have sent."

The prewar frontier. When the War between the States began, the frontier extended almost in a straight line through eastern Nebraska and Kansas. It also included the eastern part of Texas. The Far West, California, and Oregon had passed beyond the frontier stage, and so, too, had the Mormon settlements in Utah. In order for the frontier to be closed it was necessary that the mountain states and the Great Plains be settled. The movement to occupy this unsettled area proceeded eastward from the Pacific and westward from the Mississippi. In the process we can discern what has been called the miners' frontier, the ranchers' frontier, and the farmers' frontier.

Mining camps replaced by settled communities. Miners were the first settlers in the mountain states. Where gold or silver was found the place quickly filled up. In placer mining the surface soil was soon washed free of its deposits of precious metals, and the miners moved on, lured by stories of other prospects. In 1858 gold and silver were discovered near Mount Davidson in Nevada, and a year later the famous Comstock Lode was discovered on the Utah-Nevada border. At about the same time gold was discovered near Pikes Peak in Colorado. "Pikes Peak or Bust" and "Busted by Gosh!" are phrases which the hunt for the precious metals made common.

Camp life clustered about the saloon, the gambling house, and the dance hall. Drunkenness, debauchery, and murder threatened to destroy the very life of the community. As time passed, vigilance committees composed of the better elements of the population drove out the worst, and brought law and order to these communities. One by one large sections of the region were formed into territories, and stable civil governments were established (Utah, 1850; Montana, 1864; Wyoming, 1868). During the seventies and eighties mining corporations were organized. With the coming of the railroads these corporations shipped into the mining regions machinery which revolutionized the process of mining. The new mining methods were used in obtaining copper, lead, coal, and other minerals, as well as gold and silver.

The change to agriculture. In the miners' frontier some towns boomed for a while, and then were deserted when the mines gave out. Virginia City, Nevada, was one of many such flourishing towns that ceased to be. Some of the miners moved on whither rumors of discoveries lured them; other returned home. Others went into cattle raising or farming. As the better lands of the Prairie West came to be occupied by small farmers in the 1880's, an overflow migration moved into the mountain valleys beyond. Here railroads and farm machinery, together with irrigation, worked a revolution in the half-deserted mining districts. Almost everywhere through the Far West economic interests shifted to agriculture. The value of the farm products soon exceeded that of the mines. Moreover, the population grew faster than it had under the excitement of the discovery of precious metals.

The level plains, clear of timber and other obstacles to cultivation, were brought under tillage without the tedious labor needed in other portions of the United States. Machinery driven by the power of horses and steam increased the speed with which the soil was conquered.

The Indian problem again. The westward movement across the Great Plains and into the mountain states once again involved the United States in difficulties with the Indians. The homesteader wanted to destroy herds of buffaloes that ranged the plains, because they interfered with the settlement and cultivation of the plains. The buffaloes were one of the Indian's chief sources of food. They also supplied the

Indian with material for tent coverings, bow strings, and clothing. But the white man quickly and ruthlessly got rid of the buffaloes. Millions were killed each year. William F. Cody, in the employ of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, obtained his nickname of "Buffalo Bill" for the reputed killing of more than 4000 buffaloes in one year and a half. By 1885 most of the great buffalo herds had been destroyed.

The Indian tribes rebelled against this destruction of their source of food and the encroachment of the white man upon their lands. When the Indian tribes had been forced westward, the United States adopted a policy of placing them on reservations and of making quarterly payments to the tribes for the lands they yielded east of the Mississippi. The tribal lands of the Indians, among the most valuable in the West, remained untilled. For a time federal troops guarded the lands of the Indians from white occupants. But the pressure of the white man upon the lands of the buffalo and the Indian was unceasing. Various Indian tribes, under the leadership of Red Cloud, Sitting Bull, Chief Joseph and others, made their last stand against the white invasion. One of the best-known incidents of these Indian wars was the annihilation of nearly three hundred cavalrymen under General George A. Custer by the Sioux Indians at Little Big Horn River, Montana, in June, 1876. More than one hundred pages were required to print a list of the engagements of the troops with the Indians between 1868 and 1882. During the same period Indian warfare cost the United States government $22,000,000.

A "century of dishonor." President Hayes severely criticized American policy toward the Indians in these words: "When the Indians had settled upon land assigned to them by compact and begun to support themselves by their own labor, they were rudely jostled off and thrust into the wilderness again. Many, if not most, of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice on our part." Helen Hunt Jackson, in her novel *Ramona,* and in her history *A Century of Dishonor,* did much to arouse sympathy for the red man.

Making amends. Upon the urging of President Cleveland, Congress in 1887 passed the Dawes Act, which gave farms to Indians who abandoned the tribal life. This law, which also provided that the Indian could not mortgage nor sell his farm for twenty-five years, was an attempt to destroy the tribal organization of the Indians and to make it possible for the government to treat them as individuals. More than half of the Indians availed themselves of this offer and became naturalized citizens. In 1906 the Burke Act abolished the twenty-five year probationary period established by the Dawes Act, and empowered the Secretary of the Interior to extend full property rights to Indians who were competent to manage their own affairs. In 1924 Congress conferred full citizenship upon all the Indians, even those who still maintained their tribal organization on reservations. Again, in 1934, a com-

prehensive law (the Wheeler-Howard Act) permitted whole tribes to purchase land and to engage in business. This law, however, imposed restrictions upon the resale of lands acquired by tribal organizations. These legal restrictions on the transfer of land owned by Indians have prevented speculators from appropriating their property. The government maintains schools for the Indians, and in some states Indian children are educated along with white children. Today the total Indian population is about 330,000, scattered throughout twenty-two states.

A few Indian tribes own rich oil lands. For example, the property of the Osage Indians in Oklahoma is valued at $740,000,000. Other tribes possess valuable timber and mineral lands, or important water and power resources. The value of the property owned by the Indians has been estimated at about $2,000,000,000. But most of the Indians are miserably poor, and one of the difficult tasks of the government is to help them make a better living.

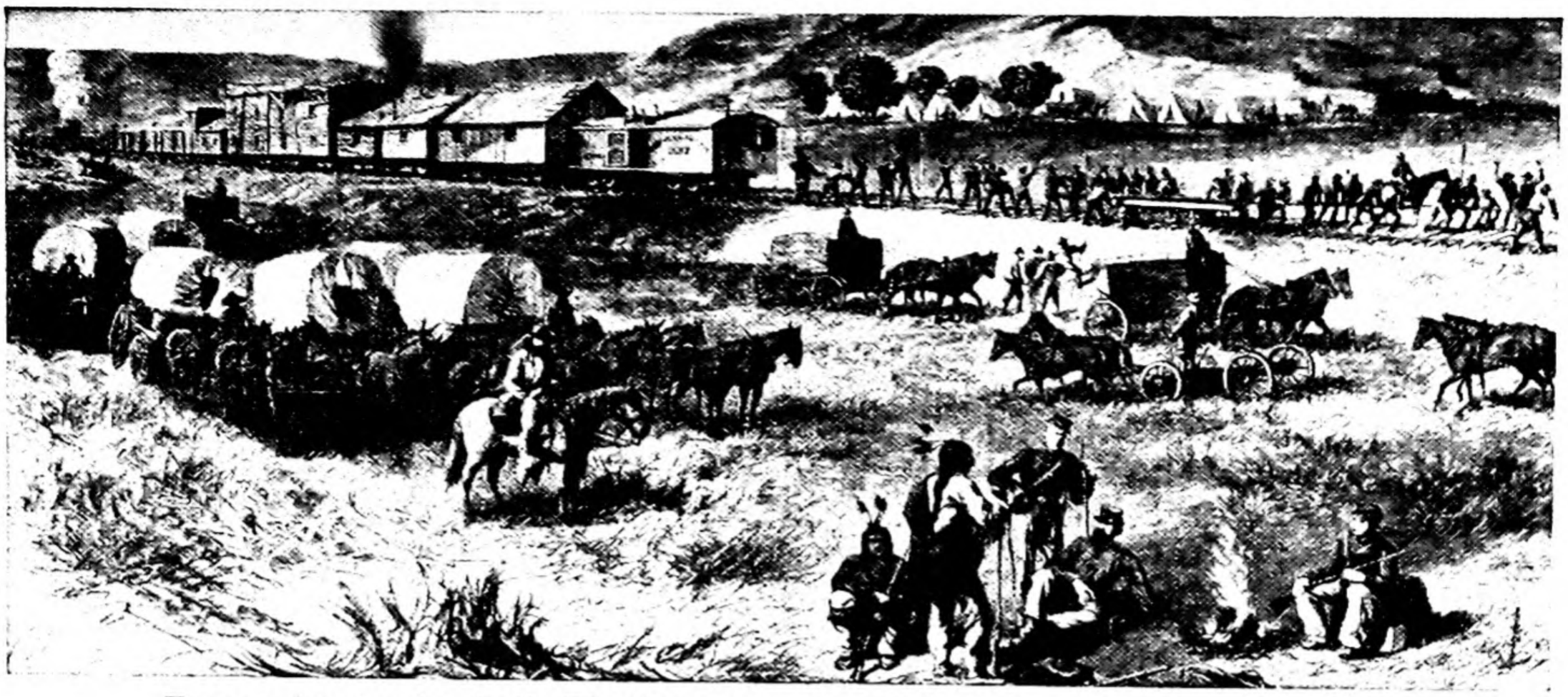
CATTLE KINGS AND HOMESTEADERS STRUGGLE FOR POSSESSION OF THE WEST

The "Long Drive." The great unfarmed prairieland of the Great Plains offered an enormous expanse of pasture land free to the cattle king. Cattlemen bought herds of young cattle in Texas and Mexico when they were cheap, and then drove them north to fatten on the public land. Endless droves of cattle followed the "Long Drive" across the Red River on the Texas border, northwest to Kansas and Nebraska, and sometimes on across the Platte River into Wyoming, Montana, and the Dakotas. Arriving in the North, the cattle were branded and turned loose to graze. A few months later cowboys drove them eastward to the nearest railroad towns. In 1871 more than 600,000 cattle were shipped from Abilene, Kansas, then the western end of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, to Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, and Chicago.

For two or three decades the cowboy reigned in the land of the blue sky and the prairie grass. Then the oncoming horde of small farmers, who followed the railroads, invaded his land and pushed him aside. Theodore Roosevelt's autobiography and Owen Wister's novels have left us fascinating stories of the ranchers' frontier.

There were frequent quarrels between the ranchers and the homesteaders. In the end the invention of barbed wire helped the homesteader to triumph, for by fencing in his land he deprived the herds of free pastures. The wise cattleman obtained ownership of huge tracts of land on which his cattle could graze. It was about the middle of the 1880's that the profitable days of the "Long Drive" came to an end.

The cattle business of the United States is still large, but it is no longer the adventurous enterprise it was when the owners of the herds could make huge profits by letting their cattle fatten on more than



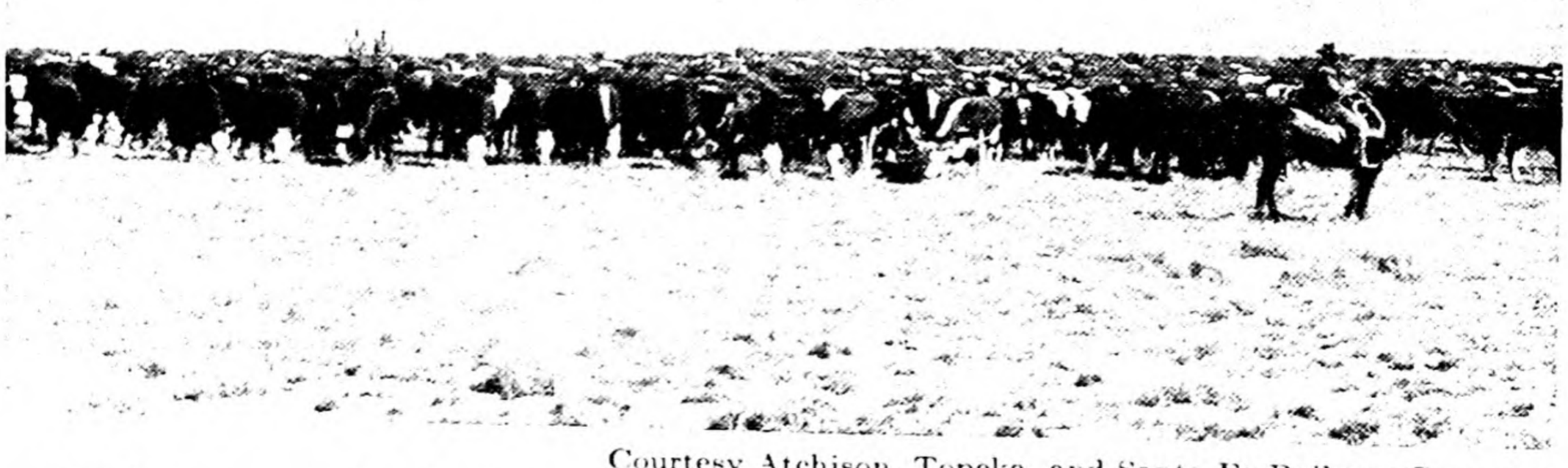
From a drawing by A. R. Waud for *Harper's Weekly*. Courtesy New York Public Library

As the track of the first continental railroad was laid across the lonely stretches of the West, a whole city — men, tents, tools — was moved along with it.



Dash for Timber, by Frederic Remington. Courtesy St. Louis Art Museum

In the quarter century following the end of the War between the States federal troops and Indians fought many engagements in the struggle for control of the West.



Courtesy Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Company

Cattle graze on the short grass of the Great Plains in Colorado. Because this land becomes very dry when plowed, it is better for cattle raising than for farming.

eight million acres of prairieland. Today cattle raising is a much different business. The bulk of the farmers' corn and alfalfa is used as fodder crops to sustain the cattle herds which are on less fertile lands.

Obstacles to be overcome by the farmer on the plains. In addition to the struggle with the Indian and the cowboy, the settler on the Great Plains had to engage in a conflict with nature. As the plains ascended toward the Rocky Mountains, the annual rainfall decreased; about halfway across, rain became very scant. In the dry region of the high plains the settler obtained needed water for himself and his cattle by wells and windmills. At best the settlers seldom raised enough the first year to supply their needs. If the second year chanced to bring a drought, the newcomers suffered terrible hardships. In 1874 a drought, combined with a plague of grasshoppers, worked havoc among the new settlements on the plains. Only supplies dispatched by the older communities and by the railroad companies saved the inhabitants of the seventeen frontier counties of Kansas from the fate of the first settlers at Jamestown. For a year or two the frontier actually receded, as the discouraged pioneers abandoned their claims. Those who adapted themselves to dry farming overcame what was thought to be an unconquerable barrier to the colonization of the high plains.

The scant supply of water and the ever-present fear of drought have remained a problem. Overgrazing, overcultivation, and deep plowing have converted the fertile top soil into fine dust. When high winds come, the top soil is blown away in dust storms. The federal government has undertaken gigantic irrigation projects and is constantly experimenting with drought-resisting crops (pages 568–570). In the Mississippi and Ohio valleys floods have been as ruinous to the farmers as droughts and dust storms farther west. In the twentieth century the government, to help American agriculture, has carried forward a program of conservation along many fronts (pages 612–615).

Growth of population in the plains and mountain regions. The admission of Kansas into the Union in 1861, Nebraska in 1867, Colorado in 1876, North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington in 1889, and Idaho and Wyoming in 1890 records the progress of the development of the West. Each decade after the War between the States the population of the plains and mountain regions doubled. Texas alone increased by a half million every ten years. Twice as many people migrated to the region west of Kansas City between 1870 and 1890 as had settled in the thirteen colonies in two centuries before the Revolution. By 1880 this migration had amounted to nine millions. While the founding of Jamestown and Plymouth is an oft-told story, the founding of such towns as Bismarck, Topeka, and Cheyenne a little more than seventy years ago is a story just as dramatic and important. The same human impulses — the lure of new opportunities and freedom — drew men to the last American frontier.

Effect of farm machinery. While the frontier was vanishing, such profound changes took place in farm methods that the word "revolution" is used to describe them. There were many sides to the agricultural revolution, but its most important characteristic was the increasing use of farm machinery.

One hundred years ago the ground was prepared for sowing by a horse-drawn cast-iron plow; grain was sown by hand; it was still reaped by the sickle, the scythe, or the cradle; it was threshed either by flail or by the tramping of horses. Today these operations are performed by machines, with the result that large areas can be cultivated with fewer laborers. Farm production has been multiplied severalfold, and the prices of farm products have been reduced.

The cast-iron plow gave way to the steel plow in the 1840's, and shortly after the War between the States the gang plow was in use. By the end of the century a machine had been perfected which plowed, seeded, and covered the seed in one operation. One of the most epoch-making farm machines was the reaper developed by Cyrus McCormick. It was patented in 1834. Fourteen years later McCormick built a factory in Chicago, near the wheat fields, and started to manufacture his reaper on a large scale. As is the case with most inventions, the McCormick reaper was steadily improved. During the War between the States the Marsh harvester came into use, and a few years later a harvester-thresher, known as the combine, was perfected. The combine cuts a twenty-four-foot swath of grain, harvests, threshes, and delivers the grain to the wagons in a continuous operation. With the McCormick reaper of the 1840's a farmer could reap and thresh about five or six acres a day; with the combine a few men could reap and thresh about eighty acres a day.

In other branches of farming, machinery was introduced. Before the War between the States the mowing machine and horse-drawn rake had been developed. After the war dozens of farm machines gradually came into use — corn planters, cotton planters, seeders, cream separators, hay presses. Improvement has been constant.

The farm machinery in the nineteenth century was horse-drawn. The farm machinery in the twentieth century is driven by gasoline or electricity. As tractor and truck came to the aid of the farmers, various other developments, such as hard-surfaced roads, the telephone, electricity, and mechanical refrigeration, tended to lighten the farmers' burden.

Science as an aid to agriculture. The agricultural revolution has also been aided by the development of agricultural science. Scientists have discovered better ways to keep up the fertility of the soil, to combat insect pests, and to irrigate and drain the land. Unsung heroes of agricultural research have discovered better fertilizers, drought- and rust-resisting plants, plants immune to disease, soil-binding grasses,

methods of reducing the destructive work of molds and insects, better seeds, better breeds of cattle and poultry, and innumerable ways of helping man to secure better foodstuffs and provisions at a lower cost.

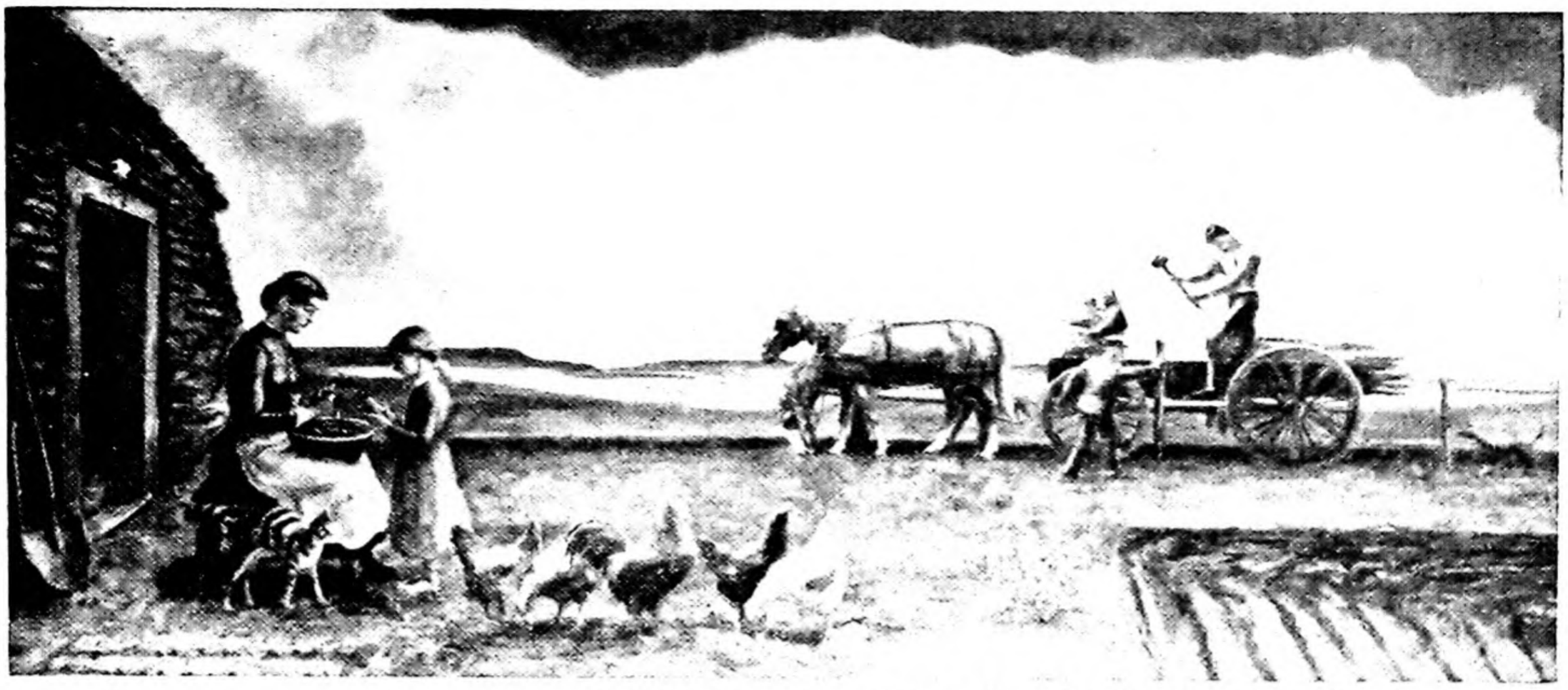
Assisting and co-ordinating the work of scientists is the Department of Agriculture, established in 1889; it took over the functions of the former Bureau of Agriculture, which had been set up in 1862. The Department of Agriculture conducts agricultural experiment stations and keeps farmers informed of new developments. A brief list of the leading subdivisions will give some idea of its activities: Bureau of Plant Industry, Bureau of Animal Industry, Bureau of Soils, Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry, and Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics. To carry out its work the Department of Agriculture employs several thousand highly trained public servants.

Changes in the processing of farm products. At the same time that improvements were made in the growing of crops, important changes occurred in the preparation of the farmers' products for consumption. Before the War between the States the cattle were driven to a local slaughterhouse and prepared for the consumption of the people who lived within a few miles. In only a few centers, like Cincinnati, had progress been made in salting, smoking, and packing meat for a wider market. After the war, under the direction of men like Philip D. Armour, Nelson Morris, and Gustavus Swift, cattle were shipped hundreds of miles to Chicago, Omaha, or Kansas City and prepared for market in huge packing houses. About 1875, largely through the enterprise of Swift, meat-packing establishments equipped themselves with especially built refrigerator cars and began shipping their products to all parts of the United States.

In other fields similar changes occurred, particularly in flour making. The small local gristmills scattered over the farm regions were driven out of business by the improved machinery of the milling companies of Minneapolis and a few other centers in the West. In effecting this change Cadwallader C. Washburn and Charles A. Pillsbury were among the pioneers.

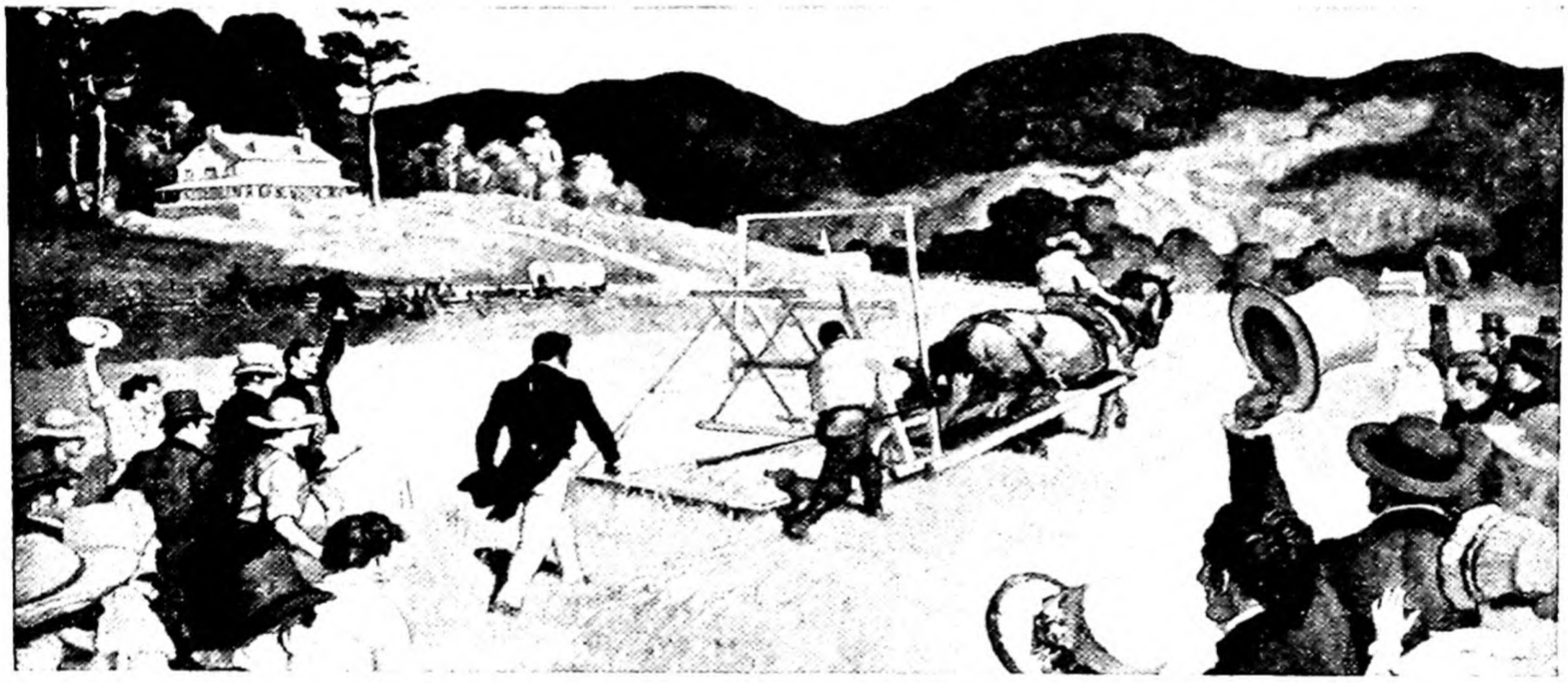
The development of the canning industry not only furnished convenient methods of marketing and transporting the products of the farm over wide areas, but also introduced a method by which the farm supplies could be prevented from spoiling. Incidentally, it affected the habits and occupations of increasing millions of city dwellers. The delicatessen store and the can opener are symbols of profound changes in our way of living.

The problem of a farm surplus. The result of these various changes in the farming business was, of course, greater production per acre and per worker. Increasing farm production and improved methods of storage, marketing, and transportation created the need for new markets. As the United States could not use all of its agricultural products,



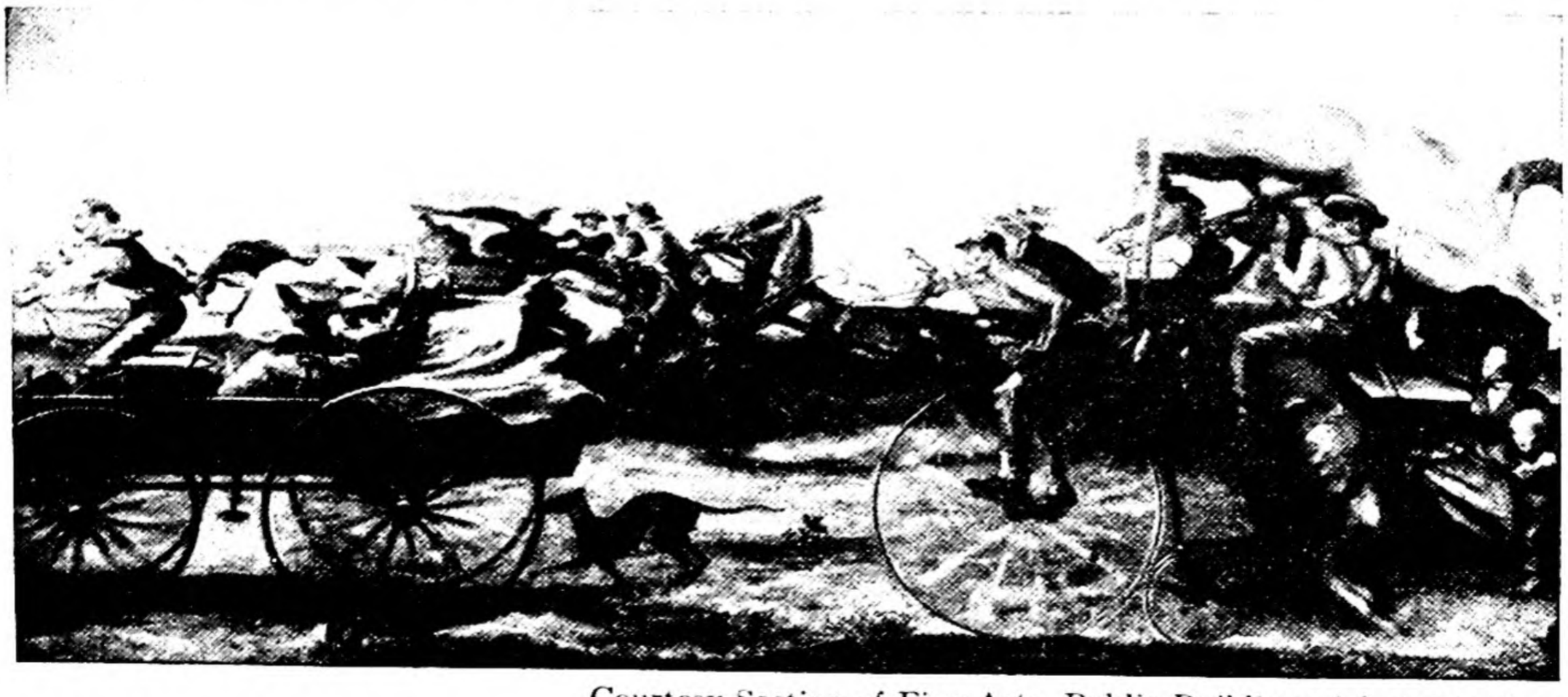
Courtesy Section of Fine Arts, Public Buildings Administration

Sod-House Frontier of the Western Plains, a mural by John Steuart Curry, portrays a typical scene from the life of a pioneer family in the Great Plains section.



Courtesy International Harvester Company

The public test of Cyrus Hall McCormick's new "grain cutter," as the reaper was called, was held at Steele's Tavern, Virginia, on July 25, 1831.



Courtesy Section of Fine Arts, Public Buildings Administration

Oklahoma Land Rush, by John Steuart Curry, catches the excitement of that historic noon on April 22, 1889, when Oklahoma was opened to homesteaders.

it became dependent upon the ability of other nations to buy its surplus. As farm surpluses continued, they depressed prices. Rural unrest became a characteristic of modern America. The farmer begged the government for help against low prices, high railroad rates, high interest rates, and speculation in the commodity exchanges (pages 493–504).

THE FRONTIER COMES TO AN END

The end of cheap land. In 1889 President Harrison, acting under the authority of a law of Congress, lifted the ban on the settlement of Oklahoma lands within the limits of the Indian territory. On the day the territory was opened to homesteaders, April 22, 1889, a horde of land-hungry people assembled on the Kansas border. At noon, upon the blast of a bugle, on horseback and on foot, in every conceivable kind of vehicle, they rushed for the choice sites. At nightfall of the first day fifty thousand persons had begun the settlement of Oklahoma. In 1890 Oklahoma Territory was organized and started on its way to statehood. (The opening and development of Oklahoma is the setting of a splendid novel by Edna Ferber, *Cimarron.*) A few months later a portion of the Sioux Reservation was opened for settlement. Though the season was midwinter, the troops preserved order among the impatient homeseekers and land speculators with difficulty. In this dramatic fashion the era of cheap lands came to an end. Utah was admitted as a state in 1896, Oklahoma in 1907, and Arizona and New Mexico, the last of the forty-eight states, in 1912.

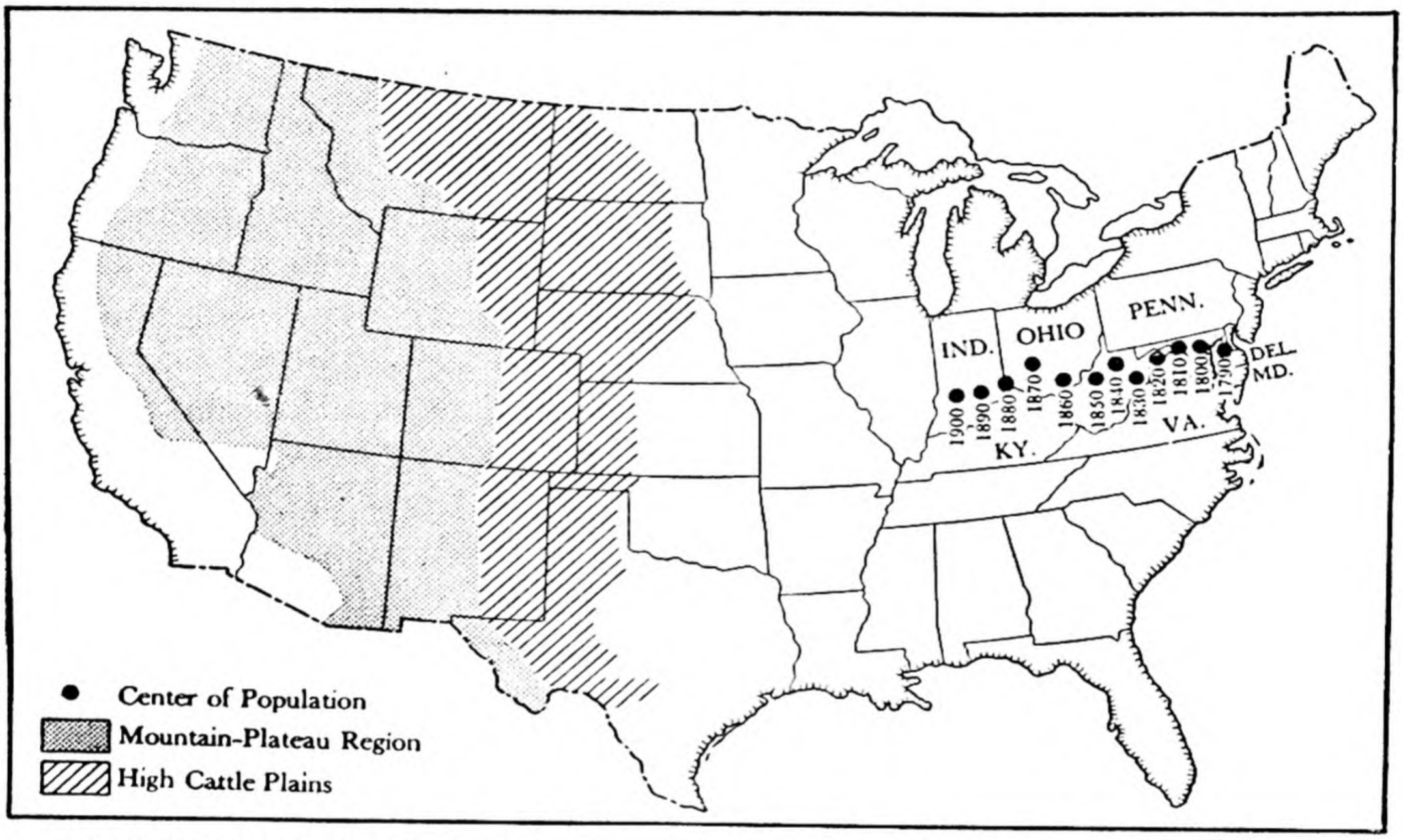
The beneficiaries of the Homestead law. If the settlement of this last frontier was a drama filled with deeds of romantic adventure, it had its unfortunate side as well. Greedy speculators were at hand; loan "sharks," cattle kings, railroads, mining companies, meat packers, and land grabbers were at times unscrupulous in the methods they used to acquire title to valuable soil and mine and timber resources. There were illegal entries on public land and fraudulent claims to title; there was tampering with officials, legislatures, and courts. In this way speculators and others defeated to a large extent the purpose of the Homestead law to give ownership of land in small tracts to settlers. Farm speculation and rural discontent accompanied, as in earlier times, the settlement of the last of our public domain.

The end of an epoch. According to the Census Bureau the frontier was a region of more than two and less than six inhabitants per square mile. In reporting the 1890 census, the Census Bureau announced that there was no longer a line separating the frontier from the more thickly settled areas. It was with a quotation from this report that Professor Frederick J. Turner began his epoch-making address to the American Historical Association (July, 1893): "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area

has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line."

CHANGED CONDITIONS ARISING FROM THE END OF THE FRONTIER

Throughout most of our history our ideals and institutions have been influenced by the existence of a frontier. The closing of the frontier meant that the American people had to adapt these ideals and institutions to a changed economic environment. Some of the new conditions may be briefly listed: 1. The closing of the frontier coincides with



WESTWARD ADVANCE OF THE CENTER OF POPULATION, 1790–1900

the movement to conserve our natural resources and to restrict immigration. 2. The closing of the frontier also coincides with a period of expansion overseas. Searching for new frontiers, American capital overflowed into the Caribbean, South America, and Europe. 3. The closing of the frontier coincides with the rapid development of large urban areas. A large proportion of our people were crowded into cities, chained by the machine to factories, steel mills, and offices. 4. The closing of the frontier meant that workers could no longer escape their difficulties in the cities by going west and starting a homestead. This led to a sharpening of the conflict between capital and labor, to the problems of unemployment and insecurity, and to a demand for social welfare legislation.

Professor Turner and his critics. These are some of the ways in which the frontier and its closing have affected American life. Recently it has been argued that Professor Turner and his successors in

their interpretation of the influence of the frontier on American life have overemphasized that factor to the neglect of the machine, the Industrial Revolution, and modern capitalism. It is claimed that the westward-moving frontier itself was the result of the industrial development of western Europe and the Northeast. Industrialism and capitalism, as well as the agricultural frontier, it is alleged, have played their part in the shaping of our intellectual, economic, social, and political world. It is also claimed that in placing emphasis on the frontier, there is a tendency to overstress individualism as America's unique virtue, and to neglect the great co-operative efforts of families, communities, churches, schools, and the government in the development and strengthening of American culture and character.

Whichever of these interpretations of American life is nearer the truth, the fact remains that with the coming of the twentieth century the "forces of reorganization were turbulent and the nation seemed like a 'witches' kettle.'" Adjustment to new problems and new issues, both domestic and foreign, was necessary. Before we begin our study of that adjustment, it will be convenient to examine the other side of the shield and see how modern industrialism and capitalism played their part in the transformation of America. By the turn of the century another revolution as significant as that in agriculture had progressed to such an extent that the leading items in our export trade came to be manufactured articles and products. America had become industrialized. The interesting suggestion has been made that the economic life of the country has passed through three phases: (1) a frontier, with very few factories until about 1815; (2) frontier and factory, 1815–90; (3) factory, but no frontier (although a continuing increase in the output of farm and mine), 1890 to the present.

Words and Phrases

agricultural revolution, cattle kings, "century of dishonor," Dawes Act, Great Plains, homesteader, Long Drive, miners' frontier, placer mining, railroad land grants, ranchers' frontier, round-up

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What basic conditions explain the rapid economic transformation in the United States from 1865 to 1890?
2. How did the federal government assist in the construction of railroads?
3. How did the development of mining contribute to the disappearance of the frontier?
4. How has the United States endeavored to atone to the Indians for the "century of dishonor"?
5. Why was there a conflict between cattle king and homesteader? What was the outcome of the struggle?
6. How did persons other than homesteaders reap the benefits of the Homestead law?

7. What are the most significant changes in agricultural methods in the period from 1865 to the present?
8. What new problems developed, or what old ones grew worse, as a result of the disappearance of the frontier?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Critically evaluate the theory of Professor Turner concerning the importance of the frontier in American history. Has the influence of the frontier and its disappearance been overemphasized?
2. Should the federal government have so generously assisted the railroads and still allow them to remain privately owned? Make a brief record of your opinions now and return to them after studying later chapters.
3. Consult a yearbook of the Department of Agriculture and prepare a brief summary of its activities.
4. Develop a brief to support Professor Turner's statement that the "forces of reorganization are turbulent." Critically evaluate the evidence in favor of this contention. Are the forces of reorganization any more turbulent in the twentieth century than they were in the period 1780–1800, 1825–1840, or 1865–1875? Reasons.

Suggested Reading

DEVELOPMENT OF RAILROADS: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 136–140; Faulkner, pp. 587–596; Hart, IV, pp. 513–521; Keir, *March of Commerce* (Pageant), Chaps. VI, VII; Moody, *The Railroad Builders* (Y.C.S.), pp. 1–20; Paxson, *Recent History of the United States*, pp. 56–66; Sparks, *National Development* (A.N.S.), pp. 53–67; Commager, No. 215, Pacific Railroad Act.

RAILROAD EXPANSION: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 198–203; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 377–386, 398–400; Faulkner, pp. 486–495; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 124–137; Keir, *March of Commerce* (Pageant), Chaps. VIII, IX, XVI; Moody, *The Railroad Builders* (Y.C.S.); Ripley, *Railroads, Rates and Regulation*, Chap. I; Tarbell, *Nationalizing of Business* (A.L.S.), pp. 35–49.

INDIAN PROBLEMS: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 146–148; Clark, D. E., *The West in American History*, pp. 525–565; Gabriel, *Lure of the Frontier* (Pageant), Chap. XI; Hough, *Passing of the Frontier* (Y.C.S.), pp. 112–136; Schlesinger, pp. 31–35, 123–125, 384–385; Sparks, *National Development* (A.N.S.), pp. 265–281.

THE PRAIRIE WEST: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 144–146; Faulkner, pp. 428–438; Gabriel, *Toilers of Land and Sea* (Pageant), Chap. VIII; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 109–115; Hough, *Passing of the Frontier* (Y.C.S.), pp. 11–56, 137–150; Schlesinger, pp. 30–40; Schlesinger, *Rise of the City* (A.L.S.), pp. 23–52; Sparks, *National Development* (A.N.S.), pp. 251–264; Commager, No. 214 — Homestead Act.

CLOSING OF THE FRONTIER: Clark, *The West in American History*, pp. 608–625; Faulkner, pp. 360–374; Gabriel, *Lure of the Frontier* (Pageant), Chaps. XII, XIII; Paxson, *History of the American Frontier*, pp. 544–553, 564–573; Turner, *The Frontier in American History;* Amherst Readings, *The Turner Thesis concerning the Frontier in American History.*

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

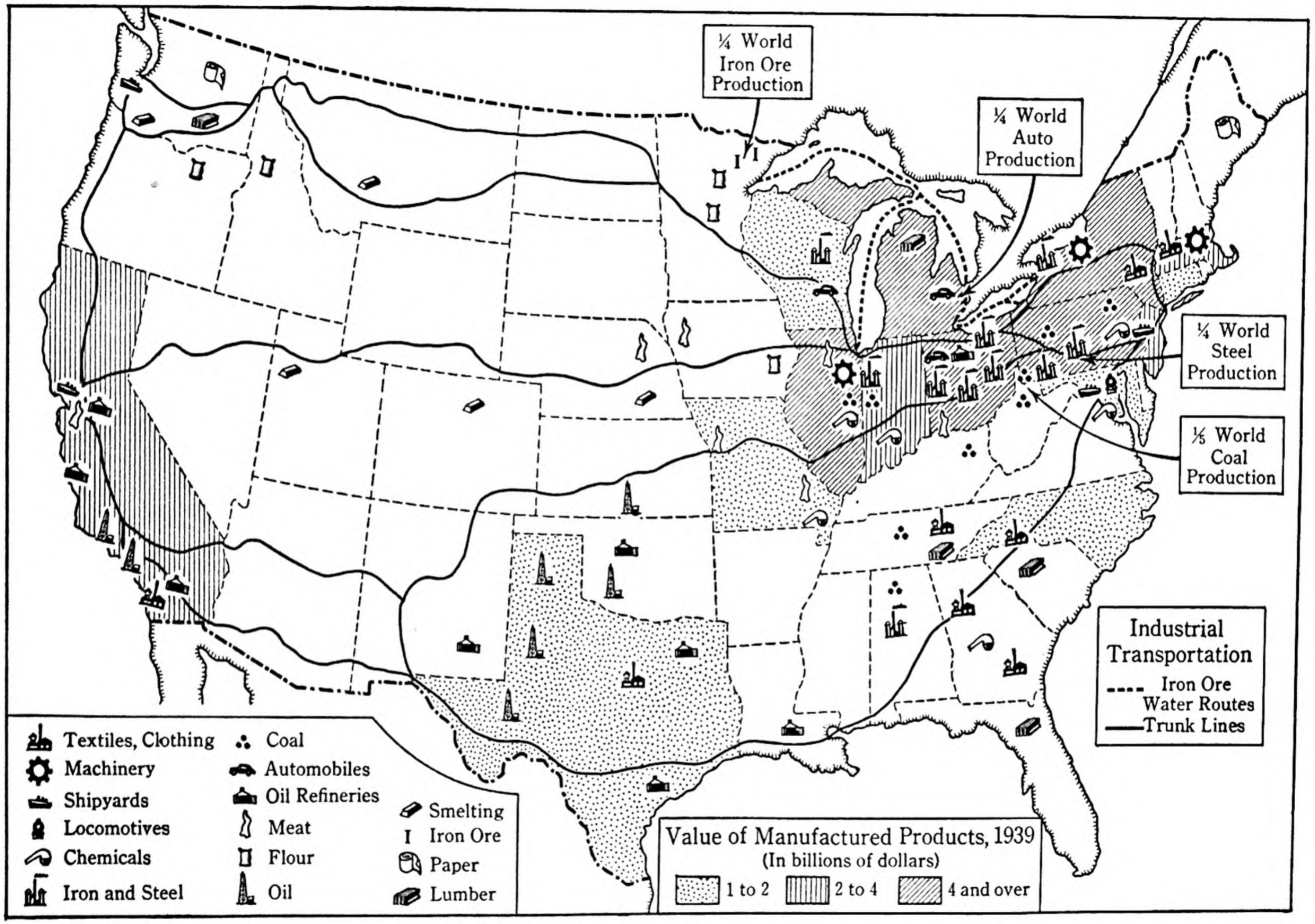
The Machine and Industrial Expansion

THE UNITED STATES BEGINS LARGE-SCALE MANUFACTURING IN THE LATTER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Early progress in manufacturing. For nearly a century the United States found its greatest wealth in the river and the ocean, the forest, the farm, and the mine. Although manufacturing made rapid strides, for nearly a century the United States was engaged primarily in the production of raw materials. The factory had its feeble beginnings before the close of the eighteenth century. During the War of 1812 and after, manufacturing secured help from the federal government in the form of protective tariffs. But the existence of an expanding market, the presence of raw materials, and the practical inventive genius of the people were probably more powerful stimulants to the growth of American manufactures than the tariff.

The War between the States (pages 348–351) furnished a great stimulus, and American industry leaped forward. Within twenty years, from 1860 to 1880, the value of domestic manufactures more than doubled. Following 1880 the rate of advance was even greater; the progress has continued until today the United States leads the nations of the world in the variety and value of its manufacturing output.

Factors in the development of American manufacturing. Once the Industrial Revolution gained headway in the United States, it made rapid advances. No interstate tariff barriers hampered access to a large and growing market. A fairly adequate banking and credit system facilitated trade. The high tariffs set during the War between the States, which were continued in effect, kept out foreign competition. Nowhere else in the world was there such a market open to the producer. The population was increasing at the rate of one and a quarter million each year. The raw materials necessary for a remarkable manufacturing development — cheap land, minerals of every kind, and fuel — seemed inexhaustible. Every year saw new discoveries of sources of oil, gas, coal, iron ore, lead, copper. Immigrants and an increasing native population supplied cheap labor. America lacked capital, but European investors lent money at moderate rates of interest.



INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES

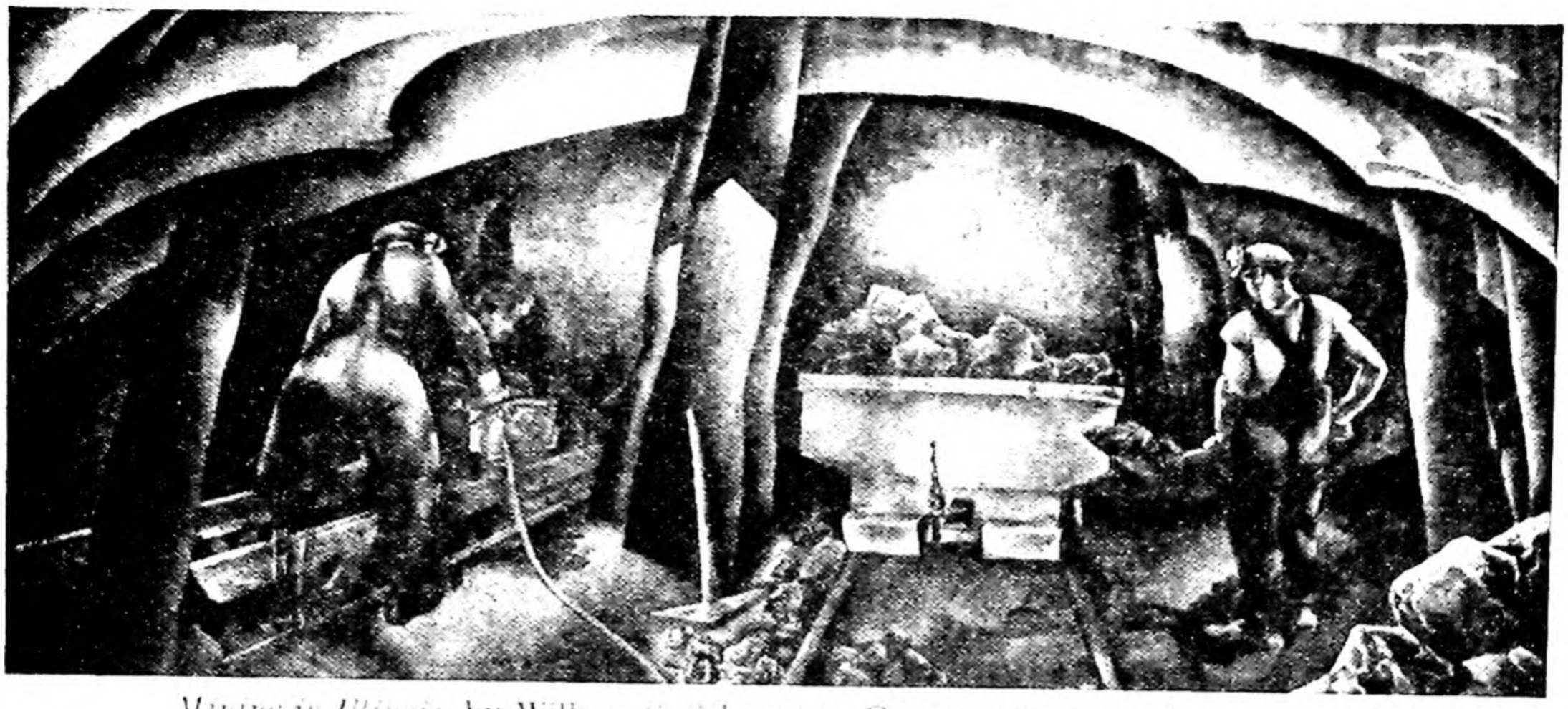
The national and the state governments formed the habit of helping private individuals and joint-stock companies to obtain land, mines, forests, and waterpower. When business and industrial leaders applied to legislative or administrative bodies for charters or special privileges, they could almost name their own terms, so eager were the authorities to have the country or their state or city developed. If legislatures or councils balked, bribery and illegal methods were employed by the new type of business leader to secure what he wanted. Many a political campaign in city and state was fought, not on the issues of party principle, but over the question of which competing group of businessmen would obtain the favors from the officials to be elected.

INVENTIONS AID AMERICA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Utilizing mineral resources. Resources in coal, petroleum, and natural gas provided industry with a cheap fuel. New processes of saving the gas in coking coal and of refining petroleum into oil, kerosene, gasoline, and other products added to the value of our resources. The Bessemer process of converting iron into steel gave way in part to the open-hearth process, and better grades of steel were made by the use of various alloys. Tremendous beds of iron ore were found in the Lake Superior region. The discovery of other areas of copper, lead, and zinc, and the invention of a cheap process of extracting aluminum from the clay-like masses in which it was found, provided apparently unlimited quantities of the minerals on which modern industry is based. Special types of machines were invented to handle the lifting, conveyance, and distribution of the raw materials of industry. Machine tools which rolled, hammered, pulled, and cut metal into shape left little for man to do but tend the machines.

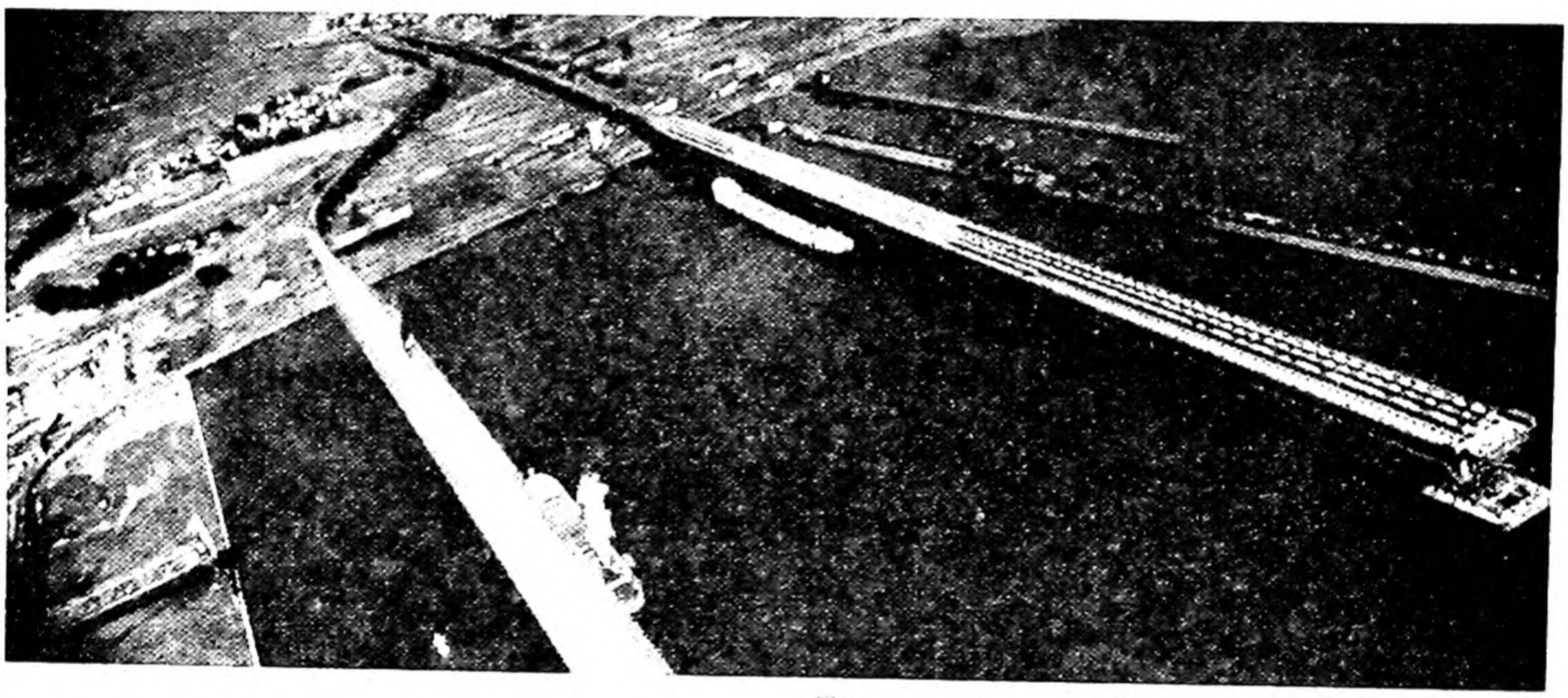
Patents. In the five-year period 1851–55, 6000 patents were issued by the government; in the years 1875–80, 64,000; 1901–05, 143,000; and 1926–30, 219,000. Many of these patents were trivial and unimportant; others were epoch-making, producing social as well as economic changes. Some required the combined work of several men and years of improvement and adaptation before they received wide acceptance. Often they were the result of years of efforts by scientists of various countries — Germany, France, Great Britain, and elsewhere.

Electricity. The development in the early 1880's of the dynamo to produce electricity cheaply enough for commercial uses carried the Industrial Revolution forward. The development of hydroelectric plants opened up new vistas of cheap power. As a result, competition between steam and electricity stimulated improvements in the production and utilization of these two great sources of energy. The coming of electricity created new industries, new markets for those already established, and even tended to destroy some old industries.



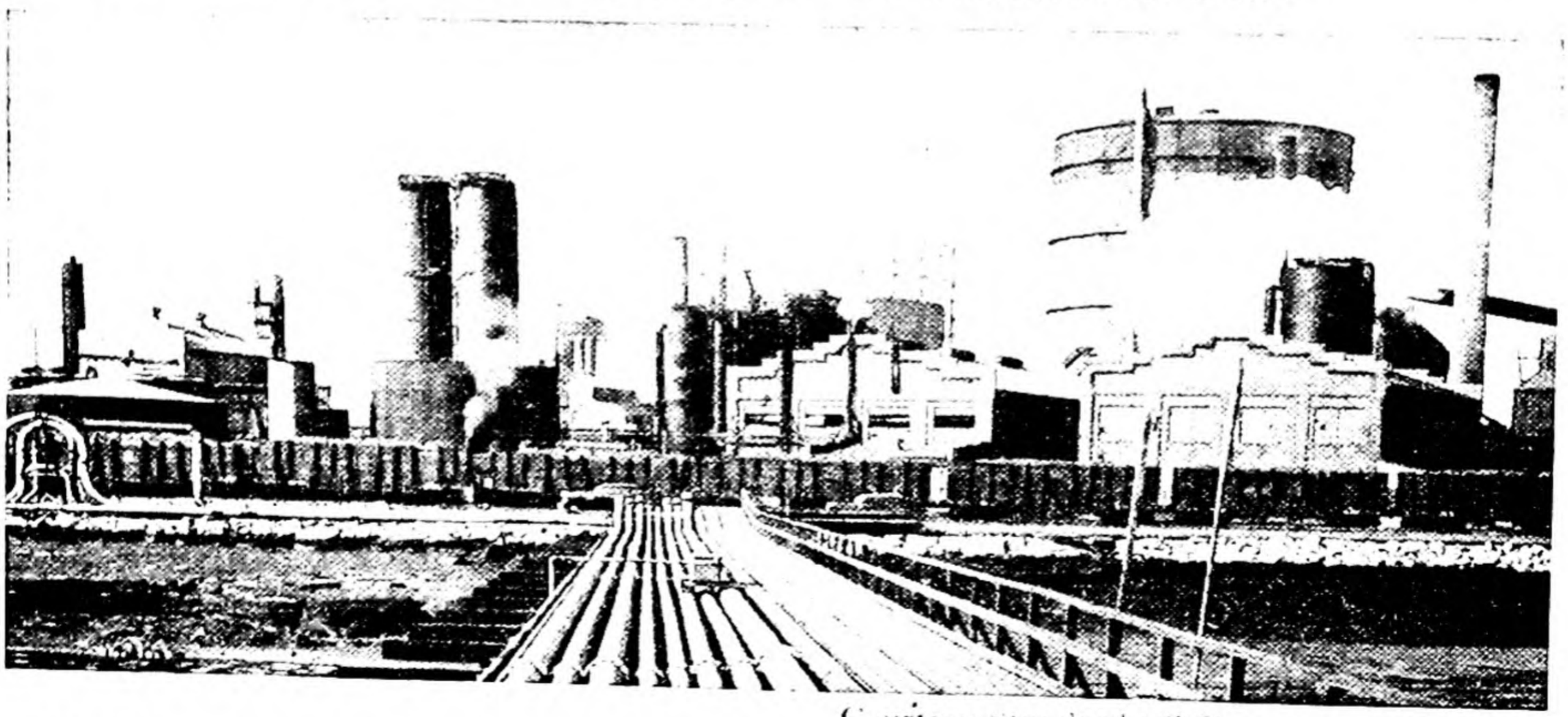
Mining in Illinois, by William S. Schwartz. Courtesy Treasury Department Art Projects

Much of America's wealth is based upon the hard and dangerous labor of thousands of workers in our mines.



Courtesy *Fortune*. Photograph by R. Y. Richie

These long ore docks at Duluth, Minnesota, equipped with railroad tracks and huge pockets for holding ore, greatly expedite the loading of ore boats.



Courtesy Standard Oil Company, New Jersey

Pipe lines carry different grades of oil from the waterfront to the refinery. Abundant resources need to be harnessed to result in mass production.

The "wizard of Menlo Park." In 1879 Thomas Edison, after many months of experimenting in his laboratory at Menlo Park, New Jersey, found that a piece of carbonized cotton thread sealed in a vacuum in a glass globe would burn for forty hours on passing an electric current over it. "If it will burn for forty hours now," said Edison, "I know I can make it burn a hundred." The result of his experiments was a practical electric lamp. In 1882 the first station for the production of electricity for lighting purposes was set up in New York City. About the same time Edison and his associates were also developing a practical electric railway system. Richmond, Virginia, was the first city to establish such a system. These and other inventions created new industries, new jobs, new sources of profits, and a better standard of living.

The automobile. Simultaneously with the development of the dynamo and the electric motor, other scientists developed the gasoline engine. Its lightness and efficiency fitted it for use in the automobile, with which inventors had been experimenting for over a century. With the invention of the gas engine in the eighties and the development of a cheap fuel in the form of gasoline, many more individuals began to experiment with the "horseless vehicle." In 1899 there were about three hundred gasoline cars in the United States, of varied makes and uncertain usefulness. The prosperous times that came with the twentieth century rapidly increased the number of people who could afford to buy pleasure cars, and contributed to the rise of the industry. The Ford Motor Company, established in 1903, set the pace in the manufacture of a car that multitudes could buy. In less than twenty years the manufacture of automobiles became one of the greatest industries of the United States. In a half century the trolley car was becoming obsolete as the bus took its place.

The airplane. Among the inventors taking advantage of the lightness of the gasoline engines, Samuel P. Langley and Wilbur and Orville Wright will always take first place for ingenuity and daring. Langley had worked out the principles of flying and had constructed, but not flown, a heavier-than-air machine. The Wrights began their experiments by practicing for long periods with gliding machines. Then, with some skill acquired, they tried flying a heavier-than-air machine. Their trial at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, on December 17, 1903, was successful, and since then man's conquest of the air has been marvelously rapid. During World War I the airplane demonstrated its efficiency as the "eyes of the Army." In 1919 Alcock and Brown, British army officers, made a flight from Newfoundland to Ireland. In 1924 the government established the first transcontinental air-mail route. In 1927 Charles A. Lindbergh made a solo flight in a single-motored airplane from New York to Paris in thirty-three and a half hours. In 1926 Admiral Byrd flew over the North Pole, and in 1929 by his flight over the South Pole became the first man to fly over both Poles.

Records for height, distance, and endurance were constantly improved. In 1930 Colonel Hawks crossed the continent in twelve hours and twenty-five minutes; but by 1944 Army planes crossed the continent in a little more than six hours. In 1929 the *Graf Zeppelin* — a lighter-than-air machine, or dirigible, which had previously crossed the Atlantic several times — circumnavigated the globe in twenty-two days. In 1931 Post and Gatty flew by airplane around the world in eight days. In July, 1938, Howard Hughes with four companions in a well-equipped twin-motored plane circumnavigated the globe in three days and nineteen hours. In 1936 regular commercial airplanes traversed the Pacific; in 1939 transatlantic air travel was established. During World War II remarkable progress was achieved in the improvement of airplanes for the speedy transportation of troops and freight; long-range bombers were ferried across the Atlantic to England, and giants of the air bombed Japan from island bases 1500 miles distant. World War II revealed the tremendous influence of the airplane on problems of defense and international relations.

New ways of sending messages. Man's conquest of the air is matched by his growing control over light and sound. After several years of work Morse developed a practical telegraph in 1837. After a decade of trial and experimentation Cyrus W. Field succeeded in laying the first Atlantic cable in 1866. Today the most remote part of the earth can be reached by cable. In 1876 Alexander Graham Bell exhibited the telephone at the Centennial Exposition. In 1915 it became possible to telephone across the continent; and in 1927 a telephone subscriber in the United States could talk to England. In 1895 Marconi invented the wireless telegraph. Within six years wireless communication was established across the seas. In 1916 the wireless telephone, or radio, came into use. Within a few years the radio industry had established itself on a large scale. But this was not all. In 1924 pictures were sent over telegraph wires. Scarcely, however, had the public become accustomed to this startling news when research workers announced that pictures could be sent by wireless. Still more recently the invention of television promises the user of the telephone that some day he will be able to see the person with whom he is talking.

The motion picture. The motion-picture industry is based upon the work of Edison with the kinetoscope in the 1890's. Motion pictures were projected as early as 1894, but the industry did not begin to reach its full development until the production of Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* in 1912. Since that time the motion-picture industry has expanded rapidly, the "nickelodeon" giving way to the picture "palace." With the introduction of the talking picture in 1924 the movies began to compete with the automobile as America's greatest industry. It is interesting to note that these two industries are concerned to a large extent with serving the recreational and leisure life of Americans.

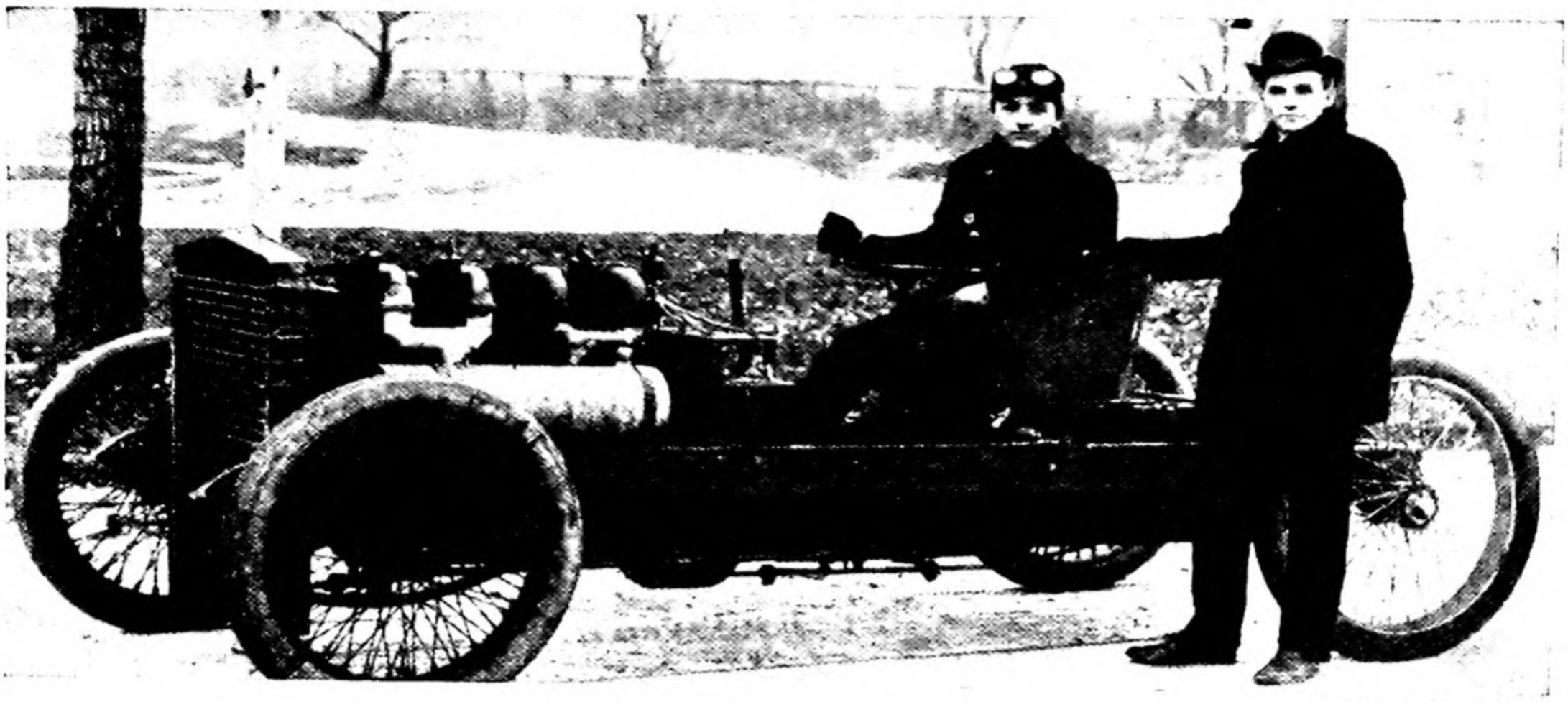
A variety of practical inventions. The trolley car, the electric light, the automobile, the movie, the airplane, and the radio are only some of the inventions which have influenced America's economic development. Companies selling electricity invented new ways to encourage its consumption — the vacuum cleaner, the electric iron, the electric stove, the electric washer, the electric sewing machine, the electric refrigerator, and so on in great variety. The profits of companies with large investments of capital depend on volume of sales and, consequently, the more ways there are of using electricity, the greater the profits of the companies producing and distributing it. Thus the lure of profits also acts as a great stimulus to invention.

Effect of inventions on social institutions. Two agencies of the federal government have produced in recent times two significant studies of American life. One, in 1932, was a study of *Recent Social Trends,* the work of a committee appointed by President Hoover; the other was the report of the National Resources Board appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, which published its findings in 1937 in a volume called *Technological Trends and National Policy, Including the Social Implications of New Inventions.* The National Resources Board made a study to discover the direction of future inventions so that the government might take steps to secure the good, and to avoid the evil, effects of inventions. Said the Committee on Recent Social Trends in 1932:

> This growing number of inventions and scientific discoveries has brought problems of morals, of education, of law, of leisure time, of unemployment, of speed, of uniformity and of differentiation, and its continuation will create more such problems. Social institutions are not easily adjusted to inventions. The family has not yet adapted itself to the factory; the church is slow in adjusting to the city; the law was slow in adjusting to dangerous machinery; local governments are slow in adjusting to the transportation inventions; international relations are slow in adjusting to communications inventions; school curricula are slow in adjusting to the new occupations which machines create. . . . Unless there is a speeding up of social invention or a slowing down of mechanical invention, grave maladjustments are certain to result.

Significant trends for the future. The National Resources Board, in an effort to avoid these difficulties and to speed up "social invention," suggests that society carefully watch the *trend of future inventions* and *prepare* for the changes they will make. Forty or fifty years usually pass by from the first serious work on an invention until its widespread use. The Board lists the following inventions as likely to produce profound changes within ten to thirty years, and urges society to prepare *now* to make the necessary adjustments these inventions may call forth:

> . . . the mechanical cotton picker, air-conditioning equipment, plastics, the photoelectric cell, artificial cotton and woolen-like fibers



Brown Brothers

Henry Ford stands beside one of his four-cylinder racers in 1899. In the car is Barney Oldfield, whose daredevil racing and testing of automobiles prepared the way for their improvement.



From *La Telegraphie Historique*, by Alexis Belloc, 1888

A group of people in Boston listen over the telephone to the words of Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone, in 1876.



Courtesy Columbia Broadcasting System

A television studio is ready for an evening's telecast: a news program has just ended; a golf lesson is in progress; and a shopping program is in prospect.

made from cellulose, synthetic rubber, prefabricated houses, television, facsimile transmission, the automobile trailer, gasoline produced from coal, steep-flight aircraft planes, and tray agriculture.

World War II stimulated the practical use of some of these inventions earlier than was expected, and led to the rapid development of others. Astonishing progress was made in the field of metallurgy, plastics, radio, synthetics, aerodynamics, and in the field of medicine and surgery where the powerful sulfa drugs and penicillin worked miracles.

The National Resources Board was careful to point out that "there is as yet no science capable of predicting the social effects of invention and decades will be required for such a development." However, it recommended that a beginning be made in the establishment of agencies to engage in the continuous study of the problem. If both of these reports illustrate the forces compelling the government to assume functions undreamed of a century ago, they also show the effect of invention on the government itself, on "rugged" individualism, on laissez-faire, on our traditional attitudes.

New opportunities for work. Within the last fifty years millions of homes have had to be built to house our growing population. Many of these homes were equipped with gas, with furnaces, and with electricity. Cities required water supply systems, sewers, trolley cars, overhead and underground transportation systems, schools, street-lighting systems, traffic-signaling systems. The country needed a network of highways and bridges, of telephone and telegraph wires and, at a later time, of radio stations. The public wanted automobiles and electric light bulbs, gas ranges instead of coal-burning stoves, steam heating instead of open fireplaces, mechanical refrigeration instead of ice; things once regarded as luxuries became necessities. To supply these various needs at prices which the people could pay taxed the ingenuity of American industry. The answer to the problem of how industry could transform America in so short a time was found in large-scale production, standardized mass production, automatic machinery, and enormous accumulations of capital. All these factors are interrelated and dependent one upon the other; they can be separated only for the purpose of centering our attention upon one at a time.

AMERICA MAKES DISTINCT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The manufacturer discovered that the secret of cheap production of costly articles was production on a large scale. For over a century there has been a tendency for factories to increase their size and their output. This trend was marked in the years after the War between the States, especially in the meat-packing, petroleum, steel, and sugar-refining industries (pages 378, 402–410). However it was not until

the twentieth century that large-scale production reached its phenomenal development. In the course of this development, American industry made two distinct contributions to the progress of the Industrial Revolution — the production of standardized parts and automatic machinery.

Standardized parts. Standardized production means the manufacturing of innumerable articles or parts of articles exactly alike. For example, electric light sockets are standardized, and it is easy for the householder to buy electric light bulbs that fit these sockets. Standardization speeds up and cheapens production and makes possible wider sales.

Henry Ford was the first to employ this principle on a large scale in the production of his famous Model T automobile. Although Ford had produced automobiles as early as 1893, it was not until 1903 that he put into practice the idea of making thousands of cars exactly alike, each part standardized and interchangeable. Ford produced ten thousand cars in 1907; by 1915 he had produced and sold one million cars; by 1927, fifteen million Fords had been made and sold. Ford steadily reduced the price of his car (from $850 to $310) so that millions would be able to purchase it. By the 1920's other manufacturers were successfully using Ford's principle of standardized mass production.

Ford also adopted the principle of controlling all the various stages of production. He purchased coal and iron mines, railroads, and steamships in an effort to control all the processes involved in turning out an automobile from raw material to finished product. Ford production was one continuous operation, so that iron ore which reached the Ford docks on Monday could be rolled off the assembly line and be in the consumer's possession as an automobile by Wednesday noon.

The Ford Motor Company thus symbolized nearly all the essential characteristics of American industrial enterprise — automatic machinery, interchangeable standardized parts, mass production, concentration of the various steps in manufacturing under one management, an enormous concentration of capital, and the constant lowering of the cost of the product through quantity production.

Automatic machinery. As automatic machinery came into wide use the American workman became almost an automaton, performing very simple operations, and in many instances merely watching the operation of the machine. In the Ford assembly line a workman performs one operation as the cars pass by on a moving platform at the rate of six feet a minute; one workman, for example, will place a nut in position, another will tighten it. Obviously, little skill is required. Ford once said that if a workman cannot be taught his job in five days, he is of no use in his industry. It has been observed that when the job of a workman has been reduced to a single simple operation, the time has arrived when a machine can be invented to do his work. Technical ef-

ficiency in improving the automatic machine is constant. It was this efficiency which made possible the astonishing miracle of America's production in World War II.

Sources of power. Obviously the operation of this machinery requires the use of enormous quantities of power. For more than a century the chief source of power has been coal, converted into either steam or electricity. In more recent times the use of petroleum as a source of power has greatly increased. Falling water was a source of energy that was used to run the early factories of the country. Today this source of energy, to a greatly increasing extent, is being converted into electricity — a much better form of power than steam, easier to handle and transport than bulky coal.

Fifty years ago a total of 2,000,000 horsepower was used to move American machinery; today it is more than 30,000,000 horsepower, and the rate of consumption is increasing swiftly. One writer has cleverly expressed the result of this use of machinery and power by saying that the average American workman is assisted by one hundred "iron slaves." This explains the constant increase in the productive efficiency of the worker which characterizes American industry. To give one illustration — during a thirty-year period the annual steel production per worker increased from 267 to more than 700 tons.

Atomic energy. For several years the scientists of many nations performed many experiments to learn the structure of the atom. Much had been discovered, and by 1939 scientists believed that it was theoretically possible to release energy by atomic fission (the breaking or splitting of the atom). But a practical method of doing it had not been discovered. On August 6, 1945, President Truman made the awe-inspiring announcement that the problem had been solved. Mr. Truman revealed that an American airplane, a giant B–29, had dropped one atomic bomb on the city of Hiroshima, Japan. This atomic bomb had more power than 20,000 tons of TNT, a destructive force equal to the load of 2000 B–29's, and more than 2000 times the blast power of the largest bomb ever used in the history of warfare.

The announcement of the dropping of this bomb was a landmark in the history of scientific achievement, destined to have a pronounced effect upon the future of civilization. In the words of President Truman, "The fact that we can release atomic energy ushers in a new era in man's understanding of nature's forces. Atomic energy may in the future supplement the power that now comes from coal, oil, and falling water, but at the present it cannot be produced on a basis to compete with them commercially. Before that comes there must be a long period of intensive research."

Late in 1939 President Roosevelt appointed a committee to survey the problem of organizing research to control the release of atomic energy; by the end of 1941 the important decision was "made to go all

out on research" under the direction of a group of American and British scientists. The United States spent two billion dollars on the project, establishing two government-owned and operated cities (one at Oak Ridge, near Knoxville, Tennessee, another at Richland, near Pasco, Washington) and a special laboratory at Los Alamos near Santa Fe, New Mexico. Secrecy surrounded the entire project, although at one time as many as 125,000 workers were employed. The work was under the direction of Major General Leslie R. Groves, assisted by a large number of distinguished scientists from England, the United States, and other countries. Mr. Truman thus paid tribute to their teamwork. "The greatest marvel is not the size of the enterprise, its secrecy, or its cost, but the achievement of scientific brains in putting together infinitely complex pieces of knowledge held by many men in different fields of science into a workable plan. And hardly less marvelous has been the capacity of industry to design, and of labor to operate, the machines and methods to do things never done before so that the brain child of many minds came forth in physical shape and performed as it was supposed to do. What has been done is the greatest achievement of organized science in history."

In July, 1946, Congress created a five-man civilian commission to control the production and use of atomic power within the United States and to carry on intensive research to harness atomic energy for peaceful industrial purposes. Although scientists hesitated to predict when atomic energy might be available as a substitute for other forms of energy, there was general agreement that the social and economic effects of its practical application would be stupendous.

The effects of industrialization. A large part of our future study will be devoted to how the economic revolution has affected social, economic, and political life. Here it will be convenient to suggest some of the effects of great industrial changes.

1. Separation of ownership and management. Formerly the man who owned a business or a factory was the one who operated it. But today those who manage big industrial enterprises are not the owners of the business. American industry has had to secure its capital by the sale of stock to thousands of subscribers or by the issuance of bonds to thousands of investors. Thus the General Motors Corporation is actually owned by about 300,000 people, but the control and management of the company is in the hands of a few men.

2. The role of banks. Since many corporations require large funds, they are more dependent upon banking institutions than formerly. Thus the banks — manufacturers of credit — have also become a very essential part of American industry.

3. The spread of industrial establishments throughout the country. Formerly manufacturing was centered in the Northeastern part of the country. If we drew a diagram with its eastern side extending from

Boston to Baltimore along the Atlantic coast, its southern side from Baltimore to St. Louis, its western side from St. Louis to Chicago and its northern side from Chicago through Buffalo to our starting point at Boston, we should enclose the area of the greatest population and also of the greatest industrial development. Lately there has been a tendency for industry to move out of this region. From 1860 to 1880 the center of manufactures in the United States was near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; in 1890 and 1900, near Columbus, Ohio; and by 1920 it had moved westward and northward as though bound for Fort Wayne. The manufacture of agricultural implements moved westward early with the farmlands. Cotton manufacturing is moving southward. In 1880 North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia produced 6 per cent of the cotton goods; in 1900, 23 per cent; and in 1920, 30 per cent. The manufacture of steel and iron products moved toward the Great Lakes.

The wide distribution of raw materials, power, and population, taken together with the cost of transportation, is bringing about a geographic decentralization of industry in the United States. Both World Wars hastened this process. The increased use of electric power, which can now be transported four or five hundred miles by high-powered transmission wires, improved highways, and the automobile truck have encouraged industrial establishments to spread throughout the country. As a result older centers of industry suffer and new ones prosper. Cities and states are in economic competition with one another. An order of the Interstate Commerce Commission (May, 1945) directing a 10 per cent increase in freight rates for certain commodities in the Northeast and a 10 per cent reduction in freight rates for other areas was caused in part by the industrial decentralization that had been going on for some time. In all probability the equalization of freight rates will tend to encourage and hasten the process.

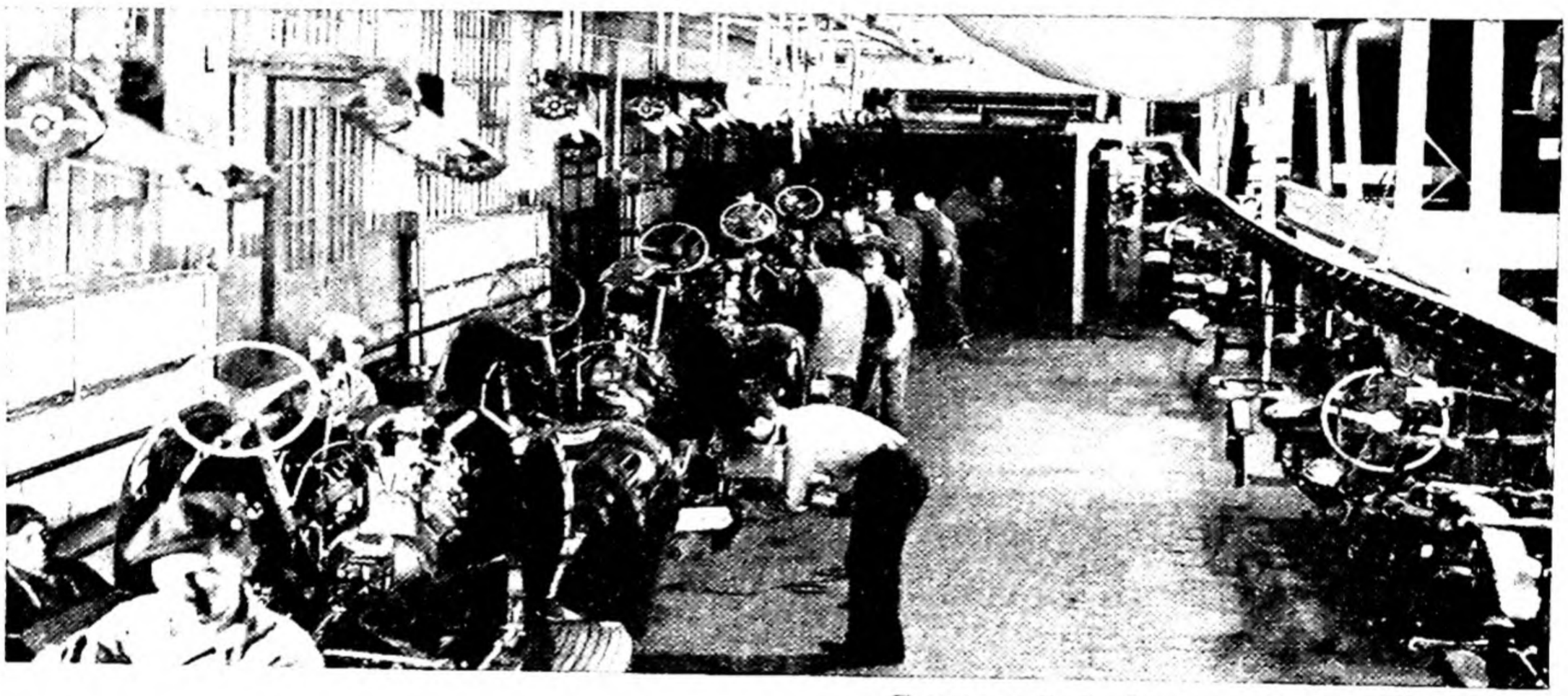
4. An improved standard of living. Mass production is cheap production, and as a result a wide variety of comforts has been brought within the reach of the masses. Sanitary plumbing, electric lights, the radio, the automobile, the movie, the newspaper, the low-priced magazine, and various devices to reduce the drudgery of housekeeping have been brought within the reach of millions. Yet there are still millions of homes without central heating, sanitary plumbing, or electricity. There is still much to be done to supply the American people with adequate housing and other necessities.

5. Unemployment and insecurity. The automatic machine destroys jobs and displaces workers; it also creates jobs, but the worker who is displaced is not the one who gets the new job. Months or years may pass before a displaced worker finds employment in some other job. Meantime both he and his dependents suffer. This type of unemployment has been called technological unemployment. It has become more serious with the improved efficiency of industry. Fear of unem-



Charles Phelps Cushing

In Vermont this power line brings all the conveniences of electricity to the farm in the background. Electric power is changing the pattern of rural life.



Courtesy B. L. Pickens, Wayne University

The assembly line is a characteristic of mass production and plays a large part in the manufacture of automobiles and airplanes.



International News Photos

As war plants stopped production in 1945, long lines of former war workers formed outside the New York State employment office, seeking peacetime jobs.

ployment, coupled with the hazards of sickness, accident, and old age, has tended to increase the insecurity of modern life. Even the investor is insecure, because new inventions may destroy the value of his investments. The government has endeavored to meet the problem of insecurity by providing for workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, and unemployment insurance (pages 622–624), and for the retraining of those who need to learn new skills.

6. The necessity for markets. The machine yields no profits unless the goods it makes in almost unlimited quantities can be sold. Hence there are extensive advertising campaigns to persuade the consumer to buy this article or that. American manufacturers have also sought an outlet for surplus products in foreign countries. It has been argued that the solution of the problem of finding a market for machine-made products is in lower prices and higher wages rather than in the uncertain and dangerous competition for foreign markets. Lower prices or higher wages or both would enable the masses of our own people to buy products which are now beyond their reach.

7. The search for foreign markets. Nowhere is the change in our economic structure so clearly noticeable as in the statistics of foreign trade and in our conduct of foreign affairs. As the exports of manufactures began to exceed our exports of agricultural products, and as the United States became increasingly dependent upon foreign markets, it began to acquire a large navy and to establish footholds in far places — the Philippines, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Panama. These changes took place at the time our frontier disappeared, and at the time that Theodore Roosevelt urged the necessity of conservation. Although the United States was once a great exporter of raw materials, it now finds it necessary to import raw materials in ever-increasing volume.

8. Heavy investments in foreign countries. In the beginning America's economic revolution was assisted by foreign capital. American railroads and business enterprises borrowed large sums from Europe. The United States was a debtor nation until World War I. As American production and prosperity increased, we accumulated a surplus of capital that awaited opportunities for investment. The United States began the exportation of large sums of capital to the countries of Europe and South America (pages 667–668).

9. The world an economic unit. The cable, the wireless, the transoceanic telephone, the radio, the airplane, along with the hunt for foreign markets, raw materials, and the investment of capital in foreign countries, have brought about enormous changes, the full significance of which is hard to foretell. News from London, Tokyo, Moscow, and Buenos Aires is in our papers each morning and is broadcast over the radio as it happens. We are in hourly contact with the globe. Thus the people of the world are in a sense becoming neighbors. The world has become a vast workshop in which all workers are dependent on one

another. World War I, the world depression of 1929, and in particular World War II taught us the great dependence that one nation has on another for its trade, commerce, material welfare, and prosperity. Nations, like businessmen, become competitors, and by means of tariffs, quota restrictions, currency devaluations, large armies and navies, threats of war, and even war itself, seek to secure economic advantages.

RECURRING PERIODS OF PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION FEATURE AMERICA'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Depressions and panics. An unfortunate feature of the capitalistic system of production is the recurring cycle of prosperity, panic, depression, slow recovery, and prosperity. There have been several such periods in our history. During the period of prosperity which attended the building of canals, there was an overspeculation in public lands, accompanied by unsound financing, which helped to produce the hard times of 1837 (pages 250–252). Railroad overbuilding played a part in bringing about disastrous panics in 1857, 1873, and in 1893. World War I brought an unprecedented period of prosperity. Steel mills, machine shops, automobile factories doubled and tripled their capacities. The war ended in 1918, and by the beginning of 1920 European industry was sufficiently restored to supply a large part of the needs of the people. The European people, staggering under war debts, could no longer buy large quantities of American products. Dependent upon their own domestic markets, American industries were obliged to slow down production, and business depression was felt in 1921. There was considerable unemployment, some of which continued throughout the 1920's. Wages and prices dropped sharply, but not to the level that prevailed before the war. The farmers felt the shock of the depression most, and there was a revival of agrarian unrest (pages 548–551).

The "golden 1920's" yield to the "gloomy 1930's." One of the most remarkable periods of prosperity in American history followed the depression of 1921. Output of farm and factory increased, a result of the marvelous efficiency of the machine and the increased use of power. Luxury articles were sold in large volume by means of the installment plan. So great was the prosperity that some boasted that America would point the way to the abolition of poverty. Millions of people, instead of thousands, took part in a wave of stock-market speculation, confident in the future of American industry and finance. But the stock market crashed in the fall of 1929, and slowly the signs of a serious depression became evident: closed factories, increased unemployment, bankruptcies, reduced prices, labor disturbances, wage cuts, bank failures, and radical proposals for reform.

The second World War, which began in September, 1939, eventu-

ally brought an end to the severe unemployment which we had had since the late 1920's. The demands of England for American supplies and the needs of our elaborate defense program dulled the edge of domestic reform. The hurried expansion of wartime industries, and a resulting increase in employment and wages, brought a new era of prosperity. However, taxes increased, the government debt skyrocketed, and shortages of civilian goods developed. In the midst of the war there was widespread worry lest the wartime boom would collapse when millions of soldiers were returned to civilian life. After the war, as industry slowly reconverted to peacetime production, there were strikes, wage increases and price increases. Wartime fears of inflation were intensified.

Words and Phrases

aerodynamics, atomic energy, automatic machinery, cellulose, cultural lag, decentralization of industry, depression, domestic market, export of capital, foreign market, insecurity, interchangeable parts, mass production, panic, self-contained nation, social adjustment, standard of living, standardized parts, steep-flight airplanes, tray agriculture

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. List factors which contributed to America's industrial development.
2. What important phases of America's industrial development are illustrated by the history of the Ford Motor Company?
3. How have our social and political institutions been influenced by our industrial progress?
4. Has the machine tended to displace workers or to create new opportunities for workers or to do both of these things? Explain.
5. Give illustrations of the efficiency of the machine.
6. List in parallel columns the good and bad effects of the machine.
7. Give illustrations based on your own observation or experience of the slow adjustments mentioned in the quotation on page 390.

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. How would you expect increased production per worker to affect: (a) the volume of manufactured products; (b) their value; (c) wages; (d) employment?
2. Why are American workers usually paid higher wages than workers in other countries?
3. How would the introduction of a successful mechanical cotton picker affect the economic and social life of the cotton belt? How would a study of the effects of the automobile or the McCormick reaper help in formulating an answer to this question?
4. Of the inventions listed in the text (pages 390–392), which would effect the most revolutionary changes in our mode of life?
5. In what phase of the business cycle are we at the present time? What

are its characteristics? What is the probable next phase? (Consult economics texts.)

6. Outline postwar plans for the return to peacetime production, full employment, and the maintenance of prosperity. In the light of actual developments, indicate which of these plans were successful and which were unsuccessful. What mistakes were made by business, by labor, by government?
7. Report on the outstanding scientific discoveries and inventions that were either developed or made practical during World War II. Prepare a special report on the organized scientific research project which led to the development of the atomic bomb. Report on recent developments in the field of atomic energy. Set up special committees to report on radar, guided missiles, the helicopter, the jet airplane, and the hydrogen bomb.
8. Outline the steps taken to provide for the domestic control of research and developments in the field of atomic energy. How is the problem of domestic control related to the problem of international control of atomic research and developments?

Suggested Reading

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 166–210; Bogart, *An Economic History of the United States,* pp. 381–412; Chase, *Men and Machines;* Cherne, Leo, *The Rest of Your Life;* Faulkner, pp. 401–430; Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 26–51; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 155–170, 238–246; Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business* (Y.C.S.), pp. 1–24; Keir, *Epic of Industry* (Pageant), Chaps. VII, IX, XI, XIII; Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America* (A.L.S.), pp. 30–74; Schlesinger, pp. 40–50; Tarbell, *Nationalizing of Business* (A.L.S.), pp. 1–9, 50–67; Amherst Readings, *John D. Rockefeller – Robber Baron or Industrial Statesman? Democracy and the Gospel of Wealth.*

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

The Modern Corporation and Big Business

THE CORPORATION BECOMES THE INSTRUMENT OF AMERICA'S ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

The "dominant institution." The corporation was the form of business organization used by "captains of industry" to harness American resources, to organize scientific research, managerial abilities, and armies of laborers in the production of almost unbelievable quantities of goods and wealth. In 1931 A. A. Berle and Gardiner C. Means published a book called *The Modern Corporation and Private Property.* They revealed that approximately two hundred corporations controlled about 50 per cent of all the nonbanking corporate wealth of the country. The authors declared that the corporation is the "dominant institution of the modern world. The future may see the economic organism, now typified by the corporation, not only on an equal plane with the State, but possibly even superseding it as the dominant form of social organization." In what ways and how much government should regulate "Big Business" has been a recurring problem.

The corporation a creature of the law. In the eyes of the law the corporation is an artificial legal person, endowed with continuous life, for its officers carry the business along even if some of the stockholders die. The corporation can do those things which an individual can do — enter into contracts, borrow and lend money, sue and be sued. Individuals who seek to form a corporation must obtain a charter or certificate of incorporation from the state or federal government. At first a special law of the legislature was necessary to create a corporation, but so many corporations were formed that the states enacted general incorporation laws which outline the steps to be followed by those who wish to incorporate.

Stocks and dividends. Corporations are organized with a certain amount of capital stock which is sold to stockholders. The shares may have a fixed, or par, value of $100 each or some other sum. The price for which shares of stock will sell is not stationary but varies according to the actual or expected financial success of the corporation, or the briskness of trading in the stock market. If the corporation is success-

ful, it may distribute part of its profits to stockholders as a *dividend*, a certain sum of money being paid on each share. Some of the profits may be retained for the purpose of expanding the business.

The stock described above is called *common stock*. Stockholders have a vote for each share of stock owned. Some corporations, when they need more money, issue *preferred stock*. This stock has a fixed, preferred dividend rate, which is paid from the profits of the business before any dividend is paid on common stock. Preferred stockholders usually have no voice in the conduct of the business.

Ownership and management. Although the stockholders own the corporation and can vote at its regular meetings, they usually vote only for the officers and for policies worked out by the directors. This is because stockholders are so numerous (about 6,500,000) and so scattered about the country that direct democratic action is not possible.

A corporation is managed and controlled by a board of directors who are elected by the stockholders. An individual or group of individuals owning 51 per cent of the stock of a corporation can control its affairs. Usually, however, a much smaller ownership of stock suffices to ensure control, because the great majority of small stockholders either do not vote or sign proxies giving the management the right to vote for them. Thus there has slowly developed what has been called "absentee ownership" of American industry. Huge aggregations of capital are commonly controlled by men who do not own the corporation.

Bonds. If a corporation needs money to develop its business, it does not rely on paid-in capital alone, or the issuance of new stock, but borrows additional money just as an individual may. Corporations obtain large sums by issuing bonds. Bonds run for a fixed term of years. Interest on bonds must be paid before any dividends can be paid on either preferred or common stock. The bondholder has no share in the business and has no vote; he is a moneylender to the corporation.

"Watered" stock. Boards of directors sometimes issued more stock than the assets or business of the corporation warranted. Stock representing false values was known as "watered" stock — from the practice of cattlemen who had their cattle drink large quantities of water before they were weighed and sold. Among the many devices for "watering" stock, common ones were to overvalue either the physical equipment or the "good will" of a corporation, to issue stock in the form of a stock dividend representing a surplus actually nonexistent, or issue free stock without new capital being paid into the corporation. The stock was manipulated so that its apparent value appeared greater than its actual value. The stock might then be "unloaded" on the public at a high profit for the "insiders," while the investing public was "fleeced."

The practice of issuing watered stock presented serious problems. First, it was difficult to protect the investing public, which might suffer severe losses by the purchase of such stock. Several states have

"blue sky" laws intended to safeguard the public and the federal government also has tried to protect the public (page 564). Second, it was very difficult to determine whether corporations were charging exorbitant prices for their product; if the stock was watered, the actual dividend rate to stockholders might appear to be fair or even less than normal. Thus stock-watering was a device whereby corporations might conceal excessive profits. Third, stock-watering complicated the problem of regulating the rates of railroads and public utility corporations. Rates and prices charged the public would necessarily be high if dividends had to be paid on watered stock. To "squeeze" the water out of overvalued corporations and to check the practice of issuing watered stock became an important political and economic problem.

The stock exchange. One of the best organized markets for the exchange of commodities is the market for the purchase and sale of stocks and bonds. All large cities have stock exchanges, but the largest is in New York. In the popular mind Wall Street — the center of New York's financial district — became synonymous with stock speculation.

The survival of small business concerns. The corporation was the form of business enterprise used by the great captains of industry — Rockefeller, Carnegie, Vanderbilt, and others — to organize the economic progress of the last decades of the nineteenth century. The corporation was used by all types of business, large and small. The public is familiar with the names of several giant corporations — General Motors, International Harvester, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, General Electric, United States Steel, American Locomotive Company, and others. But scattered throughout the country there are three or four hundred thousand small manufacturing concerns. Some of these companies employ only a handful of workers. The very large corporations, however, which are only about 5 per cent of the total manufacturing corporations, employ about 70 per cent of all the workers. These comparatively few large organizations are the backbone of our national production equipment. They furnish fully nine tenths of our yearly products, and employ most of the industrial workers.

Advantages of large manufacturing units. There are several reasons for the concentration of manufacturing in the hands of a small number of very large concerns. (1) Provided the business is not too large for efficiency, large business units can effect numerous economies, such as reducing overhead expenses and the cost of advertising, selling, and transporting the product. (2) Large concerns can use machinery extensively and continuously. Thus they can take advantage of the economies of mass production and standardized processes. (3) Large concerns can make fuller use of by-products. (4) They can more readily afford to employ experts, finance laboratory research, and make use of the newest devices. (5) They also find it easier to obtain financial support from banks. (6) Large concerns can effect great economies in

the purchase of raw materials. (7) They can usually control the prices of their product.

Vertical and horizontal combinations. These reasons explain other developments in the growth of Big Business. Whenever the cost of raw materials is an important factor in the cost of the finished product, business concerns try to control the source of raw materials. Whenever a business brings under single control all the various steps in the manufacture of an article from raw material to finished product, it is said to be a vertical organization or combination. The United States Steel Corporation, for example, owns railroads and ships; the International Harvester Company mines its own coal and iron ore; large sugar-refining companies have invested heavily in sugar plantations. The Ford Motor Company is also an example of this type of organization. Ford not only manufactures automobiles, but also owns rubber plantations, soybean farms, steamship companies, and steel mills (pages 392–393).

The term "horizontal combination" is used to describe the organization into one unit of several concerns which are engaged in only part of the total industrial process. The chain store is an example of a horizontal combination.

The strength and weakness of large organizations. The drift toward the concentration of control of American economic life is an inevitable result of machine methods, of standardized mass production and improved methods of transportation and communication. In spite of the economies of large-scale manufacture, the efficiency of a giant corporation may be weakened by the slow introduction of new but costly machinery, by reluctance to scrap obsolete techniques, and by the inability of the managerial staff to deal with the problems of large-scale production, management, and distribution. Bigness imposes limits on efficiency. Hence there seems to be no tendency to establish monopoly in many fields of production. In some industries there appears to be a trend to reduce the number of competitors to a few large concerns. Competition among a half-dozen automobile companies may be as effective as competition among a few hundred small companies.

Effect of increasing consolidation on competition. There is little doubt, however, that there has been a tendency for corporations controlling a large portion of the total output in a certain industry to control wage and labor policies and to raise prices. This practice may permit small business concerns to flourish, even though their cost of production may be big. It has been argued that large corporations allow small ones to exist to give the appearance of competition and the small ones merely "follow the leader." When the United States Steel Corporation recognized the C.I.O. in 1937, it was suggested that this large corporation revised its traditional policy of hostility to labor unions in order to compel competing steel companies to pay their workmen a uniform wage scale. It was argued if labor unions could bring

about stability and uniformity of wage levels, the United States Steel Corporation might be better able to undersell its rivals.

THE LURE OF PROFITS LEADS TO BUSINESS WARFARE AND TO BUSINESS COMBINATIONS

Competition, Big Business, and the government. When the economic revolution began, there was a widespread belief that competition was the life of trade. This was part of the laissez-faire ideal that the government should interfere with business activities as little as possible. But Big Business soon discovered that competition can be costly and wasteful, and resorted to various devices to eliminate the evils of competition. It was not until 1890 that the federal government endeavored to put a check upon the growth of Big Business by declaring that all combinations in restraint of trade were unlawful. But for more than ten years the government made little effort to enforce this law; and when it did try to compel obedience, the results were insignificant. Business grew bigger and bigger; combination followed combination. Slowly the government has been forced to tolerate the growth of large-scale enterprise. Politicians, however, thundered against "monopolies" and "trusts," and pleaded eloquently the cause of small business. In spite of all the agitation, however, when the government itself wanted huge quantities of war materials produced in a hurry, it turned to America's giant industrial enterprises, and even helped them to expand.

"Law! Hain't I got the power?" The early captains of industry had little regard for public opinion or the law. In speaking of the operations of Cornelius Vanderbilt at the time he was consolidating railroad lines into the New York Central System, Burton J. Hendrick says:

> His attitude towards the public was shown in his remark when one of his associates told him that "each and every one" of certain transactions which he had just forced through "is absolutely forbidden by the statutes of the state of New York." "John," said the Commodore (Vanderbilt), "you don't suppose you can run a railroad in accordance with the statutes of the state of New York, do you?" "Law!" he once roared on a similar occasion, "what do I care about law? Hain't I got the power?"

"Cutthroat competition." The first step in the growth of large corporations came, roughly, during the twenty-year period from 1870 to 1890. Profits poured into the treasuries of some corporations; others, unable to stand the cutthroat competition and unprincipled methods of their more powerful rivals, were ruined. A handful of men became enormously wealthy in a few years. Their wealth was not infrequently achieved by practices little short of criminal. Business leaders in search of profits had few scruples about bribing legislatures and the judiciary.

They were merciless in their destruction of competitors, and apparently acted without conscience in watering stock, "cornering the market," and unloading overvalued stock upon an unsuspecting public. Matthew Josephson has chosen the title *The Robber Barons* for a book describing the activities of these great captains of industry.

The story of a great monopoly — oil. John D. Rockefeller was born in 1839; he first entered business as a produce merchant in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1862 Rockefeller went into the oil-refining business, and in 1865 he was the head of the partnership of Rockefeller, Andrews, and Flagler. A score or so of others were already in this new industry. None prospered as did Rockefeller's company. Rockefeller decided to eliminate competition and engage in the refining and distribution of oil on a large scale. Samuel Andrews had a genius for finding improved methods of manufacturing oil and its by-products, Rockefeller for steering the company through the business problems that beset a new organization. They carefully accumulated a strong cash reserve. Rockefeller's advice to his partners was, "Don't buy new clothes and fast horses; let your wife wear her last year's bonnet. You can't find any place where money will earn what it does here." And the partners kept their money in the business at work for them.

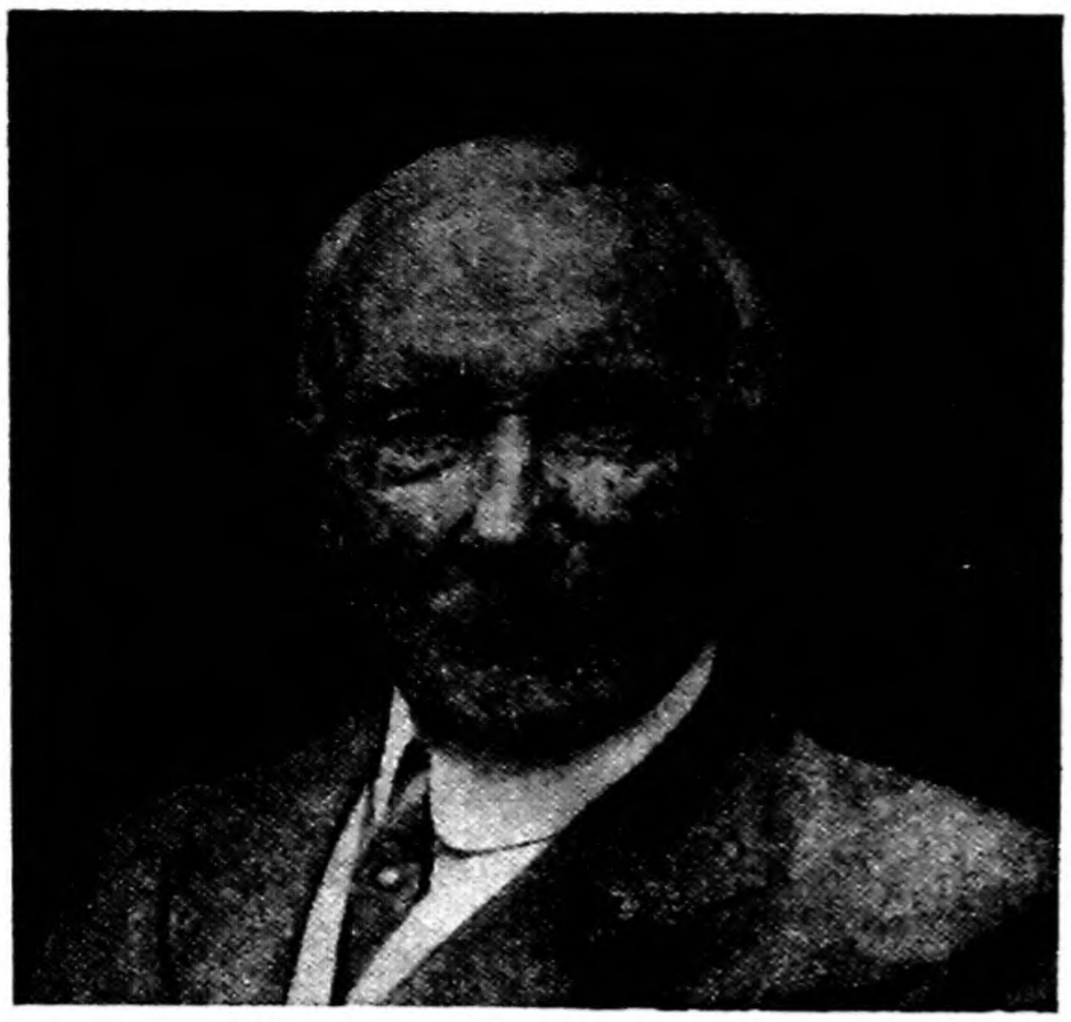
When hard times came, as they did in 1866 and in 1873, the companies without cash reserves were in trouble. The Rockefeller group was not only untroubled, but in a position to buy up the plants of the less fortunate. In 1870 Rockefeller, Andrews, and Flagler took in other businessmen and reorganized as the Standard Oil Company of Ohio. Within two years the new combination had acquired most of the refineries of Cleveland and was looking for larger opportunities. Two or three years later about thirty companies in Pittsburgh and Baltimore had been absorbed. The Standard Oil Company made profitable contracts with the railroads, obtaining secret rebates which helped it to undersell and destroy its rivals. It also built pipe lines to carry the oil from the wells to the refineries, manufactured the barrels, and provided whatever the business required. In this way a giant monopoly grew up. By 1879 the Standard Oil Company produced 90 per cent of the petroleum of the United States, and that meant 75 per cent of the world's supply.

Another great monopoly — the story of steel. As Rockefeller's name stands out in the history of oil, so does the name of Andrew Carnegie in the history of steel. Carnegie, who was born in Scotland in 1835, came to America as a poor boy. He worked in a cotton mill as a bobbin boy at thirteen; at seventeen he was a telegraph clerk, and a few years later private secretary to the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Making shrewd investments in one enterprise or another, Carnegie amassed a small fortune and by the time he was forty-three was probably the most important figure in the iron and steel business.

1. Expansion of the Carnegie Steel Company. To effect economies, as the Standard Oil Company had done, the Carnegie Steel Company expanded its system. Around Connellsville, Pennsylvania, are many square miles underlaid with an especially valuable coking coal, indispensable to the manufacture of steel. Henry C. Frick had shown great capability in producing coke and had almost acquired a monopoly. Carnegie bought out Frick and took him in as a partner, thus assuring himself control of the Connellsville coke. Extensive ore lands in Minnesota were acquired. As the ore was remote from Pittsburgh, the Carnegie Steel Company went into the transportation business. It operated lines on the Great Lakes and built railroads to carry its raw materials.

Henry C. Frick was the master of detail in the Carnegie Steel Company. Carnegie's part was to draw about him successful lieutenants, leaving them to produce steel while he went into the markets to sell steel. For his epitaph Carnegie once suggested the following: "Here lies the man who knew how to get around him men who were cleverer than himself." It was Carnegie who selected Charles M. Schwab to restore discipline and contentment among the workers after the Homestead strike of 1892. Carnegie inspired his associates with his own energy and enthusiasm. However large might be the output of a mill, Carnegie called for more. A superintendent once wired Carnegie that his mill had broken all records for making steel that week. Carnegie replied, "Congratulations. Why not do it every week?" By 1900 the Carnegie company was making one quarter of all the steel produced in the United States. Assisted by high tariffs and secret railroad rebates, the profits for the year 1900 alone were $40,000,000, about 60 per cent of this going to Carnegie as his share.

2. Competing steel companies. Other large companies had grown up by much the same process. Youngstown, Cleveland, Chicago, Pueblo, and Birmingham had become centers of production of steel almost as important as Pittsburgh. The development of a few large steel companies out of the innumerable small mills only made the rivalry keener. To their rivals it seemed that the policy of the Carnegie group, as of the Rockefeller group, was rule or ruin. Pitted against the Carnegie Steel Company in 1898 were the Federal Steel Company, the American Bridge Company, the American Steel and Wire Company, and the National Tube Company. In these companies men like J. Pierpont Morgan and George W. Perkins, who knew little about making steel but much about the value of stocks and bonds and the advantages of ending the cutthroat competition, were interested (pages 395, 412). Although Carnegie had made millions and was eager to retire, he did not seem friendly to the suggestion that it would be best for all concerned if the leading steel producers combined. However, other powerful men in the steel business, including Charles Schwab, president of the Carnegie company, Henry C. Frick, and that powerful banker, the



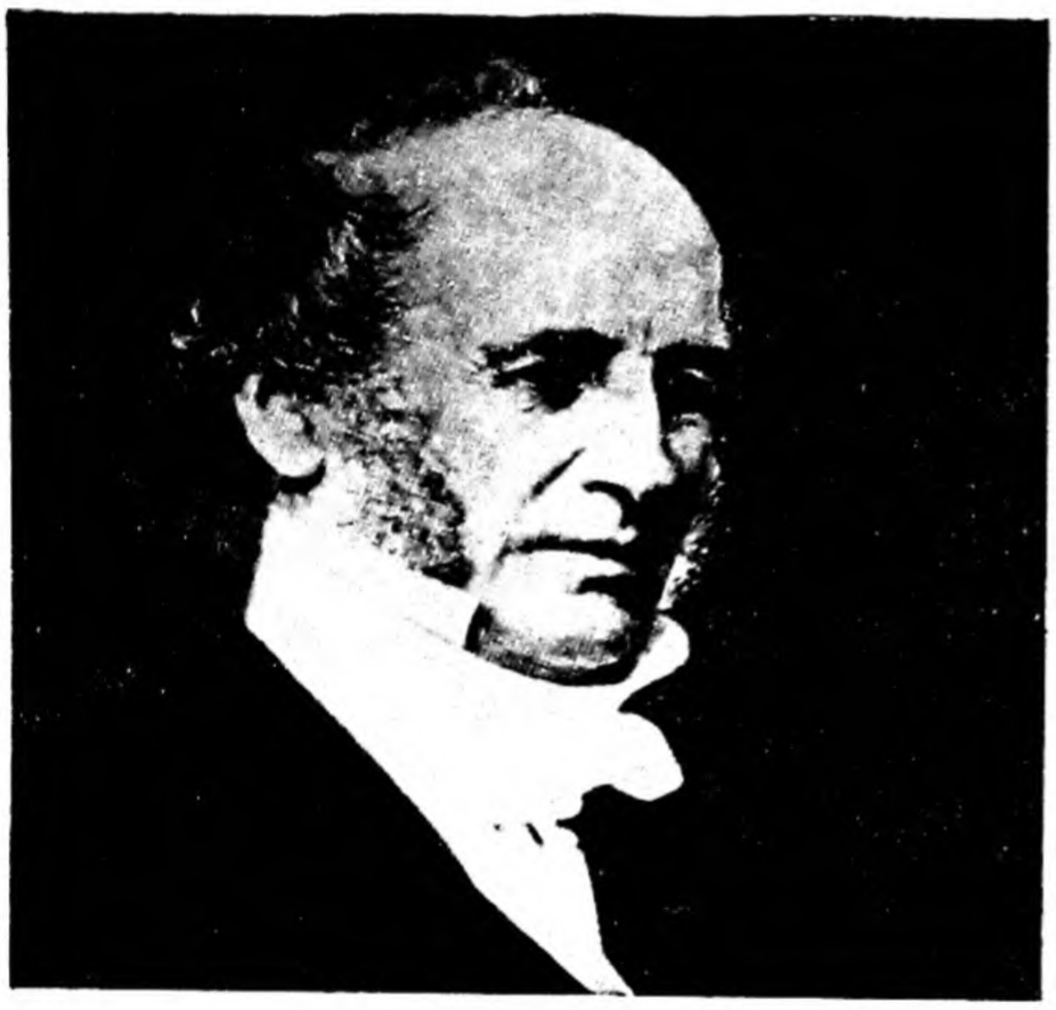
Keystone View Company, New York

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER



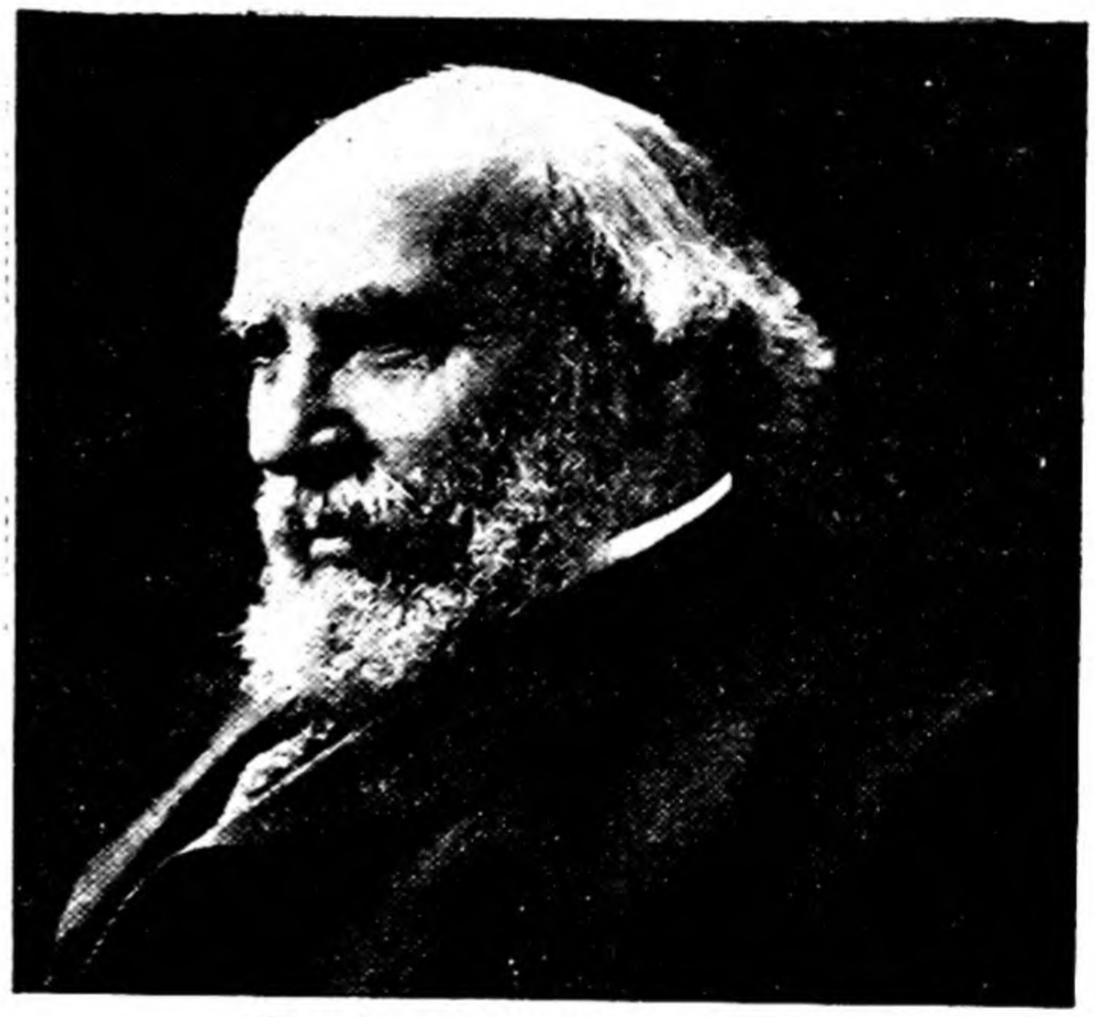
Brown Brothers

ANDREW CARNEGIE



Brown Brothers

CORNELIUS VANDERBILT



Courtesy Minnesota Historical Society

JAMES J. HILL

John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and James J. Hill were four great "captains of industry" — Rockefeller in oil, Carnegie in steel, Vanderbilt in ships and railroads, and Hill in railroads — who helped to transform America's economic life. The methods used by many captains of industry to obtain their fortunes were often ruthless and unscrupulous. Some of them, however, contributed large sums of money for charitable and humane purposes. Money given by Rockefeller has aided a great variety of scientific and educational research projects, and endowed many cultural, religious, and charitable enterprises. Carnegie's fortune has been used to promote peace, build libraries, establish pensions for college professors, and finance educational research. (Consult Amherst Readings, *John D. Rockefeller — Robber Baron or Industrial Statesman?* for significant interpretations.)

older J. P. Morgan, significantly called "Jupiter" by his associates, felt that the competing companies should get together.

3. Organization of the United States Steel Corporation. Schwab finally won over Morgan to the idea of lending the support of his far-flung banking interests to a steel merger on Carnegie's terms. Carnegie sold out his interest for a little less than five hundred million dollars. Then Morgan and his associates organized a holding company, the United States Steel Corporation, with a capitalization of $1,400,000,000, about half of which was "watered" stock. Judge Elbert H. Gary was selected to be the head of this new holding company, which controlled about 60 per cent of the steel business of the United States. Since its organization United States Steel has continued to grow in size by means of absorption and merger, so that today it stands as the greatest steel-producing unit in the world. In the organization of this billion-dollar corporation, banking interests played the dominant role.

What happened in oil and steel occurred in tobacco, sugar, and wool, and at a later date in the automobile industry, the aluminum industry, and others. The tendency toward consolidation was seen not only among manufacturing companies and railroads, but also among retail stores and banks.

BIG BUSINESS IS RESOURCEFUL IN DISCOVERING WAYS TO CONSOLIDATE

Forms of combination. In order to avoid competition and to escape the losses involved in price-cutting wars with rival companies, several forms of combination have been used: the pooling agreement, the interlocking directorate, the trust, the holding company, and the merger.

1. The pool and its weaknesses. In the early days of large-scale production, from about 1877 to 1887, the arrangement most commonly used was the pool. The managers of several competing establishments agreed to divide the year's profits, or to divide the amount of business each should have, or the territory to which each would sell. In any case, prices would be kept at a profitable level. As a method of stabilizing prices, pools were not altogether satisfactory. For one thing, they were temporary measures, depending on harmony among rivals.

2. The interlocking directorate. The interlocking directorate is a favorite device to bring about uniformity of policy. It consists of having the same individual serve on the boards of directors of several companies. A small group of men holding directorships in a hundred or more corporations — railroads, banks, oil companies — can thus exercise a dominant influence over the business life of the country.

3. The trust. In 1882 the Standard Oil Company adopted a form of combination known as a "trust." The stockholders of competing companies surrendered their shares of stock to a board of trustees, which

thus had voting control in the various companies and could effect economies, limit output, and control prices. The board of trustees gave the stockholders trust certificates in return for their stock certificates, and the stockholders continued to receive dividends. In the case of the Standard Oil Company, a board of trustees controlled all the refineries, operated them in harmony, and divided the profits among the companies on a prearranged basis. Other companies soon saw the advantage of the trust organization and joined together after the example of the Standard Oil group. For about ten years, from 1882 to 1892, the trust was popular and replaced the pool.

For the companies not in the trust it meant ruin, and for the consumers it sometimes meant high prices. All such monopolies, pools, and trusts were attacked by the state legislatures and finally by Congress in the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 (pages 413–414). However, lawyers quickly found a substitute. Although the trust, as such, is no longer used, the word has come to mean any great business organization.

4. The holding company. A holding company is one which "holds," or owns, a controlling interest in the stock of several companies. The holding company dictates the policies of the corporations it controls. It may establish a monopoly. For many years the Pennsylvania Company had existed merely for the purpose of holding stock of the railroads owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad. In a similar manner the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Southern Pacific Railroad, and the General Motors Corporation have acquired the stocks of a group of subsidiary companies. These are "holding companies."

5. Associations of manufacturers. In 1872 the stove manufacturers formed a national association to control prices. A few years later, troubled with stove molders' strikes, they also formed a Stove Founders' National Defense Association to combat the union. Similar associations were soon formed by the publishers and printers, the firms engaged in marble cutting, and the makers of clothing. In 1895 a national organization of employers — the National Association of Manufacturers — added another agency of industrial co-operation. City and state associations were also formed and were sometimes very effective in promoting the interests of business. Local boards of trade and chambers of commerce were also effective agencies in fostering co-operation. Today the United States Chamber of Commerce is a powerful propaganda agency promoting the interests of Big Business.

6. The merger. More recently, particularly since 1914, when the Clayton Act forbade a corporation to acquire the stock of another corporation where the effect may be "to substantially lessen competition" (pages 529–531), business leaders have resorted to the merger, or outright consolidation, of several companies. The merger is effected by the transfer of stocks and bonds of different companies to one of the

units without changing the name of the corporation which absorbs the others. If an entirely new corporation is formed and all the combining units are dissolved, it is called a consolidation. The tendency toward mergers was particularly pronounced in the 1920's.

The role of banks in business. The financing of huge enterprises calls for enormous credit facilities. When corporations desire to market millions of dollars' worth of stocks and bonds, the general practice is to sell the entire issue to some bank or a group of bankers, who then undertake the task of advertising and selling the stock or bond issue to the investing public. (For legislation regulating the sale of securities, see pages 563–564.)

Credit for production. As business has become bigger, the financial transactions of the country have been conducted more and more on a credit basis, so much so that economists refer to the present economic society as a system of credit economy. The power to extend or withhold credit at times gave the banks a large, if not absolute, control of the industrial structure. Not a few corporations have been ruined because their rivals possessed sufficient influence with bankers to prevent their competitors from obtaining large amounts of credit. Business leaders sometimes sought to obtain control of credit by securing election to the directorship of banks. It has been charged that bankers have occasionally controlled short-time flurries in the prices of goods and stocks so that a few could make millions, or so that some competing business leader might be ruined. They have even been charged with encouraging business depressions and panics to secure their ends.

Credit for marketing. Formerly credit was extended to assist production. In the years following World War I credit was used in large volume to stimulate consumption. Producers of expensive commodities — automobiles, radios, refrigerators, washing machines, pianos, and many others — made use of what was called the "deferred payment plan" to sell their products. Installment buying and selling became an outstanding feature of retailing. Finance corporations were organized by many companies to assist them in the sale of their products.

IN 1890 THE GOVERNMENT BEGAN TO GRAPPLE WITH THE PROBLEM OF BIG BUSINESS

Government's interest in Big Business. For fifty years the government, through its legislatures and courts, has been attempting to solve the problems created by Big Business. Why should the government busy itself with the conditions under which steel or sugar or oil or beef or canned goods are prepared, marketed, and sold? There are three fundamental reasons: first, the fear that large corporations might raise prices unduly; second, the fear that large corporations, either by reason of their very size and power or by their pursuit of unfair trade prac-

tices, might crush the small businessman; third, the fear that the few men who control basic industries and vast resources to capital might become so powerful that the government would yield to their command.

The practices of some corporate industries have at times justified these fears. What is more natural than for the consuming public to cry out against monopoly prices, and for the small businessman to demand a chance to live and let live?

Can these colossal combinations be so regulated that they will pass on the benefits of lower-cost production to the public in the form of cheaper prices; that they will not achieve power by unscrupulous tactics; that they will deal fairly with the millions who are dependent on them for work? What means of control can society devise to make our modern economic structure contribute to the best interests of all the people?

The Sherman Antitrust Law, 1890. These are not easy questions. A good deal of our legislative history is concerned with efforts of government to find a satisfactory answer. Beginning about the 1880's both political parties advocated the regulation of trusts. The earliest efforts to deal with the problem were made by the states. Several state legislatures, especially in the South and West, enacted "anti-monopoly" laws. The first important effort of the federal government was the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 (see page 500). Three years later in 1890 the federal government enacted the Sherman Antitrust Law which declared:

> Every contract, combination, in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade, or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations is hereby declared to be illegal. . . . Every person who shall monopolize or attempt to monopolize or combine or conspire with any other person or persons to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. . . .

The theory was, apparently, that the various oil companies or steel companies or meat-packing companies should be compelled to compete with one another. But the law did not define the terms it used (such as "restraint" and "combination") and was not specific as to the means for enforcement. Actually there were few successful prosecutions, and the law produced no immediate effects except that trusts changed their form to holding companies. For the next ten years the law was almost ignored and forgotten. Captains of industry were skillful in finding ways to evade the law. Keen observers noted that as pools became trusts and trusts became holding companies, each new combination gained over its predecessor in compactness and strength.

The organization of the billion-dollar United States Steel Corporation in 1901 was apparently the answer of Big Business to the Sherman

Antitrust Law. The great efforts of the federal government to deal with the problem of the modern corporation and Big Business have been made in the twentieth century. In general, there have been two main phases in government policy: (1) the effort to compel competition, attempted with indifferent success in the period from 1890–1912 (pages 514–517); (2) the effort to regulate Big Business, especially in the years of Wilson's New Freedom, 1913–14 (pages 529–531), and Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, 1933–37 (pages 573–575).

Words and Phrases

absentee ownership, bond, common stock, cutthroat competition, dividends, holding companies, horizontal combination, interlocking directorate, laissez-faire, merger, monopoly, pool, preferred stock, price discrimination, proxy, stock exchange, trust, vertical combination, watered stock

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What are the advantages of the corporate form of business organization?
2. How did the issuance of watered stock complicate the problems of regulating Big Business?
3. What factors determine the value of a share of stock?
4. What are the evils in the absentee ownership of industry? How might they be corrected?
5. What is meant by the statement that bankers hold the key position in modern industry?
6. Account for the fact that the government tried to compel competition, while business leaders were seeking to avoid competition.
7. Senator Platt, in opposing the Sherman Act, declared that "the whole effort has been to get some bill headed: 'A bill to punish trusts!'" What did he mean? Did the Sherman Act punish trusts?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Study the financial section of a newspaper and prepare a digest of articles that deal with government actions toward business. Explain the items in the report of transactions on the stock exchange. Why is the trend of stock prices regarded as an index of prosperity?
2. Concerning the watered stock of the United States Steel Corporation in 1901, it has been observed: "This burden the country's steel users, which meant the whole American nation, had to carry because a group of Chicago and New York millionaires had tried to question the supremacy of a group of Pittsburgh millionaires in the realm of steel." Consult other accounts of the formation of the United States Steel Corporation and defend or criticize this observation. Can you determine, either from the text or from your study of watered stock in economics, what has happened over the years to this watered stock?
3. Investigate and report on the careers and activities of some of the country's great railroad builders and operators — Cornelius Vanderbilt,

Edward H. Harriman, James J. Hill, Leland Stanford, and others. Report also on the struggle for the control of the Erie Railroad.

4. "The right of an individual to do as he will with his own property is not an absolute right but must be modified to suit changing conditions." Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement with this statement. How do the antitrust laws modify the traditional rights of private property?
5. The editors of *Fortune* published an article (March, 1938) which suggested that it might be a good thing for business to "unmerge," or "unscramble for profits," before the government actually forced business to break up into smaller units. Pointing out that several mergers had not succeeded any too well, the article stated that "collectivism in business begets collectivism in government." After extensive reading on the subject, debate the merits of this suggestion that business should "unwind" itself. Explain the statement, "collectivism in business begets collectivism in government." Is Big Business collectivistic? Reasons.
6. This same article concludes with the following analysis and prophecy: "If, finally, neither Business nor Government makes any move whatever in the direction of breaking down industry into smaller, more compact, more mobile, and better earning units; if bigness is allowed to remain as the standard concept of the economy; then the American businessman, and the American politician, and in short all American citizens, must prepare themselves for a different order of things; an order in which the powers of Government are not limited; in which the right to risk-and-profit is not clear; and in which the making, the selling, and even the buying of the products of the biggest show in history are all mysteriously directed from above." What steps has either government or business made in the direction of securing smaller business units? What evidences are there that the prophecy involved in the above statement is or is not being realized? Explain the phrase "an order in which the powers of Government are not limited; in which the right to risk-and-profit is not clear" (pages 117–118).
7. How did domestic and international developments during and after World War II affect the relations between government and business?

Suggested Reading

DEVELOPMENT OF CORPORATIONS: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 176–198; Berle and Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, pp. 10–46, 127–152, 220–246, 333–357; Dewey, *National Problems* (A.N.S.), pp. 188–202; Faulkner, pp. 430–458; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 155–170; Hendrick, *Age of Big Business* (Y.C.S.), pp. 25–57; Schlesinger, pp. 88–92; Tarbell, *Nationalizing of Business* (A.L.S.), pp. 68–90. Consult especially Amherst Readings, *Democracy and the Gospel of Wealth; John D. Rockefeller — Robber Baron or Industrial Statesman? Roosevelt, Wilson, and the Trusts.* Both the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune* have published extremely helpful pamphlets and guides on the reading and interpretation of the financial section of a newspaper.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

The Rise of Organized Labor

THE LABOR ARMY IS RECRUITED FROM MANY SOURCES

Armies of labor. The economic revolution was much more than the substitution of machinery for manual labor on the farm and in the mill; it was more than the rise of the great factory to take the place of the wayside craftsman's shop. It also included the unending line of recruits who knocked at the doors of the great industrial organizations, many of which counted their workmen by tens of thousands. Men and women and children did the shop or mill work and, by force of circumstance, changed their mode of living and their ways of thinking.

The labor supply came from many sources. (1) Many of the laborers came from farms. Regular hours, the opportunities for companionship, for varied amusements, and for intellectual improvement in the cities attracted a steady stream of farm laborers to the industrial centers. (2) Many of the laborers were immigrants; between 1880 and 1914, instead of moving to the West, immigrants crowded into the factory cities. Employers maintained a powerful lobby to prevent the enactment of laws that would check this source of cheap labor. On the other hand, American labor organizations began to demand the restriction of immigration (page 422). (3) The transfer of industries from the home to the factory and the ease with which machinery could be operated attracted into the wage-earning class women and children who formerly remained at home. Low wages paid to men made it necessary for women and children to add to the family income.

Reasons for the development of a labor movement. The growth of an organized labor movement was the result of economic changes, fear of the loss of work, and low wages. 1. Economic changes. The successful organization of large groups of laborers in the United States coincides with the disappearance of the frontier, the development of large industrial combinations, and the growth of cities. In earlier years the existence of free land furnished an outlet for the underpaid and discontented. With the coming of the Industrial Revolution and the congestion it created, there was no longer a satisfactory escape for the toiling masses. The employers met some of their problems by forming pools, trusts, holding companies, and manufacturing associations. The laborers, too, organized. Individually, workers were at the mercy of

their employers; collectively, they could successfully bargain with the masters of capital and the owners of jobs.

2. Fear of the loss of work. The new working conditions in industry separated the employers and the employees. More than likely the higher officials of the corporation seldom saw the workrooms and knew little if anything of the conditions under which the workmen lived. Hiring laborers was as impersonal as purchasing raw materials. When money could be saved by cutting down the number of workers, employees were laid off or discharged as casually as the stopping of an unneeded piece of machinery.

3. Since industry was organized to make a profit on the investment of capital, businessmen used every means to accomplish that purpose. None offered greater promise of immediate results than low wages. Cheap labor in the form of children, women, and immigrants provided opportunities for profits.

LABOR SEARCHES FOR AN EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION

Early labor unions. The unionization of workers was pretty well under way at the time of President Jackson. Then local organizations of skilled laborers achieved some success. But local craft unions could not achieve as much as combinations of unions on a national scale. To these larger combinations labor leaders directed their efforts after the War between the States. Many national unions imitated the Know-Nothing and the old Ku Klux Klan societies, taking on fantastic names, holding meetings in secret, with solemn ceremonies directed by officers with royal titles. Such, for example, were the Supreme Mechanical Order of the Sun, the Knights of St. Crispin, and the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor. There were also a few organizations of a more matter-of-fact type. One of these was the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which has continued to the present day.

The Knights of Labor (1869–86). The Knights of Labor was the first important attempt to organize workers on a national scale. 1. Organization. It was founded in 1869 by Uriah S. Stephens, a Philadelphia tailor, under whose leadership several local garment workers' unions in eastern cities expanded into a national union which included laborers of all kinds, skilled and unskilled, and even nonworkers. After the Knights of Labor dropped its secret features (1879) it rapidly grew in numbers.

2. Demands. Among the demands of labor at this time were the following: shorter hours, better pay, and better conditions of work; workmen's compensation; compulsory school laws; abolition of child labor; a graduated income tax; inheritance taxes; postal savings banks; government ownership of railroads, telephones, and telegraphs; the formation of producers' and consumers' co-operatives. These demands

were frequently denounced as extremely radical, but many of them have since been achieved.

3. The Haymarket affair, 1886. Terence V. Powderly was elected Grand Master Workman in 1879; at the time the Knights of Labor had about 10,000 members. Under his leadership the union rapidly grew in strength, having 53,000 members in 1883, 100,000 in 1885, and more than 700,000 a year later. The cause of this phenomenal growth was the successful outcome of a series of labor strikes in the early 1880's and particularly the recognition of the union by some large employers of labor.

In 1886, in order to encourage the adoption of the eight-hour day, the Knights of Labor co-operated with other unions in promoting May Day strikes. In Chicago police dispersed a strikers' meeting. In the fighting that resulted, several workmen were killed and wounded. The fourth of May meetings were held to protest the violence of the police. One of the largest was held in Chicago's Haymarket Square. The meeting was orderly, and as it was about to break up, police ordered the crowd to scatter — thus for the second day in succession interfering with freedom of speech. Some one threw a bomb, killing a policeman and wounding others. There was street fighting in which many were wounded and eleven people were killed, seven of whom were policemen. The immediate aftermath of the affair was the arrest of ten anarchists, extreme radicals who advocated the overthrow of all government. There was much excitement and alarm; two were released, but the remaining eight men were tried together and found guilty, although many protested against the partiality shown at the trial. It was widely believed that the men were convicted because of their beliefs and not because of any acts, for it has never been known who threw the bomb. Of the eight who were found guilty, one committed suicide, four were hanged, and three went to prison. In 1893 Governor John P. Altgeld, carefully reviewing the evidence, pardoned the three men who were still in jail, because he was convinced that they were innocent.

4. Decline. The effect of the Haymarket affair on the Knights of Labor was disastrous. Coupled with the failure of some of the cooperatives it had sponsored and the loss of some strikes, its identification in the public mind with violence and anarchism destroyed its effectiveness. Its membership declined rapidly, and although it survived for another fifteen years, it ceased to be an important labor organization.

Labor leaders were entering an age of industrial warfare and had much to learn. They lacked experience and training. They began strikes with treasuries empty, or in times of depression, when the employers could well dispense with their workers' services. Failures cost them the loyalty of their members. But gradually a body of labor leaders, who were acquiring experience as leaders of national craft unions, profited by early mistakes.

The American Federation of Labor. This organization grew out of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. Founded in 1881, it took its present name in 1886.

1. Organization. Samuel Gompers made this comparison:

> The Knights admitted anyone to membership. . . . the Federation confines membership to workingmen, not even admitting farmers, who are employers of labor on their farms. The Knights was a centralized society based on lodges established by the central union; the Federation is based on its unions' individuality. But, chief of all, the Knights assumed that organization of all classes of workers in one union in each locality would bring about the best results; while the Federation realized that the organization of each trade in its particular union, and the affiliation of all unions in a comprehensive federation, was sure to strengthen and bring advantage to all.

2. Samuel Gompers. The man who stood out above all others in the American Federation of Labor was Samuel Gompers, who became its president in 1882, the year after it was organized. Except for one year (1895) he served continuously as president until his death in 1924 and was the foremost labor leader in the United States for more than forty years. Of him it might be said, "The Federation was Gompers, and Gompers was the Federation." After Gompers' death, William Green was elected to the presidency of the A. F. of L., and continued to be re-elected to the office until his own death in 1952.

3. The strength of the A. F. of L. In its early years the A. F. of L. grew slowly. In 1890 there were 100,000 members; in 1900, 548,000; and in 1904, 1,676,000. It enjoyed its greatest strength at the close of World War I and from 1935 till the present. With few exceptions the labor organizations of the United States and Canada were drawn into the Federation. In 1920 unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor had a membership of about 4,000,000, while other unions had a membership of 1,000,000. In the prosperous years of the 1920's trade union membership declined, until in 1932 the American Federation of Labor had a membership of 2,500,000. During the depression of the 1930's there was a large increase in the membership of the A. F. of L., and by 1952 it claimed 8,000,000 members. Just as significant as this growth of the A. F. of L. in recent years was the spectacular rise to power of a new national labor organization, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (pages 585–587). By 1952 this powerful rival of the A. F. of L. claimed a membership of approximately 6,000,000. The membership of all labor unions (A. F. of L., C.I.O., and independents) was approximately 15,000,000 to 17,000,000. Even the latter figure indicates that in the 1950's a large percentage of all employed workers did not belong to union organizations.

Reasons for limited growth of labor unions. Various reasons have been suggested for the failure of trade unions to achieve a larger mem-

bership. 1. The prosperity of the country during the 1920's, when wages were higher and conditions better for many classes of workers than during the period before World War I, is one reason. 2. It has also been suggested that the multiplication of a variety of forms of entertainment — the radio, the movie, the automobile, consuming much of the leisure time of the worker — has weaned him away from attendance at union meetings. 3. The American worker, it is said, is influenced by the traditions of freedom, independence, and material success, and is not willing to sacrifice his individuality by joining unions. 4. Still another reason is the occasional presence in labor union ranks of racketeers. The undoubted association at times of some labor leaders with the underworld and the practice of what has been criticized as "hold-up" and "guerrilla" unionism have been factors in lessening the appeal of trade unions.

5. Disappearance of skilled trades. Probably a more important reason for the small membership of the A. F. of L. is the revolutionary technological changes which have been crowding out the old crafts, the very foundation of the early union movement. For example, the Cigar Makers Union steadily declined in numbers as automatic machines tended by girls took the place of skilled hand workers. The American Federation of Labor made little effort to organize the millions of unskilled workers. It was the failure of the A. F. of L. to organize the workers in the mass-production industries which caused the rise to power of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (pages 585–587).

6. The development of "welfare capitalism." Finally, the terrible lessons of industrial warfare and the application of economic thought to the industrial problem have taught large employers that the contented workman is a more productive worker. Therefore large corporations have used trained personnel managers to handle their relations with employees. They also practiced what is called "welfare capitalism." Many corporations adopted profit-sharing plans, old-age pension schemes, sickness and accident insurance programs. Many corporations sold stock to their employees, thus hoping to give the worker a feeling of being part owner of the business.

ORGANIZED LABOR MAKES IMPORTANT GAINS IN THE STATES AND IN THE NATION

Aims of organized labor. The chief aims of the American labor movement have been to lessen the hours of work, to improve wages and working conditions, and to secure the right of collective bargaining. At one time there was a demand for a work day of ten hours; still later for a forty-four-hour week; still later for a five-day week, and then, as a means of making more jobs, a thirty-hour week.

Labor unions, however, have demanded many things besides shorter

hours and higher wages. They have been in the vanguard in urging many important social and political reforms. The annual conventions of the Federation have usually advocated reforms which called for state and federal legislation. For example, resolutions adopted in the Convention of 1900 advocated compulsory education, sanitary inspection of workshops, mines, and homes; liability of employers for injury to health, body, and life of employees; abolition of the contract system on all public works and of the "sweating system"; municipal ownership of streetcars, water works, gas and electric plants; the nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railways, and mines; the use of the initiative and referendum in legislation.

Collective bargaining vs. *compulsory arbitration.* One great object which labor has struggled to achieve is the right of collective bargaining. The laborer acting as an individual is at the mercy of the employer; collectively, the unions are often able to dictate to the employers. Because labor looks upon the right to bargain collectively and the right to strike as essential to its success, it has for the most part opposed all suggestions for the compulsory settlement of industrial disputes. On the other hand, labor has not opposed efforts toward mediation and conciliation. The national government and some of the states have created agencies to facilitate the use of arbitration in the settlement of industrial disputes (pages 584–589).

The cost of industrial warfare. Whatever labor has gained has not been accomplished without a heavy price to the workers, to the employers, and to society as a whole. Labor has found it necessary to wage thousands of strikes to achieve its ends. These strikes have been costly to labor, because they involve the loss of millions of dollars in wages; they have been costly to employers, who lose millions of dollars while their industrial establishments are idle; they have been costly to society as a whole, which at times is seriously inconvenienced, as in the case of transportation and coal strikes, and which sustains a serious decline in the total wealth that could have been produced. In about half the cases the workers usually win the object for which they strike. Wage rates are the most frequent cause of strikes, though the recognition of the union by the employer has been a very important cause of strikes. In recent years there have been strikes over the question of which particular union really represented the workers.

Some strikes are mere skirmishes, but others are industrial battles of terrible fierceness. Such, for example, was the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad strike (1877), which led to violent struggles between the strikers and the police in several cities and states, the Homestead strike (Pennsylvania, 1892), the textile strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts (1912, one of the important strikes organized by the I.W.W., page 430), and the so-called "Little Steel" strike (Chicago, 1937). Some of the big strikes have become practically a form of civil war. Rioting and

pitched battles have usually resulted when federal troops, the state militia, or the police have been used to break up a strike. At other times violence has resulted when corporations imported "strikebreakers" to end a strike. Strikes are a serious and important business. Evils in themselves, they are also symptoms of evils in our social and economic structure.

The achievements of organized labor. The achievements of organized labor have been many. 1. Limitation of the hours of work. The eight-hour day became a reality, first in government work and then in practically all industries; recent legislation and practice has established forty hours per week as the standard work week (pages 587–588).

2. State laws. A number of laws have been passed by the various states for improving the conditions of labor — limiting the hours of work of women and children, compelling the installation in mine and factory of devices to protect the safety and health of the worker, and requiring the employers to provide compensation to injured workers. The sweat-shop system has been attacked by a number of state laws; government employment agencies have been established; free public education and compulsory school attendance have become facts. Many states had child labor laws, and, even before the Social Security Act of 1935 (pages 622–624), had adopted old-age and widows' pensions, and had begun to adopt plans of unemployment insurance.

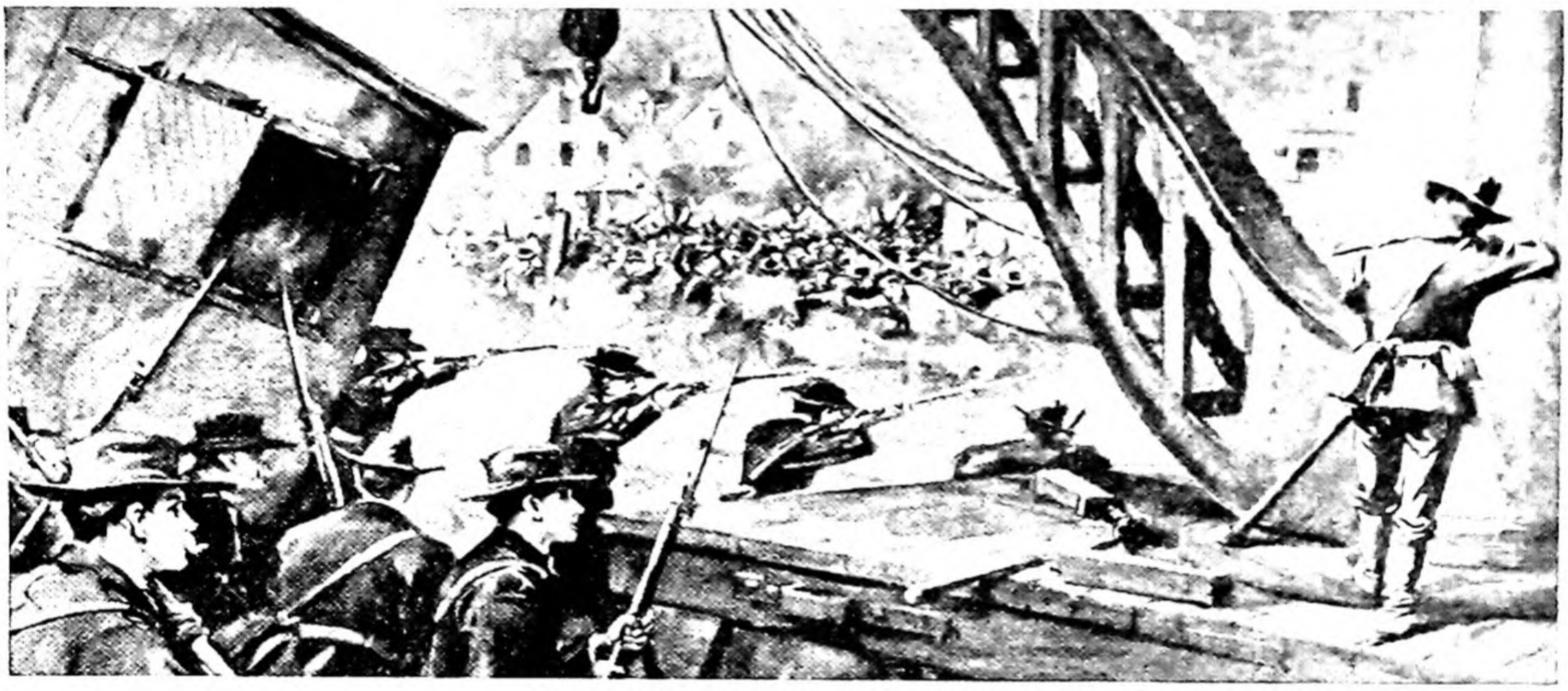
3. Federal legislation. The federal government has also enacted a series of laws of benefit to labor. In 1884 Congress created a Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 1913 the Department of Labor was created as a separate department. The following year the Clayton Antitrust Act (pages 530–531) extended certain benefits to labor. In 1915 the La Follette Seaman's Act corrected the labor conditions prevailing on ocean-going vessels and on river and lake craft. In 1916, by threatening to tie up the transportation system of the country, the railroad labor unions virtually forced Congress to pass the Adamson Act, which established a basic eight-hour day for railroad employees. Beginning in 1921 Congress passed laws to restrict immigration, a great achievement for organized labor. Some of labor's greatest gains were won during the era of the New Deal and World War II (pages 583–588).

4. Congressional attempts to limit child labor. By 1916 the movement to abolish child labor had achieved considerable success in many of the states. Manufacturers in states with the strong child labor laws argued that their competitors in states which had no such laws enjoyed cheaper production costs. Congress therefore attempted to limit child labor by a law (Keating-Owen Act) which excluded from interstate transportation all goods made in factories which employed persons under fourteen years of age. The Supreme Court in 1918 (Hammer *vs.* Dagenhart) by a vote of five to four declared this law unconstitutional on the ground that it was a violation of the Tenth Amend-



From a drawing by Winslow Homer in *Harper's Weekly*, July 25, 1868

Workers leave a New England factory at the close of a long, hard day in the late 1860's. Note the child workers among the crowd.



From a drawing by G. W. Peters in *Harper's Weekly*, July 21, 1894

National guardsmen fire into the mob during the Pullman Strike, 1894. Conflict has not been uncommon in America's economic development.



Photo by Harris & Ewing. Reproduced from *The Pageant of America*. Copyright Yale University Press

President Wilson signs the Child Labor Law of 1916. The law was later declared unconstitutional.

ment. In 1919 Congress attempted to accomplish the same purpose by a law which imposed a 10 per cent tax on the profits of factories employing children under the age of fourteen and of mines and quarries employing children under the age of sixteen. This law was also declared unconstitutional (Bailey *vs.* Drexel Furniture Company, 1922) on the ground that the purpose was not to raise revenue but to restrict child labor, and that the federal government was "invading" the rights of the states.

Congress then proposed (1924) a child labor amendment to the Constitution which would give Congress power to "limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." However, resentment against federal encroachment upon the powers of the states was so great that many states refused to ratify the proposed amendment. A few states had ratified this proposal before the depression; several ratified under the influence of hard times in 1933 and 1934. Twenty years after the submission of the proposal about twenty-six states of the thirty-six necessary had signified approval. However, the net effect of laws enacted under the New Deal has been to bring about the practical elimination of child labor (pages 584, 587).

LABOR AND CAPITAL USE VARIOUS DEVICES IN THEIR STRUGGLE

The weapons of labor. The weapons of the union are the strike, picketing, the closed shop, the boycott, the union label. 1. The strike and picketing. By a strike is meant the refusal to work until certain demands are granted. Strikes are costly to the employer because they curtail production; they involve an enormous waste because equipment remains idle. (There are, of course, times when employers welcome strikes, as, for example, when they feel that strikes may compel their competitors to pay the same rate of wages, or when the market for their product is dull.) A prolonged strike may reduce the worker to the verge of starvation. To prevent this workers are supported by funds from their own union treasury and from the central organization with which they are affiliated if the strike is one approved by that body. To prevent the employer from hiring "scabs," or strikebreakers, the union members resort to picketing, that is, walking up and down in front of the factory to persuade strikebreakers and others from rendering any help to the employer. In large cities picketing is commonly used as a device to persuade sympathetic purchasers not to patronize retail establishments. In this form picketing is much like the boycott.

2. The boycott. A boycott is (a) the refusal by a group of workers to handle or work with the products of a certain employer, or (b) it may be the refusal of a sympathetic public to purchase the product of an employer unfriendly to labor. It has at times been an effective weapon but it has brought ruin to some employers, and sometimes the

courts have forced unions to pay heavy damages. Somewhat similar to the boycott, but by no means so effective — except perhaps in the printing trade — has been the effort to compel employers to use the union label, that is, a marker to identify goods which have been produced by union labor. The use of the boycott on a large national scale has declined in favor among union leaders, and it is now chiefly used in local conflicts, especially against theaters, stores, and restaurants.

3. The closed shop and limited output. In an effort to give the unions greater strength in pressing their demands, union leaders sometimes have made contracts with employers to the effect that they will employ no one who is not a member of the union. Such a "closed shop" was banned under the Taft-Hartley Act (page 803).

To prevent an oversupply of labor, well-organized trades limit the number of union members, and even place limits upon the number who seek to enter the trade. The unions do this in order to provide work and maintain wages, just as manufacturers limit output in order to maintain prices. These practices of the labor unions have been seriously criticized by manufacturers and many economists. In more recent years some labor unions have co-operated with employers to eliminate waste and to speed up production.

The weapons of the employer. 1. The open shop, the company union, and the "yellow-dog" contract. Many employers have refused to run a closed shop or to recognize the union at all. Some conduct "open shops," employing both union and nonunion labor, although a so-called "open shop" is usually one that is closed to union labor. Still others encourage their own workers to organize "company unions," that is, an association of workers from the same shop and not affiliated with any other group, with whom the owner agrees to deal collectively. The employer argues that he should not be compelled to suffer the ill effects of a strike caused by unsatisfactory conditions in some other employer's factory. Some employers resorted to what is known as the "yellow-dog" contract, that is, a contract made by the worker when he is hired in which he states that he does not belong to a union and promises that he will not join one. Since 1932 federal and state laws have lessened the effectiveness of the "yellow-dog" contract.

2. Blacklist and lockout. The weapon used by manufacturers that corresponds to the boycott and union label of the union is the "blacklist" — a list of workers who have been discharged, for one reason or another, or who have been active in stirring up labor troubles. Workmen on such a list find it very difficult to secure any work at all. The blacklist tends to prevent the development of effective labor leaders, for the worker who acts as spokesman for his comrades is among the first to be blacklisted. Corresponding to the strike is the lockout — a shutting down of the factory and the stoppage of all work. Through bitter experiences labor leaders have learned that in times of depres-

sion many employers would rather close down their factories than submit to the demands of labor.

3. The injunction and contempt of court. The injunction is a very effective weapon of the employer. An injunction is an order from a court forbidding a person or group of individuals to perform an act which the court believes may result in injury. In the case of labor disputes the injunction may be obtained either by employers or by public officials to prevent picketing, boycotting, or meetings, on the ground that property may be damaged by workers, or that serious inconveniences to society may result.

Since an injunction is an order of a court, disobedience is regarded as an insult to the dignity of the court and the law. Society cannot permit the orders of the courts to be ignored. Therefore any disobedience to a court order may be summarily punished as contempt of court. No indictment, no trial by jury is necessary. The person who disobeys the injunction can be arrested, brought before the court which issued the injunction, and sentenced to jail. "Government by injunction" has been attacked by labor leaders for years. To restrict the use of the injunction has been one of the aims of American labor (pages 427–428).

4. Application of Sherman Antitrust Law to unions. Another weapon used against labor unions was the clause in the Sherman Antitrust Law that combinations in restraint of trade are illegal. In 1894 the workers of the Pullman Palace Car Company went on strike because the company dismissed members of a union committee who had protested against a reduction in wages. During this strike President Cleveland ordered federal troops to maintain order, in spite of the protest of Governor Altgeld of Illinois that there was no need for federal troops. The Federal District Court of Illinois issued an injunction forbidding officials and employees of the American Railway Union to interfere with the business of the railroads. In spite of the injunction Eugene V. Debs continued to manage the strike and to prevent the operation of trains bearing Pullman cars. He was arrested and after some months in jail was sentenced, without jury trial, to serve six months on the ground that he had violated the injunction. In upholding the conviction of Debs the Illinois Circuit Court relied upon the Sherman Antitrust Act and ruled that labor unions as well as corporations came within the meaning of the Sherman Antitrust Law. However, the Supreme Court based its decision not on the Sherman Act but on the power of Congress to control interstate commerce and the transportation of the mails. The Supreme Court ruled that the lower court was not in error in sentencing Debs to jail without jury trial for contempt of court.

Ten years later another famous case — that of the Danbury hatters — gave evidence of how the Sherman Act could be used against labor. The Danbury strikers conducted a successful boycott against a hat manufacturing company. The company sued the strikers for damages

under the Sherman Act, alleging that the union had restrained trade. The contention of the manufacturers was upheld by the Supreme Court, and the hatters' union was compelled to pay an extremely heavy bill for damages. (Loewe *vs.* Lawlor, 1908. See page 591.)

Labor clauses of the Clayton Antitrust Act (1914). These and similar cases led to a demand for federal legislation which would exempt labor unions from the Sherman Act and do away with "government by injunction." The Antitrust Act of 1914 tried to carry out both of these demands. The law stated that strikes, picketing, and boycotting were not violations of federal law. In labor disputes growing out of the terms and conditions of employment, the law prohibited the injunction unless it appeared necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property rights for which there was no remedy at law. Finally, it provided for trial by jury in cases of contempt of court. Samuel Gompers hailed these provisions as the "Magna Carta of Labor."

But court decisions gradually destroyed the apparent effectiveness of these provisions of the Clayton Act. Various forms of boycotts were held unlawful by the Supreme Court, and injunctions were often used "to break strikes." Indeed, the federal government itself used injunctions to prevent a coal strike in 1914 and to end a railway strike in 1922.

Court interpretations of labor laws. 1. Attitude of the courts toward injunctions. Arguments over the use of injunctions in labor disputes persisted, despite the Clayton Act, because of the difficulty in determining whether "irreparable injury" may or may not be a probable result of certain acts. The courts insisted that society was under obligation to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of their property, and that no group is entitled to damage the property of others. To prevent damage from being done, the injunction is used.

2. Attitude of labor toward the courts. Labor union leaders have continued to thunder against the courts, which they have accused of being the refuge of special privilege and the tool of capitalists. In some instances the past political affiliations and the economic philosophy of the judges have been deciding factors in their decisions. Labor claims that judges, and the men who appoint them to office, and the industrialists who retained them as lawyers before their appointment or election to the judicial office, move for the most part on the same social level. They play golf together and belong to the same clubs; the judges are, labor says, more likely to lean toward the employer's side in labor disputes. This situation led to very grave criticism of democracy and the courts. Disrespect for the courts is a serious matter, for it tends to encourage disrespect for law and to breed violence.

3. Recent reforms in injunction proceedings. The leaders of the labor movement have tried to limit the use of injunctions rather than to have them abolished in labor disputes altogether. In 1932 Congress passed the Norris–La Guardia "Anti-Injunction" Law. The law declares

that injunctions may not be issued (a) to restrain labor unions from persuading workers to violate "yellow-dog" contracts; (b) to prevent picketing; and (c) that they may not be granted in labor disputes except after hearing the testimony of witnesses in open court with opportunity for cross-examination; (d) the law further provides that in cases of contempt of court the accused is entitled to a jury trial before a judge other than the one whose restraining order was disobeyed. This law applies to federal courts and not to state courts, but about one half of the states have enacted similar "anti-injunction" laws. Injunctions can still be granted, but under limits protecting labor in some degree against their arbitrary use. (See pages 802–804, Taft-Hartley Act.)

Political activities of the A. F. of L. In general the leaders of the A. F. of L. have not committed the organization to the support of any one political party or engaged in any extensive political activity. The Federation has sought to put "pressure" upon the members of both political parties, aiming to secure the election to office of men "favorable" to labor. This method has been effective, for candidates are reluctant to antagonize labor and are eager to win its support. In 1908 the officials of the A. F. of L. endorsed the Democratic candidate for President, Mr. Bryan. Again in 1912, 1916, and 1920 Federation officials endorsed the Democratic candidates. The labor officials took pains to say that the endorsement of individuals did not mean the endorsement of parties. In 1924 the Federation endorsed Robert M. La Follette, the candidate of the Progressive party. In the campaign of 1928 the Federation returned to its earlier policy and refrained from endorsing any candidate. Small labor groups, independent of the Federation, have at times attempted to organize labor parties, but until recently these attempts have been weakly supported and short-lived. (See pages 474–478, and for more recent political activities of the A. F. of L. and other labor unions, see pages 595, 803–805.)

RADICAL LABOR MOVEMENTS HAVE STRUGGLED TO ACHIEVE A FOLLOWING

The conservativism of the Federation. Radicalism has not characterized the activities and progress of the American labor movement; nor has it made much headway with the rank and file of the workers or with labor leaders. In this respect the American labor movement has had a history quite different from that of organized labor in European countries. However, there always have been a few leaders of radical thought who sought to "bore from within." On certain occasions large groups of workers have seemed willing to lend their support to radical leaders. But the leaders of the American Federation of Labor have remained conservative.

The Socialist Labor and the Socialist parties. Socialism and still

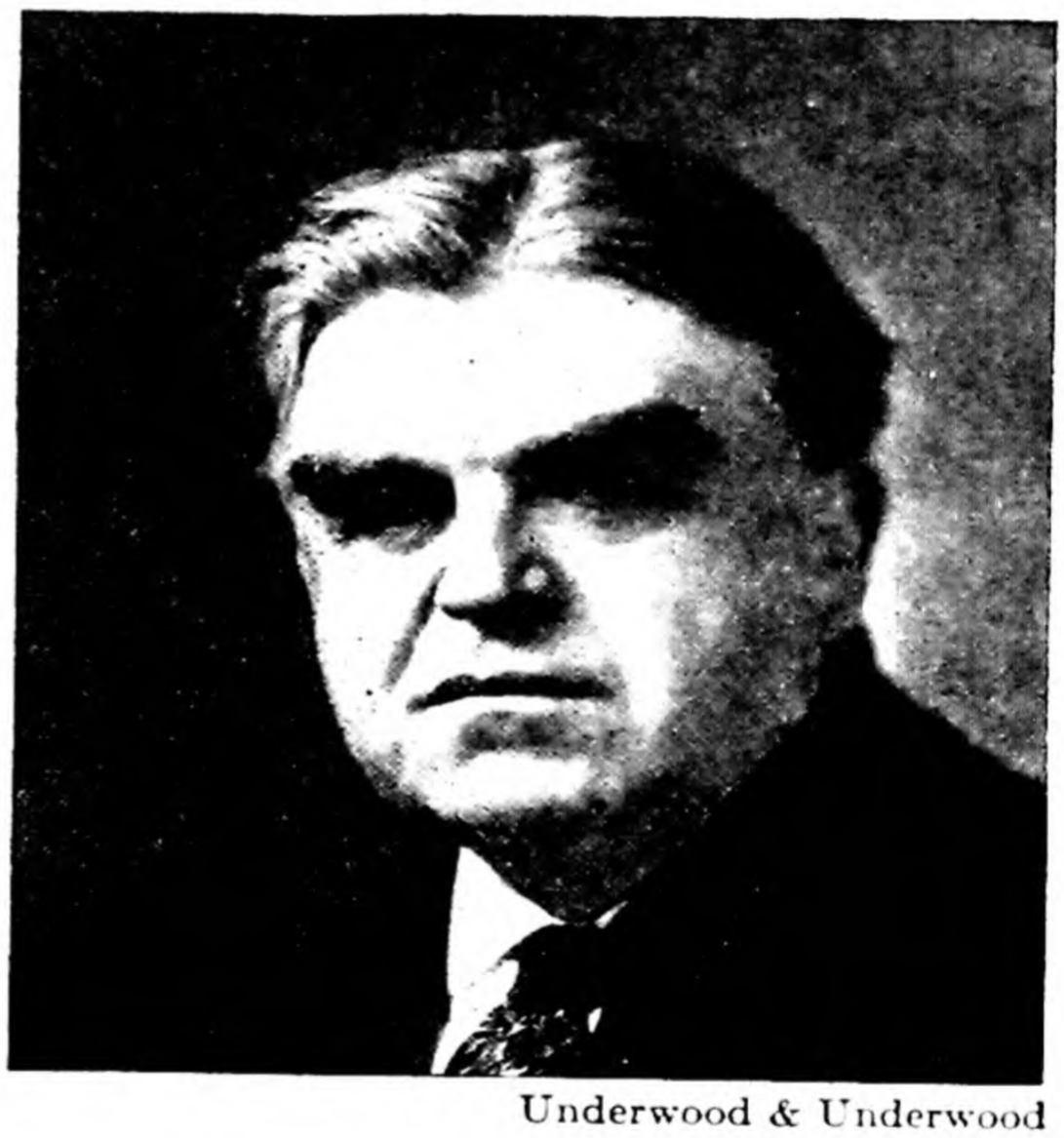


Keystone View Company

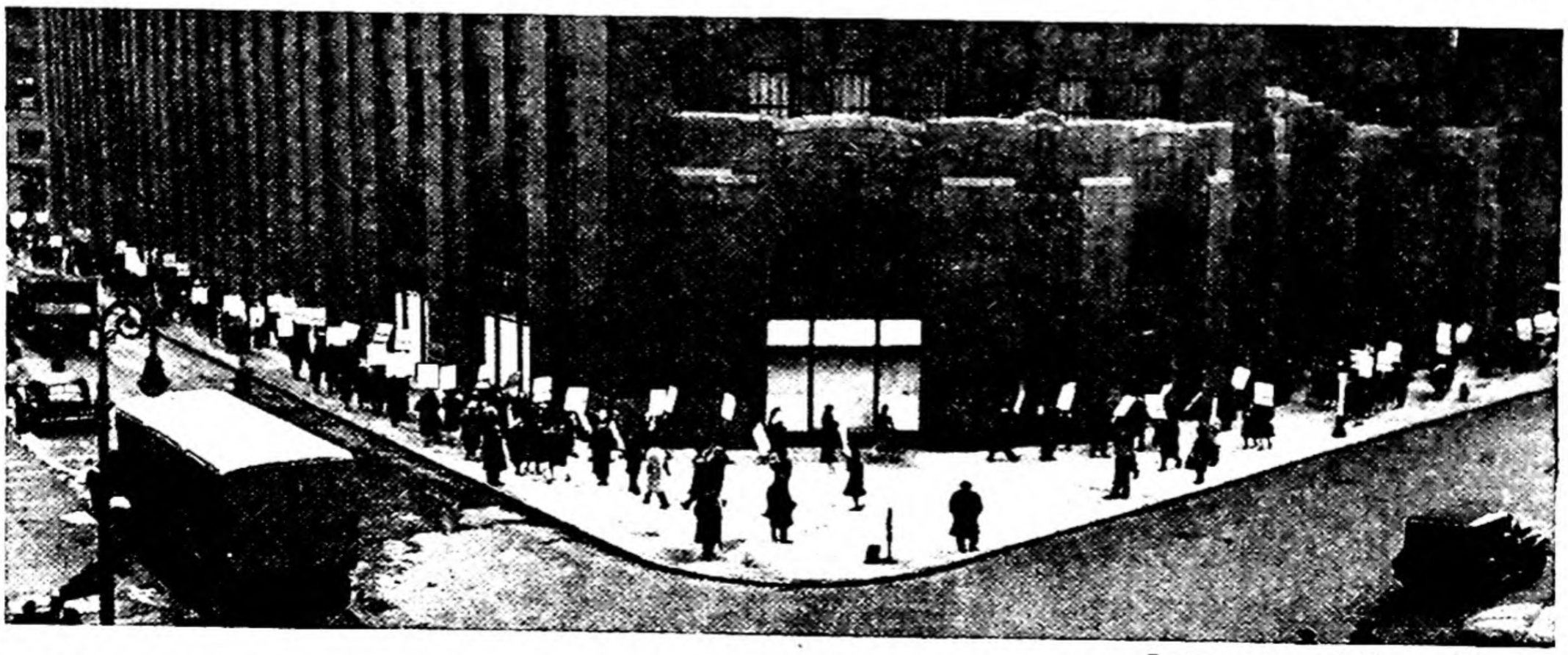


Harris & Ewing

Samuel Gompers (*top left*), William Green (*top right*) and John L. Lewis (*right*) represent an important and very significant phase of American life. Gompers and Green, as leaders of the A. F. of L., helped in the organization of the skilled trades, or crafts. Lewis, as president of the United Mine Workers, was instrumental in organizing industrial unions and forming the C.I.O.



Underwood & Underwood



International News Photos

Western Union strikers picket the main office of the company in New York in 1946. Besides preventing strikebreaking, the picket line helps to create public opinion.

more radical philosophies have furnished an outlet for those workers who desired political action and who were dissatisfied with the conservatism of the American labor movement. In 1892 the Socialist Labor party began to nominate candidates for the presidency and has continued to do so ever since; it has never succeeded in polling more than a few thousand votes. In 1900 the Socialist party, a much larger group, nominated one of its greatest leaders, Eugene V. Debs. In 1912 Debs, then the candidate of his party for the fourth time, received 900,000 votes. In 1920, when the Socialist party reached its greatest strength, he surpassed that figure by a few thousand. In 1924 the Socialist party supported the candidacy of La Follette of the Progressive party, and from 1928 through 1948 nominated Norman Thomas as its standard-bearer. World War I weakened the Socialist party, which was torn by factional quarrels between socialists and communists. The more radical joined the Communist party, which adopted the policy of fostering and organizing united or popular front movements, hoping that ultimately communists would rise to positions of leadership and be able to "capture" the labor organizations and use them to bring about the destruction of capitalistic society.

The I.W.W. Some leaders of the Socialist party succeeded during the early 1900's in organizing a radical labor union known as the Industrial Workers of the World, or more popularly as the I.W.W. Organized by Debs, Daniel De Leon, and William D. Haywood in Chicago in 1905, this organization sought to become "one big union" embracing all workers, making no distinction between trades or between skilled and unskilled workers. The I.W.W. adopted the socialist theory of the class struggle, declaring that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common." It found its greatest success in the lumber camps of the Northwest and in industrial centers where there was a large population of disgruntled workers. Its leaders were successful in conducting some important strikes. But the violence that accompanied the strikes of the I.W.W., and the extreme denunciations of society and government by its leaders, prevented the movement from gaining much headway. It has ceased to play an important part in the American labor movement. Many who gave it support have either attempted to force the Federation to adopt more liberal policies or have found an outlet for their energies in the Communist party.

Communist activity in labor unions. By 1930 some unions had developed communist leanings. In September, 1929, these and other groups organized at Cleveland the Trade Union Unity League, which hoped to become a formidable rival of the Federation. This organization resulted from the adoption by radical union leaders of a policy of "dual unionism," that is, organizing the more militant in the ranks of labor into independent unions and thereby endeavoring to disrupt the regular or more conservative unions. In March, 1935, the Trade Union

Unity League dissolved and urged its affiliated union members to join the standard unions and to "bore from within" to force changes in the economic and political programs of unions.

Another group of labor leaders, dissatisfied with the failure of the Federation to enter politics, organized a Conference for Progressive Labor Action. This group organized the Brookwood Labor College, where efforts were made to train leaders for the labor movement. In 1928 the Federation denounced the Brookwood Labor College as being communistic and withdrew its support, but the college continued to function until 1937. Throughout the 1920's there were numerous skirmishes between the conservative American Federation of Labor and the radical dual unions supported by the Trade Union Unity League, communists, and other radical groups. Because of a change in Communist party tactics, during the early years of the New Deal many of the dual unions were dissolved, and their numbers again sought membership in the American Federation of Labor. When the struggle between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. began in 1935, there were all shades of opinion, conservative and radical, in the ranks of the A. F. of L. (pages 585–589).

Shifting policies among radical groups. The Socialist Labor party, the Socialist party, the Communist party, the Trade Union Unity League, and a variety of other groups represent all shades of anticapitalist thought. While in some respects they agree with the basic economic ideas of Karl Marx that (1) there is a class struggle between employer and employee; (2) production should be for service and not for profit; (3) private ownership of the means of production should be abolished, they disagree among themselves on details and on methods. At times some radicals have advocated violence, militancy, sabotage, general strikes; sometimes they co-operate and at other times they refuse to co-operate with liberal groups to achieve certain reforms. Some radicals practice "opportunism," shifting their tactics and program to suit changing situations; others resolutely adhere to their basic principles no matter how the wind blows. In 1944 the convention of the Communist party unanimously voted its dissolution as a political party, announced its support of President Roosevelt for a fourth term, and converted itself into the "Communist Political Association." However, in 1945 it reversed this policy and once again began to operate as a political party.

Because of changes in names, purposes, and tactics it is difficult to describe labor unions or labor leaders as socialistic or communistic and to distinguish between these terms. There is no doubt certain unions have been led either by Socialists or Communists or by those who have socialistic or communistic leanings. What a Senate investigating committee stated concerning the steel strike of 1919 is true of a number of strikes: "Some radicals are attempting to use the strike to elevate them-

selves to power within the ranks of organized labor." This fact hurts the cause of labor union activity with the public and with many workers. Therefore employers and others opposed to labor unions continually hurl the charge of "un-Americanism" or "communism" against labor unions even when it has no foundation in fact. On the other hand, communists and other radicals delight in pinning the labels "fascist" and "reactionary" on labor leaders who do not sympathize with either their philosophy or their tactics. Name-calling and struggles within labor unions and between labor unions over leadership, tactics, and principles tend to lessen the effectiveness of the labor movement (pages 585–589).

Words and Phrases

A. F. of L., blacklist, "boring from within," closed shop, C.I.O., collective bargaining, company union, compulsory arbitration, contempt of court, Danbury hatters' case, Haymarket affair, I.W.W., injunction, Knights of Labor, minimum-wage laws, open shop, opportunism, picketing, Pullman strike, restraint of trade, trade union, welfare capitalism, workmen's compensation

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. Why did not the labor problem become acute until after the War between the States? Why is the problem of capital and labor more acute today than it was fifty years ago?
2. What is the difference between a trade union and an industrial union? What is the difference between the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, and the Committee for Industrial Organization (which became the Congress of Industrial Organizations)?
3. What has been the attitude of the American labor movement toward political action?
4. How do you account for the fact that labor unions advocated such proposals as inheritance and income taxes, popular election of senators, postal savings banks, government ownership of the railroads?
5. Why are labor leaders opposed to the compulsory arbitration of disputes?
6. Which trades in your locality are well organized and which are not? Are the wages and conditions of work of the well-organized trades any better than those of the poorly organized trades? What are some of the practices of unions in the well-organized trades?
7. Explain what is meant by "government by injunction." Have the so-called anti-injunction bills put an end to the controversy over injunctions? Reasons. Do you think the injunction should be abolished altogether?
8. Is it correct to say that the improvement in the condition of labor was a result of the efforts of organized labor or do you think such improvement would have come about naturally?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Investigate and report on outstanding events in American labor history, such as the activities of the Molly Maguires, the Baltimore and Ohio

strike of 1877, the Homestead strike of 1892, the Haymarket affair of 1886, the anthracite coal strike of 1902.

2. List in order of importance the reasons why the union movement has failed to absorb millions of American workers. (Note: There are large groups of workers — clerks, domestic servants, and many others — who have not been organized at all. Why not? Would it be advantageous for them?)
3. Interview an ardent unionist and list his reasons for belonging to the union. Interview a nonunion worker and list his reasons for not belonging to a union. Compare and weigh the reasons given. (Note: Did the men whom you interviewed appear to be equally well informed?)
4. Interview an employer of labor who maintains an open shop and one who maintains a closed shop. Compare their respective attitudes toward unions.
5. If you were a member of the legislature of your state, how would you vote on the proposed child labor amendment? Reasons.
6. Should labor abandon or maintain a policy of political nonpartisanship? Are there any evidences that labor has entered partisan politics? (See page 595.)
7. Compare the labor legislation of states like New York or Massachusetts with the labor legislation of North Carolina or Tennessee. Try to account for the difference between the two. (Note: Consult *The American Story of Industrial and Labor Relations*, an interesting account of the subject prepared by a Joint Legislative Committee of the New York State Legislature.)
8. Prepare a list of the statements, judgments, or interpretations in this chapter with which you disagree. Give reasons for your disagreement.
9. Is the relationship of employer and employee in the average industry properly a problem of the federal or the state governments?
10. Discuss the grounds on which the courts have taken a hand in the matter of the relationship between employers and employees either by interpreting laws or by settling controversies.
11. Some labor unions have achieved marked success (notably the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Mine Workers) by making one-, two-, or three-year contracts with the employers. Investigate and report on the employer-employee contract as a method of promoting the interests of labor and of avoiding the evils of industrial warfare. (Consult the appendix to Faulkner, H. U., and Starr, Mark, *Labor in America* for an illustration of such union agreements.)

Suggested Reading

EARLY LABOR UNIONS: Beard, Mary R., *A Short History of the American Labor Movement*, pp. 62–79, 116–126; Beard and Beard, I, 643–648, II, 211–222; Faulkner, pp. 458–464; Faulkner, H. U., and Starr, M., *Labor in America*, pp. 54–103; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 188–194; Keir, *Epic of Industry* (Pageant), Chap. XIV; Orth, *Armies of Labor* (Y.C.S.), pp. 1–86; Commager, Nos. 298, 571 — Preamble to the Constitution of the Knights of Labor, and Constitution of the C.I.O.

American Federation of Labor: Beard, Mary R., *A Short History of the American Labor Movement,* pp. 86–102; Beard and Beard, II, 222–227; Faulkner, pp. 464–469; Faulkner, H. U., and Starr, M., *Labor in America,* 104–135, 222–280; Gompers, Samuel, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor;* Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 195–197; Schlesinger, pp. 94–99, 227–229; Tarbell, *Nationalizing of Business* (A.L.S.), pp. 147–167; Commager, No. 473 — Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

The Government, the Courts, and Labor: Beard and Beard, II, 227–236; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan,* pp. 497–510; Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 62–65, 76–80; Faulkner, pp. 471–476; Frankfurter and Green, *The Labor Injunction;* Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 197–201, 509–517; Hart, V, 467–482; New York State Joint Legislative Committee, *The American Story of Industrial and Labor Relations;* Schlesinger, pp. 95–100, 379–382; Tarbell, *Nationalizing of Business* (A.L.S.), pp. 168–186; Commager, Nos. 373–403, 445, 474, 500, 501, 502 – Labor legislation and leading disputes; Amherst Readings, *Industry-wide Collective Bargaining – Promise or Menace?*

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

Social and Intellectual Changes

THE UNITED STATES BECOMES A NATION OF CITY DWELLERS

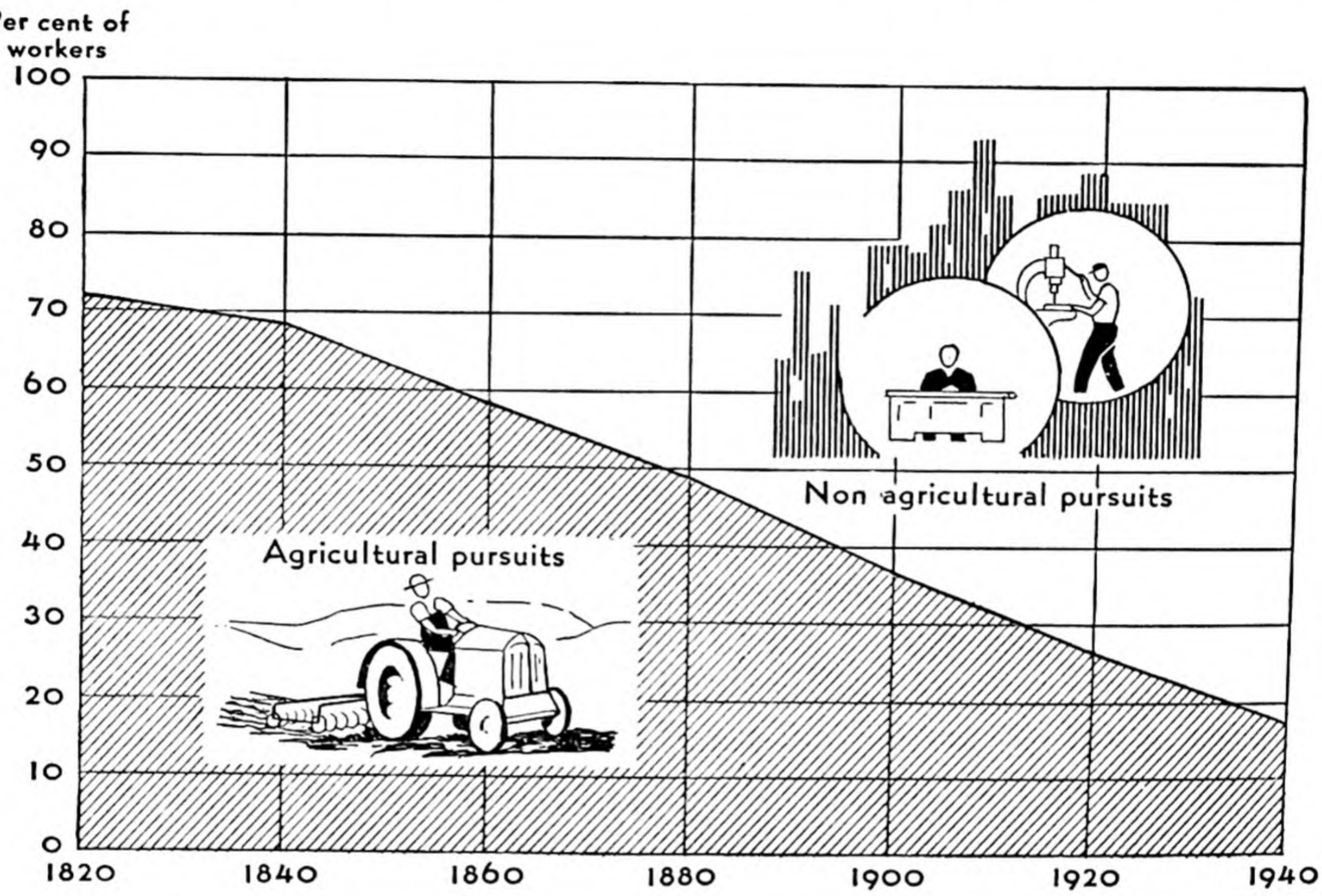
The urbanization of American life. The most distinctive social characteristic of the period since the War between the States has been the rapid urbanization of the American people. The census of 1920 was the first to indicate that the majority of the American people lived in cities; the census of 1930 showed that the tendency of the people to move from farm to city continued with amazing rapidity; the census of 1940, however, disclosed a check in this rate of shift to urban areas. In 1900 there were 37 cities with a population of more than 100,000; 50 in 1910; and 106 in 1950. The development of the trolley car, the automobile, good roads, the telephone, the radio, the interurban bus, and the use of electricity bring many farmers and farm workers under the influence of city conditions. The isolation of rural life has been broken down. To a much larger extent than statistics reveal, the population of the country has become urbanized.

Influence of the modern city. The growth of cities has created a series of problems. Among these problems are water, food, and milk supply; adequate transportation facilities; the disposal of waste and refuse; housing; police and fire protection.

1. The maintenance of health. It has become necessary for cities to adopt an elaborate program of health work to check the spread of disease. As a result the mortality rate in cities today is much lower than it was fifty years ago.

2. Housing. Houses were constructed without providing adequate facilities for light, air, and fire protection. Crowded together near factory centers, they furnished an excellent breeding place for disease germs. The demand for living quarters in congested centers of population brought into existence the apartment house, accommodating several families under one roof. Such buildings became common after 1890. It was not until 1901 that New York State passed a Tenement Housing Law which rigidly compelled the tenement house owners to provide fire escapes, sanitary conveniences, ventilation, and some sunlight. Providing adequate housing facilities at cheap rentals remains one of our most important social problems. Both federal and state governments have made efforts toward solution of the housing problem by passage of several types of housing law (pages 567–568, 620–622).

3. Slums. Nearly all cities had "slum" sections. In spite of the general prosperity of the country, 1922–29, millions of the laboring masses lived dangerously near or in poverty. Charitable organizations and philanthropic associations have done much to alleviate conditions. Settlement houses have been organized to bring some relief to the dwellers in the city slums. Notable among them is the famous Hull House of Chicago, presided over for so many years by Jane Addams, and the Henry Street Settlement House in New York, in which Lillian



SHIFT OF WORKERS FROM AGRICULTURAL TO NONAGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS, 1820–1940

Wald did effective work. The publication in 1890 of *How the Other Half Lives*, by Jacob Riis, had some effect in directing the attention of reformers to the social evils of the slums.

4. The spread of the modern city. The automobile, the motor truck, and the bus, and the widespread use of electricity in industry are bringing about many changes in the character of our cities. There is no longer the same necessity for factories to be crowded near the water front or along railroad sidings. Many large manufacturers have constructed new and better factories in outlying sections, where land is cheap and there is room for expansion. The worker no longer finds it necessary to live near his place of work; every city is surrounded by a suburban area of increasing size. Cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Baltimore, St. Louis, Boston, Pittsburgh, and San Francisco spread their influence far beyond the legal limits of the city proper. They become part of a metropolitan area,

with suburbs for miles around dependent upon them for work, education, and recreation.

5. The death toll of the automobile. The automobile has also brought the problem of traffic congestion in the "downtown," or commercial, sections of our cities — and even at times on the broad highways that thread their way through rural communities. The automobile takes a terrible toll each year in the number of killed and wounded. "Safety campaigns" have become necessary.

6. City planning. To remedy the unfortunate conditions that came with the hurried growth of the cities, some communities have resorted to city planning, which involves controlling the future growth of the city, destroying crowded tenement areas, and providing for wider streets, larger parks, and more playgrounds. Some cities have spent millions for these purposes. Short-sighted landlords and taxpayers have resisted the movement to do these things, complaining that these improvements mean heavier taxes. But the more progressive and socially minded leaders who sense the long-range benefits of city planning are beginning to effect reforms.

During the depression of the 1930's, in order to relieve unemployment, much was done to make our cities more beautiful (page 567). World War II interrupted these improvements, but many cities and states prepared extensive plans for modernization to be carried out in the immediate postwar period as one way of finding new jobs for millions of unemployed when war production ceased.

Municipal government. 1. The boss and the machine. Many cities have suffered from political corruption so serious that sixty years ago Lord Bryce referred to city government as America's one "conspicuous failure." The city was usually controlled by a political "boss," assisted in the various sections of the city by ward or district captains whose function it was to know the voters, help them to get jobs, or aid them to escape the clutches of the law. The captains also dispensed charity in the form of picnics, clambakes, baskets at Thanksgiving and Christmas time, and, sometimes, gifts of money. The boss and the men he picked to hold elective or appointive office had valuable privileges to confer — licenses to operate saloons, reduction of taxes, manipulation of the courts, valuable franchises to street railways, gas, water, electric light, and power companies. In return for these favors the boss found it easy to keep the treasury of his party well filled so that he could conduct campaigns and dispense charity. For example, building and paving contractors and supply men would be expected to contribute to the welfare of the party or the boss if they hoped to obtain any of the city's business. To the boss and his henchmen politics was a business, a means of livelihood (pages 262–263).

2. The mayor-council type of city government. The average American city modeled its government after that of the nation and the state.

The chief executive officer was a mayor, and the city legislature consisted of a board of aldermen, selectmen, or assemblymen. Responsibility was divided; the boss found it easy to "fix" things his way even though at times reform movements stirred the city from its lethargy. In order to leave less opportunity for control by a boss, many cities have experimented with new types of city government. The most common are the commission plan and the city-manager plan.

3. The commission form of government. After a disastrous flood in 1900 Galveston, Texas, experimented with the idea of running a city as a large corporation. Galveston did away with the mayor and city legislature and placed control of the city's business in the hands of a board of directors, or commissioners. The Galveston commission was successful, and in a few years many cities abandoned the mayor-council type of government for the commission form. As time passed, however, shrewd politicians discovered how to bring the commission type of city government under their control.

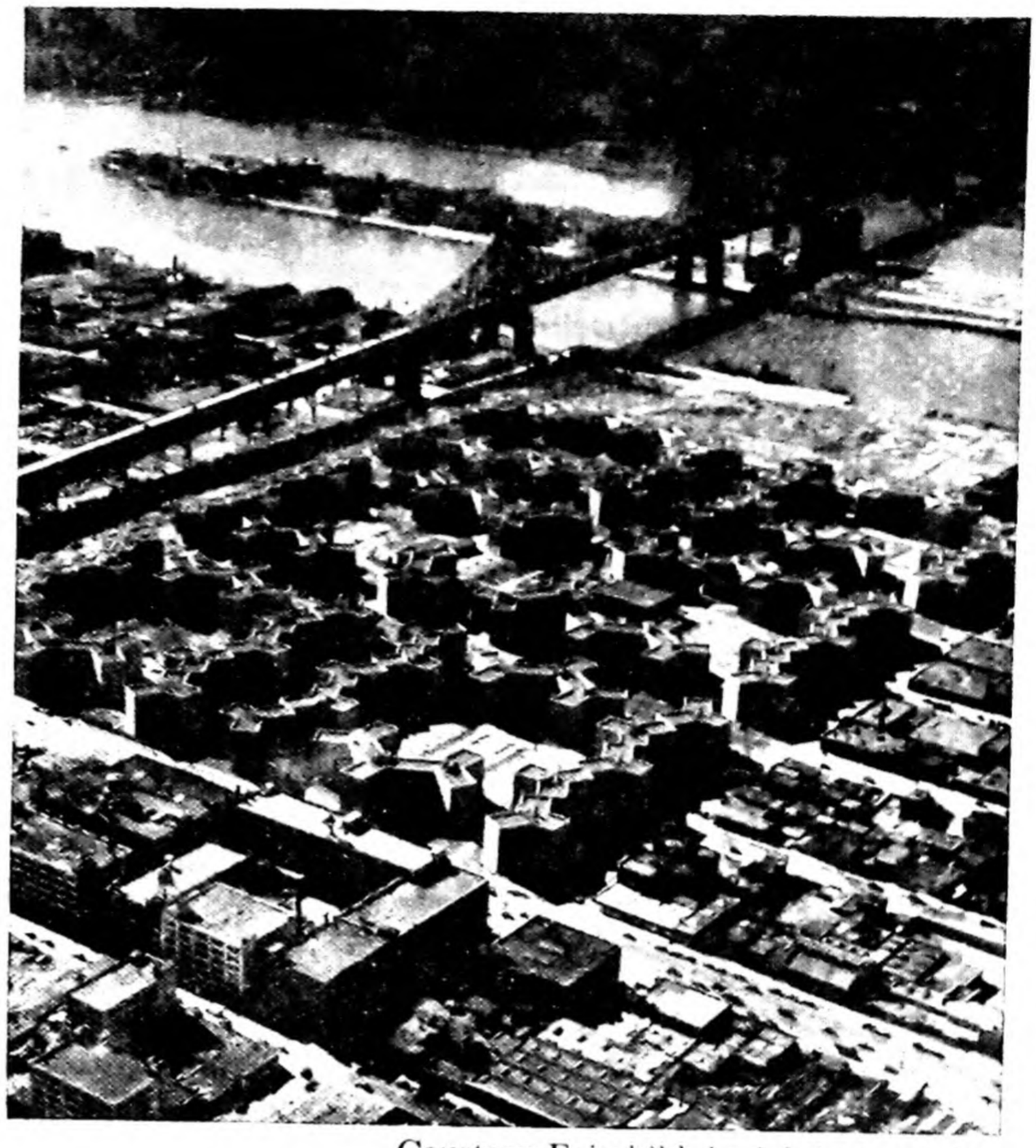
4. The city-manager plan. About 1913 some cities began to experiment with what is known as the city-manager plan of government. Under this scheme the commissioners or council hire a manager to run the city. The city manager is often an expert who has trained himself for the position, or a businessman who has achieved success. The city manager need not be a resident of the city which hires him, but usually he is. The idea back of these changes is that the affairs of the city are similar to those of any business organization, which would soon be bankrupt if it allowed patronage and politics to control its actions. While progress has been made in improving municipal administration, great reforms are still necessary before America can justly boast of the character of its municipal government.

THE INCOME AND THE JOBS OF AMERICANS SHOW GREAT VARIETY

Unequal distribution of wealth. In America all citizens are equal in the eyes of the law. All possess the same legal, civil, and political rights. In theory there are no social classes, but in practice those who have money constitute "polite society," and those families which have been wealthy for two or three generations have come to regard themselves as somehow superior to their fellow citizens. The average American respects highly the man of wealth, and is inclined to accept the wealthy man's opinion in politics, economics, art, literature, and science as authoritative, even though the possessor of wealth may be quite incompetent in these fields.

Using the money income of a family as a basis, we may refer to the findings of the Brookings Institution to discover the social groups in the United States. In *America's Capacity to Consume*, the Brookings Institution revealed that in the prosperous year of 1929:

The Queensborough housing project in New York is only one of many such units throughout the country. Within the last decade a beginning has been made in the elimination of city slum areas. Much still needs to be done. To provide adequate housing for the great majority of the American people will be a major task for many years to come.



Courtesy Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc.



Courtesy Rockefeller Center

Lack of much-needed business and housing space in large cities resulted in the skyscraper. The skyscrapers of New York City have made its sky line world famous. The Chrysler Building (*left*) and the Empire State Building (*right*) tower over the surrounding high buildings.

Nearly 6 million families, or more than 21 per cent of the total number of families in the United States, had incomes less than $1000. — *Below the subsistence level*

About 12 million families, or more than 42 per cent, had incomes less than $1500. — *Subsistence level*

Nearly 20 million families, or 71 per cent, had incomes less than $2500. — *Minimum comfort level*

Only a little more than 2 million families, or 8 per cent, had incomes in excess of $5000. — *Comfortable level*

About 600,000, or 2.3 per cent, had incomes in excess of $10,000. — *The well to do or wealthy*

"One third — ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." A very small percentage of the American people could be classed as wealthy in the days of our greatest peacetime prosperity, and a rather large percentage of the people had incomes which kept them at or below the subsistence level. President Roosevelt in his second inaugural address, January 20, 1937, forcefully directed the attention of the American people to the uneven distribution of the national income:

> I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day. . . .
>
> I see millions denied education, recreation, and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.
>
> I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions.
>
> I see one third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished.
>
> It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope, because the nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out.

The need for greater productivity and mass purchasing power. The concentration of wealth and income in the hands of a few caused reformers to urge that the great social problem confronting America was a more equitable distribution of income and wealth. The Brookings Institution concluded its report of 1929 conditions:

> (1) Vast potential demands alike for the basic commodities and for conventional necessities exist in the unfilled wants of the masses of the people, both urban and rural. (2) The United States has not reached a state of economic development in which it is possible to produce more than the American people as a whole would like to consume. (3) We cannot materially shorten the working day and still produce the quantities of goods and services which the American people aspire to consume.

In the 1950's, too, it seemed that the general welfare of Americans would be improved: (1) by increasing our productive efficiency; (2) by

discovering some means whereby the products of American industry could be put within reach of greater numbers of the people.

Decline in the rate of population increase. While the total population of the United States has increased considerably, the rate of increase has been declining for some time. In each of the last four decades of the nineteenth century the rate of increase was from 25 to 30 per cent, but in the twentieth century the rate of increase declined. It was 16 per cent in the decade 1920–1930, 7 per cent in 1930–1940, but 14.5 per cent in 1940–1950. The reasons for a decline in rate of increase are two: (1) the restriction of immigration (pages 604–607) and (2) the decline in number of births per 100,000 of population.

The problem of the young and the old. While the rate of increase in population has been decreasing, the composition of the population by age groups has shifted. This is due to the progress of medical science in reducing the rate of infant and child mortality and in lengthening the average span of life. These shifts in age groups present a social problem because: (1) modern industry seems reluctant to employ men and women beyond the ages of forty-five and fifty; (2) at the same time, technological changes make it increasingly difficult for the youth of the land to obtain jobs or to make suitable preparation for jobs. One important result of this shift in the age-group of the population has been a steady decline in child labor, and a correspondingly large enrollment in high schools, vocational schools, and colleges.

New types of jobs. The occupations of the American people have also shifted. Formerly the bulk of the workers found employment in farming, manufacturing, mining, transportation, the building trades, and commerce. These activities still furnish employment to the majority of the people, but as productive efficiency has increased, these occupations have employed a smaller proportion of the total number of workers. On the other hand, there has been a constant increase in the number of people employed in what are called the "service industries." Larger numbers are entering the professions of law, medicine, dentistry, scientific research, journalism, and teaching. Many are employed in industries which have been transferred from the home, such as laundry work, baking, food preparation, and food service. Larger numbers find employment in offices, in beauty parlors, in personal and domestic service, in supplying the recreational needs of the people, and in catering to the "tourist industry." These various trends and shifts affect the social and economic pattern of American life and culture.

AMERICANS SEEK VARIOUS FORMS OF RECREATION

Lovers of sports. The American people have always been interested in sports. They have enjoyed hunting and fishing, and they have taken an active part in a wide variety of games of which baseball, golf, foot-

ball, basketball, hockey, and tennis are the most common. Increased leisure, together with the drab monotony of work in office and in factory, has caused a larger number of Americans than ever before to become active participants in various sports.

Professionalized sports. Sports have also become professionalized, and an increasingly large number of Americans spend their leisure time as spectators at sporting events. American sports are so absorbing and spectacular that every large newspaper carries a special page or pages devoted to news of the sports world. Activities in the world of sports, like the weather, are unfailing topics of conversation. Satisfying the sports needs of the people has become a large-sized national industry. Baseball, the traditional "national pastime," developed in the days before the War between the States and became popular in the sixties and seventies, with the formation of the National Baseball League in 1876 and its rival, the American League, in 1900. Several minor, or "bush," leagues have also been formed. Baseball is now a well-organized business, attracting thousands daily. The outcome of a World Series in the early fall absorbs the attention of the American people. In the nineties, boxing and prize fighting began to attract a large following, and now that sport competes with baseball for the spectator's interest and money. Fabulous sums are paid to those who defend their titles to the championship, for well-publicized matches attract enthusiastic and extravagant visitors to the scene of the fight. Tennis, football, and golf have also become professionalized, with smaller followings. Football, while remaining the traditional college sport, has assumed many of the aspects of a big business, with alumni and faculty striving for winning teams. Even contract bridge, which has become, like dancing, one of the necessary social skills, is now professionalized.

The theater and the "talkies." The "legitimate" theater continues to attract large crowds, but its competitor, the "movies," draws still larger numbers. This is the result of the development and improvement of sound motion pictures. It is estimated that the annual cost of motion-picture entertainment is more than two billions. Whereas formerly thousands knew of the dramatic art of John Drew, Walter Hampden, and Ethel Barrymore, today millions are familiar with a host of motion-picture, radio, and television stars. By 1950 the popularity of television was seriously affecting the motion-picture industry.

Radio and television. In the home the phonograph and player-piano used to help pass idle hours. Today radio and television bring to millions music, news, sermons, advertisements, political speeches, and propaganda of various kinds. No important national or world event passes by without a great country-wide or international "hookup," giving millions an opportunity to listen in on the happenings.

"Pulp" magazines. Competing with the movies for the dimes and quarters of the American people are the so-called "pulp" magazines,

which exist in endless variety and sell by the tens of thousands on the newsstands. Each sport and occupation has one or more magazines devoted to it; in addition, there are those whose contents are revealed by their titles: *Confessions, True Detective Stories,* and so on.

There have been frequent sermons about the effect of the movies, the radio, and the pulp magazines upon the emotional and intellectual attitudes of the American people. That they are profoundly significant all seem to agree, but in what direction and to what extent they determine our intellectual pattern and moral standards is a matter of conjecture. Reaching millions constantly, these instrumentalities for education are, in the opinion of many, far more influential than the education received in the church or in the school (pages 457–459).

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT, WHICH REFLECTS ECONOMIC CHANGES, PROFOUNDLY ALTERS THE POSITION OF WOMEN

The former status of women. An excellent illustration of the great changes in American life brought about by the growth of factories and cities and the coming of mass production is the changed position of women. Formerly, woman's life centered around the home. Traditional occupations for women were the household duties of cleaning, washing, cooking, nursing, and caring for children. Household service in the homes of the well to do was about the only paid occupation open to them. Opportunities for education were limited. Marriage was the only career to which the young girl could look forward. The law limited her rights and activities. The husband was the head of the house. If the wife contracted debts, the husband was responsible. If the wife had any earnings or income, these belonged to her husband. A woman's property became the property of her husband upon her marriage. Political life was, of course, closed to women. The century-old movement to free women from these legal and political restrictions is referred to as the women's movement.

Economic emancipation. 1. Women in industry. Economic emancipation preceded legal and political emancipation. By economic emancipation is meant that women ceased to be dependent upon some man — father or husband — for the necessities of life. The Industrial Revolution gave women opportunities to work outside the home. When women once found it possible to support themselves, marriage ceased to be an economic necessity.

2. Women in the professions. Although women's colleges were established during the period of Jacksonian democracy, it was some time before the professions of law and medicine were open to them. Gradually, however, women began to enter these fields. In 1879 the Supreme Court admitted women to plead before it. As early as 1900 there were about twelve thousand women engaged in the practice of law,

medicine, and dentistry. The number has increased rapidly in the twentieth century.

The women's rights movement. Women were active in numerous reform movements: antislavery, temperance, political reform, prison reform, and social welfare. Their work for reform was hindered by their inability to vote. In the Jacksonian period a few outstanding women began to demand woman suffrage. The demand for suffrage on the same terms as men is as old as the demand for economic and legal equality. At Seneca Falls, New York, on July 19, 1848, a women's rights convention was held (page 282). The leaders of the movement were ridiculed for attempting to upset the natural order of things. It was argued that "woman's place is in the home"; that her entrance into politics would destroy her womanly sweetness and result in the breakup of the home and the degradation of the race. But the feminist movement developed a group of notable leaders — Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Lucy Stone Blackwell — who battled valiantly for the cause of emancipation.

Beginnings of woman suffrage. In 1869 the National Women's Suffrage Association was organized with Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton as president. The chief objective of this association was to secure the ballot for women through state action. In the same year, Wyoming, then a territory, allowed women to vote on the same terms as men. When Wyoming became a state in 1890, it earned the distinction of being the first state to give full suffrage to women. Many states allowed women to vote in school elections. The next step was to confer the suffrage on women in matters of taxation and in municipal elections. A few years after Wyoming was admitted to the Union, Colorado (1893), Utah (1896), and Idaho (1896) granted full women's suffrage. From then on till 1918 state after state granted women either full or restricted suffrage. A great victory was achieved in 1917 when New York State granted full suffrage to women.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment (the Nineteenth). Meanwhile, an American Women's Suffrage Association, organized in the same year as the National Women's Suffrage Association (1869), devoted its energies to secure the adoption of an amendment to the federal Constitution which would give women the right to vote. In 1878 the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, so-called because originally drafted by her, was introduced in Congress. This proposed amendment specified that the right to vote should not be denied on account of sex. It was not until 1918, however, that the proposal received the necessary two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress and was sent to the states for ratification. In 1920 woman suffrage became part of the Constitution as the Nineteenth Amendment. Several women have been governors of states, members of both branches of Congress, mayors of cities, and judges.



Courtesy Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc.

Thousands attend the football games held in the Rose Bowl in Pasadena, California. Millions of dollars are spent annually on sports in the United States.



Wide World Photo

Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt led 20,000 women in a suffrage parade on Fifth Avenue in 1917. Parading was one device used by women to win the right to vote.



From a drawing by C. S. Reinhart in *Harper's Weekly*, March 14, 1874

Women crusaders against intemperance plead with a saloonkeeper. The temperance movement resulted in the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Miss Frances Perkins, appointed Secretary of Labor by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, was the first woman to occupy a Cabinet position. Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen was the first woman to represent the United States abroad, being appointed minister to Denmark in 1933. In 1940 Mrs. J. B. Harriman became minister to Norway.

The demand for full equality. While the "suffragettes" were waging the battle for the vote, others were struggling to obtain a modification of state laws so that women could own and hold property, engage in business, and be free from the guardianship of their husbands. They were, in other words, struggling to secure the demands of the Seneca Convention. To a large extent they have succeeded. The state legislatures have modified the common law which restricted the actions of women. Women now possess, in most of the states, complete equality in marriage, the right to make contracts, and the right to keep any wages they earn. Formerly, a woman who married a foreigner lost her citizenship, but a federal law in 1922 (amended in 1934) gave women the right to retain their citizenship upon marriage to a foreigner. Women have not yet, however, obtained complete equality before the law with men.

THE UNITED STATES UNDERTAKES A "SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERIMENT, NOBLE IN MOTIVE"

The story of prohibition. One of the most notable of the American reform movements was that directed against the use of alcoholic liquor. As we have seen (page 277), the movement was fairly widespread during the reform wave of the 1830's and 1840's. At first the reformers urged moderation in the use of alcohol; next they advocated prohibition of the sale of alcohol, and had achieved some success by the time of the War between the States, which brought a serious setback. The movement revived after the war and steadily gained momentum until finally, in 1919, a Constitutional amendment prescribed absolute prohibition throughout the nation. After thirteen years of trial, the people changed their minds and ratified an amendment abolishing national prohibition, leaving the matter in the hands of the several states, most of which permit the sale of liquor. The story of how the United States tried out and rejected prohibition — called by President Hoover a "social and economic experiment, noble in motive" — is the story of one of the most remarkable phenomena in American social history.

Organized efforts for temperance and prohibition. The success of the liquor reform movement is largely attributable to the activity of several organized pressure groups. One of them, formed in 1874 by Frances E. Willard, was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which carried on a persistent and effective campaign of propaganda and education. Another was the Prohibition party, which has played an active role in politics, national, state, and local. It has nominated

a presidential candidate in every election since 1872. Perhaps most successful of all was the Anti-Saloon League, organized in 1893. This group was very active in politics, using pressure on men in office and on candidates for office regardless of the party to which they belonged.

Other factors leading to prohibition. The evils of the saloon and the corruption of government officials by saloonkeepers and liquor manufacturers led many persons to favor abolition of the liquor traffic. The teachings of the schools and churches that liquor was a physical and moral evil convinced many others. Prohibition was first established by law in several states. Maine had been "dry" since before the War between the States; Kansas established state-wide prohibition in 1881; North Dakota in 1889; and twenty-nine other states fell in line with the movement by 1919. Finally the shortage of grain and coal during World War I led to a temporary ban on liquor manufacture throughout the nation. While wartime legislation was still in effect, the Eighteenth Amendment, designed to establish nation-wide prohibition on a permanent basis, was added to the Constitution (1919).

Difficulties in enforcement. Despite the fact that forty-six of the forty-eight states had ratified the Eighteenth Amendment, it soon appeared that there were many persons who did not like it and refused to obey it. Violation was so extensive and so poorly checked that in many cities, during the whole period of prohibition, it was never impossible, only inconvenient and expensive — and, of course, illegal — to obtain as much liquor as one desired.

Prohibition as a political issue. Prohibition seemed to overshadow all other issues in popular interest. Some sections of the country were undoubtedly dry; others were "dripping wet." Politicians found the subject annoying, and to avoid offending "wets" and "drys" they tried to side-step the issue. In the presidential campaign of 1928 Alfred E. Smith openly advocated the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Finally, in 1933, Congress proposed the Twenty-first Amendment repealing the Eighteenth Amendment. It was very quickly ratified by state conventions. Because a state might adopt prohibition the new amendment provided that the transportation of intoxicating liquors from one state to another in violation of *state* laws was prohibited. To deal with new problems that arose a new commission, the Federal Alcohol Control Board, was created by Congress.

Significance of the prohibition experiment. The prohibition experiment illustrates, first, the tremendous political powers wielded by well-organized pressure groups; second, the difficulty of enforcing unpopular laws in a democracy; and third, the unpredictable and unprecedented shift in public opinion in a comparatively short period of time. Less than thirty years ago prohibition was a burning political issue. Now it is almost forgotten; however, the cause still has some ardent advocates who occasionally speak their piece.

Restrictions on the political rights of the Negro. The Negro problem grew out of the War between the States and the years immediately following. By the Thirteenth Amendment the Negro had obtained freedom; by the Fourteenth Amendment it was expected he would be freed from discrimination in the exercise of his civil and political rights; and by the Fifteenth Amendment it was expected that he would be free to exercise the privilege of voting. But as the years passed, it became clear that the Negro did not enjoy the rights which these amendments had been intended to guarantee.

These amendments and the congressional reconstruction policy gave the Negroes recently freed from slavery a temporary influence in the Southern states. The exploiting of this condition by "carpetbaggers" and "scalawags" brought about the horrors of reconstruction. The concentration in the South of the bulk of the Negro population, with its high rate of illiteracy, meant that that section of the country was confronted by a difficult problem not clearly appreciated by the rest of the country. Once Northern troops were withdrawn, the immediate objective of Southern white leaders was to undo the work of reconstruction (pages 363–364). The Fifteenth Amendment made it impossible to deny the right to vote on account of *race, color, or previous condition of servitude,* but it did not interfere with the right of the state to limit suffrage for *other reasons.* And so state laws were passed, or clauses inserted in state constitutions, to the effect that the right to vote and hold office would be dependent on the ownership of property, the payment of taxes, or the ability to read and write. The net result of these laws has been that in the South comparatively few Negroes vote or hold office. However, in recent years the Supreme Court has ruled that the exclusion of Negroes from participation in primary elections is unconstitutional. There has been agitation for federal legislation to compel the elimination of the poll tax as a qualification for voting.

Although occasional attempts have been made to reduce Southern representation in Congress, according to the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, no determined effort has been made to enforce this clause of the Constitution, which, some argue, has been superseded by the Fifteenth Amendment. Democrats would be opposed to it because enforcement would reduce their strength in Congress and in the Electoral College; and Republicans are unwilling to arouse once more the ill feeling they earned in the South by their reconstruction policy. But above all, most of the people of other sections seem to regard the political status of the Negro in the South as the South's own problem which the South must solve for itself.

The Negro has been no more successful in the achievement of so-

cial and economic equality. In the city the Negroes are grouped in the same neighborhoods, usually in the poorest section of the city. The Negro meets with discrimination in the use of hotels, restaurants, and public places of amusement. In many states *segregation* laws compel the Negroes to use a special section of trolley cars, busses, and trains. These "Jim Crow" laws, as they are called, were held by the Supreme Court (1896) not to be contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment on the ground that *separation* of the races is not *discrimination* provided the accommodations for the Negro are equal to those provided for the white man. However, in 1946 the Supreme Court, by a vote of six to one, ruled that a Virginia law which required a "Jim Crow" section on interstate busses was unconstitutional.

The economic life of the Negro. 1. The Negro as a farmer. The economic opportunities of the Negro are limited. The large portion of the Southern Negroes are farmers, either working for others or working farms as tenants. Despite much improvement the lot of the Negro farmer remains a poor one. Not infrequently the Negro works a farm and pays the owner in crops—usually 50 per cent of the yield. If the Negro, as often happens, is unable to cultivate his land profitably, the owner may take court action to protect his interests; the cost of such a court action is taken out of the Negro's share. The Negro sharecropper, and white sharecroppers as well, are therefore reduced to a state of virtual dependency.

2. The Negro in industry. The position of the Negro in industries in all sections of the country is hardly better. Large numbers are employed as domestic servants and in hotel and laundry work. Some have obtained unskilled jobs in shop and factory. World War I, which brought a cessation of immigration, created a demand for skilled and unskilled labor, and large numbers of Negroes, particularly in the North, equipped themselves for skilled occupations and prospered. Yet employees and many trade unions adopted a policy of discrimination. In recent years, however, particularly during and after World War II, the Negro achieved distinct gains. Many labor unions now admit Negroes. The Fair Employment Practices Committee, an agency created by the President during the war, checked discrimination in employment in factories having war contracts. About eleven states have laws forbidding discrimination in the hiring of workers (pages 811–812).

Social life of the Negro. 1. Education. In the education of the Negro great advances have been made, though in Negro schools in the South there is still much room for improvement. It should be remembered, however, that the South has less money than other sections to spend on schools. That the South is steadily improving its Negro schools, despite this handicap, is shown by the fact that in 1880 about seven tenths of the Negroes were illiterate, whereas today only about two tenths are illiterate. The Negro population contributes, however,

more than its proportionate share to the total illiteracy in the country. Negro colleges and normal schools have been established in increasing numbers. There are now approximately five hundred such institutions.

Several thousand Negroes have been trained in the professions of law, medicine, and teaching. Some have become nationally known as artists, actors, scientists, poets, and musicians. Many Negroes have had success in conducting business enterprises. The professional Negro is patronized for the most part by members of his own race.

The educated Negro has of course become the spokesman of his race. The late Booker T. Washington and W. E. Du Bois have been outstanding. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, founded in 1909, and the Urban League, founded in 1911, are the chief agencies by which the Negro hopes to protect the interests of his race. The Negro is justly proud of the achievements of many individual members of his race — such as Marian Anderson, the singer; Jack Robinson, baseball player; George W. Carver, scientist, and hundreds of others — who have succeeded in obtaining a wide following even among whites. Negro music and Negro folklore have enriched American culture and literature. Negro manners, customs, and dialects furnish literary material which is being explored and brought to the attention of the general public.

2. Migration northward. As a result of World War I and the subsequent restrictions on immigration, many employers of labor in the North encouraged the Negro to leave the South. From 1910 to 1950 the proportion of Northern Negroes to the total Negro population increased steadily. As a result the Negro problem is ceasing to be an exclusively Southern problem and is becoming national in scope. Some Northern cities — New York, Philadelphia, Chicago — have a larger Negro population than cities in the South. Each census has revealed that the total number of Negroes in the country (about fifteen million) has tended constantly to bear a smaller relation to the total population. In the past this has probably been caused by the increase in the white population resulting from immigration and by the high mortality among the Negroes.

3. Lynchings and race riots. One of the most serious blots upon American civilization has been the large number of lynchings in the South and the serious race riots in the North. Lynchings are happily being reduced as a result of a campaign carried on by both the Negro and the white. The terrible race riots in Northern cities, which are a result of the movement of the Negro northward to take advantage of industrial opportunities, also seem to have abated.

4. Race prejudices. Despite strenuous efforts to secure equal political rights and equal educational and economic opportunities for Negroes and other minorities, intolerance and prejudice disappear slowly. Thus it was an object of the Ku Klux Klan movement of the

twentieth century to foment a feeling of ill will and discrimination toward the Negro, the Jew, and the Catholic. The fact that the movement was ridiculed by the bulk of the people and was comparatively short-lived gives some hope that as time passes, much of the prejudice against the Negro and other racial groups will tend to disappear. However, there was a revival of Klan activities after World War II.

The yellow race. Other racial problems have become acute during America's industrial transformation. The liberal immigration policy encouraged large numbers of the yellow race to come to America. Their presence was tending to cause the same racial trouble in the Pacific coast states that the presence of the black race has caused elsewhere. To avoid another racial problem the government took steps in 1882 to check Chinese immigration and in 1907 brought Japanese immigration nearly to an end. Restrictions have been eased since World War II. (See pages 604–607. For the Indian problem, see pages 372–374.)

Factors tending to cause a decline in racial prejudice. Every now and then America suffers outbreaks of racial and religious intolerance, such as the "Know-Nothing" movement of the 1850's, the American Protective Association movement of the 1890's, the Ku Klux Klan movement of the 1920's and mid-1940's. These and other prejudice movements are directed against minority racial or religious groups. Part of the intolerance is caused by ignorance and stupid prejudices, and part of it is based upon the fear of economic competition. Unscrupulous leaders also see an opportunity to enrich themselves by organizing these societies. Agitators and vote-seeking politicians sometimes play upon racial sympathies and prejudices to further their own ends. Not only have the Negroes suffered from these unreasoned prejudices, but other groups as well — Jews, Catholics, and the various "minority" racial groups that make up the American people. In the past these waves of intolerance and prejudice have not enjoyed a very long life. The intermingling of various racial groups in many sections of the country, particularly in our large cities, and the ever-widening influence of the public schools have tended to emphasize the American ideals of tolerance and equality. However, false notions of racial inequality, popularized by the unscrupulous, and the economic competition for jobs have caused many to fear serious outbreaks of prejudice and discrimination. Undoubtedly racial and group intolerance is one of America's most pressing social problems. Much more has to be done before Americans may justly boast of their intelligence and their sense of justice.

ECONOMIC CHANGE INFLUENCES THE HOME AND THE CHURCH

The lessened influence of home and church. The shortening of the work day, resulting in an increase of leisure time, the automobile, the movies, inventions which lighten the burden of housework, and the em-

ployment of women in industry have profoundly influenced the institution of marriage and the influence of the home. The number of marriages which are broken by divorce has increased, and the birth rate, except during and after World War II, has steadily declined. The home is ceasing to be the center of the family's recreational life.

The same forces which tend to weaken the home have also tended to lessen the influence of the church. The church finds it difficult to compete with the many agencies clamoring for the leisure of the city dweller on Sunday mornings or week-day evenings. Many complain that the church and the home have surrendered to the school their function of developing the moral character of citizens. What was formerly a function of the individual and private agencies has become to a very great extent the function of the state. It is easy to see in this shift of burden from the individual to the state remarkable potentialities for good and evil.

Fundamentalism and modernism in religion. Americans have been a religious people; the church and its leaders have exercised a profound influence on American life and culture. There seems to be little doubt, however, that the religious fervor of former generations, at least as manifested by church attendance, has considerably diminished. Less than half of the American people are churchgoers; but of course a much larger percentage profess belief in some form of divine worship. Many have begun to doubt the fundamental beliefs of the church, while many more are too busy searching for wealth and amusement to think about religious and moral problems. Many leaders who recognize the need of the spiritual development of the individual as well as of nations are deeply concerned about this growing indifference. Some leaders of religious thought, more liberal than others, have modified their services to keep in touch with the modern trend. Still another group, the Fundamentalists, adhere to the old beliefs and demand that all church members submit to the rules and regulations of the church. The liberals, or modernists, feel that the differences between the various denominations are unimportant, and they are not much concerned with the doctrinal aspects of religious faith. The controversy between Fundamentalists and modernists has disturbed the various Protestant denominations.

Lawlessness and racketeering. The number and character of the crimes committed in the United States annually have disturbed thoughtful people. In 1929 President Hoover referred to a "veritable invasion of lawlessness as the dominant issue" before the American people. He thus summarized conditions as they were at that time:

> More than nine thousand human beings are lawlessly killed every year in the United States. Little more than half as many arrests follow. Less than one sixth of those arrested receive punishment. In many of our great cities murder can apparently be committed with

> impunity. At least fifty times as many robberies in proportion to population are committed in the United States as in Great Britain, and three times as many burglaries. Even in such premeditated crimes as embezzlement and forgery, our record stands no comparison with other nations.

Conditions have not improved since President Hoover painted this alarming picture. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has repeatedly warned the country that the prevalence of crime and delinquency and the weakness of our law enforcement machinery are social problems of prime importance.

During the prohibition era crime seems to have become an organized business with wealthy, powerful, and fearless leaders of "gangs," who enjoyed comparative immunity from the law. The terms "racket" and "racketeering" became current to describe the operations of those who levied tribute upon society and business while performing no useful service. An ordinary type of racket develops when some gang threatens damage to a businessman who fails to pay for freedom from interference. Anxious to escape annoyance, the businessman pays for protection. Having done so once, he finds it difficult to get away from the clutches of the gang. Often the racketeer seems to possess close political affiliations which render him free from successful prosecution.

Many suggested that prohibition was the chief cause of increasing lawlessness. Although the end of prohibition did lessen the number of arrests, it did not solve the problem of crime. Here and there new vigor has occasionally been manifested by our law enforcement agencies, and the worst of the criminally organized rackets were forced to abandon their brazen tactics. The federal authorities, the "G-men," have been very successful in capturing and bringing to justice a number of "public enemies." The success of Thomas E. Dewey in investigating and prosecuting rackets and racketeers in New York City attracted nation-wide attention, earning for him the governorship of New York (1942) and the Republican presidential nomination (1944, 1948).

An especially alarming phase of the problem of lawlessness and crime is the number of youthful criminals. Young men in their late teens or early twenties seem to be the chief offenders in deeds of violence — robberies, gang wars, and racketeering. The inability of youth to find secure opportunities for work in the modern world is regarded by some as a contributing factor; still others are inclined to blame the movies, the "pulp" magazines, the tabloids, and particularly the lessened influence of the home and the church.

DEMOCRATIC AMERICA FOSTERS THE GROWTH OF EDUCATION

Increased enrollment in high schools. Less than fifty years ago the formal education of the average American boy and girl did not extend

beyond the eight years of elementary school. Many did not even finish elementary school but went to work at the age of eleven or twelve. Most of those who finished the eighth grade went to work; a few went to private business schools to learn stenography and typewriting; and a few went on to a public high school or private academy. Today high schools dot the land; nearly every boy and girl goes to high school for a few years, and more and more remain to complete the four years of high school. In 1940–41, which was the peak year, our high schools enrolled about 7,250,000 boys and girls. As registration in high schools increased, the character of our high schools changed considerably. Formerly their chief function was to prepare for college. This function largely determined the course of study in high schools. It is still an important influence, but more and more high schools of the country have introduced a wider variety of courses. Besides preparing boys and girls for college, they now train them for work in office and in factory. Under the leadership of a group of educational philosophers — of whom John Dewey was outstanding — educational methods and procedures are being brought into line with the changing economic world. Considerable emphasis has been placed upon the necessity for vocational training. Courses and methods are being adjusted to the needs and abilities of the individual.

One reason for the increased enrollment in high schools was the fact that, partly influenced by organized labor, the states passed compulsory school attendance laws. The tendency has been to raise the age at which children are permitted to leave school from twelve to fourteen and sixteen, and even to eighteen. Since education is a state function, practices vary widely from state to state. In spite of compulsory school attendance laws, in 1940 there were three million Americans twenty years of age or over who had not completed one year of school. The Selective Service System during World War II discovered a surprising amount of illiteracy. In an effort to reduce illiteracy and to maintain uniform standards of instruction and teacher training, some educators have advocated the financing and control of education by the federal government. A committee appointed by President Hoover reported against this, however, in 1931. The National Education Association has continued, however, to conduct vigorous campaigns for federal aid to education, and for the creation of the Cabinet office of Secretary of Education; but it has urged that the control of education be left to the individual states. The federal government through the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 began a policy of assisting the states in the establishment of vocational, industrial, and trade schools. The training of workers for jobs is being shifted from industry to the public schools, a factor which has added to the total cost of education.

Adult education. A widespread movement for the continuance of education beyond the normal years of school life has made remarkable



Courtesy Hull House



Portrait by Carl Guthery. Courtesy Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Left: Jane Addams (1860–1935), the founder of Hull House in Chicago in 1889, was the pioneer in a new type of social work. She was in the vanguard of those who advocated much of the remedial social legislation of the twentieth century.

Right: Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) was a militant reformer. She was an abolitionist and an organizer of one of the first temperance societies in New York, but she is best known as an untiring advocate of votes for women. The Nineteenth (Woman Suffrage) Amendment to the Constitution is known as the "Susan B. Anthony Amendment."



The modern school provides opportunities for play, not only because play contributes to health, but also because play is an important factor in the social and educational development of children.

headway. Formal adult education is in process of being organized on a wide scale. Formerly, occasional lectures, concerts, or the reading of books, newspapers, and magazines provided the sole opportunity for the adult to improve his education. But now schools for adults, offering both vocational and cultural training, are being established in our larger cities. No longer does the adult who is inclined to continue his formal education have to rely upon correspondence schools.

Higher education in the United States. As the high schools increased in number and in registration, so, too, did the colleges and universities. And as the high schools have changed their character and purpose in the past fifty years, so, too, have the colleges. One important change dates back to the days of the War between the States when Congress, in 1862, by means of the Morrill Act, gave public lands to aid the states in establishing colleges and universities for the study of agriculture and mechanical arts. This law gave an impetus to big changes in higher education, which heretofore had been devoted almost exclusively to the study of theology, mathematics, languages, especially Latin and Greek, and literature. Today colleges, like high schools, offer a wide variety of courses and degrees, and have adapted their curriculum to the needs of the individual.

The influence of Charles W. Eliot. In bringing about this change the influence of Charles W. Eliot was significant. Eliot, who had been trained in chemistry, became president of Harvard in 1869. Gradually he replaced professors steeped in the old tradition with younger men who had caught the spirit of the new age. The requirements for graduation were changed. New courses were introduced, and students were permitted to select their courses from several fields of study — the so-called elective system. There has been a long and, at times, bitter battle over the merits of the elective system — a controversy that has not been altogether settled. Other universities also experimented as their presidents saw the importance of adapting higher education to modern conditions. Among the pioneers may be mentioned Andrew D. White of Cornell, James B. Angell of Michigan, and Daniel C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins.

In recent times Robert M. Hutchins, as chancellor of the University of Chicago, was in the vanguard of another movement in college education. He has advocated the reduction of the college course to two years, claiming that if students have not acquired the habits of independent study and reflection by that time, the colleges should not bother with them. He would prescribe most of the curriculum for all students during two years, and then, if they proved themselves fit, would encourage specialization in some one field of study — such as chemistry, engineering, law, journalism, languages, or political science. Mr. Hutchins has found some supporters for his ideas, but the majority of those familiar with the problems of college teaching do not seem to

agree with him. He and his followers, however, have started an intense debate over the meaning and value of a "liberal education" and the means by which it may be achieved.

Graduate schools. The establishment of Johns Hopkins University in the centennial year of 1876 was an epoch in higher education. President Gilman directed it into the new field of graduate study and research in medicine and in the physical and political sciences. It was to be a university which placed emphasis not upon buildings or numbers but upon "professors who had shown their ability as investigators, whose duties as teachers would not be so burdensome as to interfere with the prosecution of their researches, whose students would be so advanced as to stimulate them to their best work, and the fruit of whose labors in the advancement of science and learning should be continually manifest in the shape of published results."

Other universities quickly followed the example of Johns Hopkins, adding graduate schools and graduate professional schools to the colleges of arts and sciences, thus becoming universities in the true sense. The universities thereby took over a duty formerly left to individual initiative, that of encouraging research. The discoveries, particularly in medicine, chemistry, and physics, advanced with amazing rapidity. The practical results of the discoveries of specialists became known to the public as radio beams, air-conditioning, rayon, colored photographs, and innumerable other developments. So fruitful have been the practical results of research work that many private industries have either financed certain schools or maintained separate research staffs with well-equipped laboratories.

Pressure groups and the schools. There is always the danger — at times very real — that the schools may be used as propaganda agencies to cultivate certain patterns of thought. Numerous societies and organizations seek to compel the teaching of pet hobbies or doctrines, or to prevent the teaching of certain subjects. Some want the schools to emphasize topics such as the United Nations, or the treatment of minorities, or the harmful effects of alcohol. A few object to the teaching of current economic or political issues. In 1925 the famous Scopes trial in Tennessee directed attention to state laws which forbade the teaching of evolution. In 1934 and 1935 several states passed loyalty oath laws. After World War II, the "cold war" and the danger of communism aroused new interest in loyalty oaths. Some criticized these oaths as unnecessary and ineffective. Many teacher organizations went on record against employing communists as teachers. A few teachers were dismissed. Professional interest and activity on the part of teachers is a factor in protecting the schools from being used as propaganda agencies for special economic or social ideals.

Education through the press and radio. Schools, of course, are not the only agencies by which people are educated. Newspapers, maga-

zines, radio, and television play an important part, perhaps the most important part. They are powerful instruments for the wide and rapid spread of knowledge and of propaganda among the masses of the people. Just how influential they are in molding the thinking and in influencing the emotions of people has been the subject of many investigations; in any event, all seem agreed that their influence for either good or evil is immeasurable. Not everyone has the intelligence to question the accuracy of the printed or spoken word, or the power to detect subtle propaganda. The press and the radio, therefore, along with the schools, have to be fair and impartial in the presentation of news.

It has been argued that these agencies are influenced by the sources from which they derive their revenue, and that therefore the advocacy or condemnation of certain proposals for reform is determined by these interests. Radio and television networks usually try to present both sides of controversial questions, and many "forum" programs have become very popular. Most broadcasting companies have adopted the policy of giving political parties and various other propaganda groups equal amounts of time. They have also sponsored educational programs by universities and schools. Many stations and advertisers employ news commentators, who not only summarize the news but interpret it. Like the newspaper columnist, these commentators are usually permitted to express their own views.

Today few newspapers in our large cities are owned by their editors. They are, in many cases, controlled by large corporations or by chain enterprises. This makes it easier for certain political and economic ideas to be advocated with such force and effective repetition – both in the editorials and in the way the news is presented – that the public slowly begins to accept the ideas of the newspaper as its own.

On the other hand newspapers and their editors have frequently been in the vanguard of reform movements and are often discouraged by the apparent indifference of the public to the wrongs they complain of or to suggest proposals for reform. Many a notable battle against intolerance, corrupt politics, and powerful economic influences which endangered the public welfare has been won by courageous exposure in the newspapers.

Trends in modern journalism. Late in the nineteenth century, "yellow" journalism began to appear. Sensational headlines mirrored the news of the day. Vivid stories of murders, robberies, and scandals, accompanied by an ever-increasing number of pictures, made the newspaper popular with the uneducated masses.

"Funnies," fiction, sports news, and puzzles became more important parts of the newspaper than the news column and the editorial page. Big Business and mass production took hold of the newspaper business, and popular features, including the opinions of columnists, were syndicated throughout the nation.

The tabloids. An important newspaper development has been the tabloid, or small-size picture newspapers, which number their readers – they may be called "lookers" — by the millions. It is said that the tabloid has not to any great extent reduced the circulation of the older newspapers. The tabloid found millions of purchasers who were unable or unwilling to read any extended article.

News-gathering agencies. While the newspapers were thus expanding, improved facilities in communication brought the news of the world to the American breakfast table. The Associated Press and the United Press are news-gathering agencies that have their representatives in the far corners of the earth. News is obtained and sent by telegraph or radio from one place to another. Today there is scarcely a city of any size without a newspaper which subscribes to the services of world-wide news-gathering agencies.

Magazines and books. Magazines have multiplied without number and have achieved astonishing circulations. The *Saturday Evening Post,* with a circulation of more than 4,000,000, boasts that it is a "national institution." *Time,* the *Reader's Digest, Life,* and the *Ladies' Home Journal* are among the magazines that influence the American people. Magazines devoted to nearly every conceivable hobby or interest of the modern world are in wide circulation. The newspaper and magazine have created a field for the development of a new type of literature, the short story, which American writers have brought to remarkable perfection. Formerly, a book that sold as many as 5000 or 10,000 copies was considered phenomenally successful. Today it is not so very unusual for books to reach a sale of 100,000 or even 500,000 copies. A variety of literary groups and book clubs have adopted chain-store methods in the marketing of literature. "Pocket books," reprints, and advertising have stimulated and developed the book-buying habits of the American people. An endless output of material, fiction and non-fiction, pours forth from the publishers and printers of the country.

MODERN AMERICA PRODUCES A RICH AND VARIED LITERATURE

Literature of the late nineteenth century. The writers of books revealed the new America that had been developing since the mid-century. They were in a sense the discoverers of another country quite different from the America of Washington and Jackson. In 1872 Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens) published *Roughing It,* one of the best descriptions we have of the great plains and the mining camps in the days of the gold rush. Three years later the story of *Tom Sawyer* revealed to his countrymen the new West of the Mississippi Valley. This was soon followed by *Life on the Mississippi* and *Huckleberry Finn.* Depicting the country farther west, Bret Harte wrote *The Luck of Roaring Camp* (1868), and Joaquin Miller the *Songs of the Sierras* (1871).

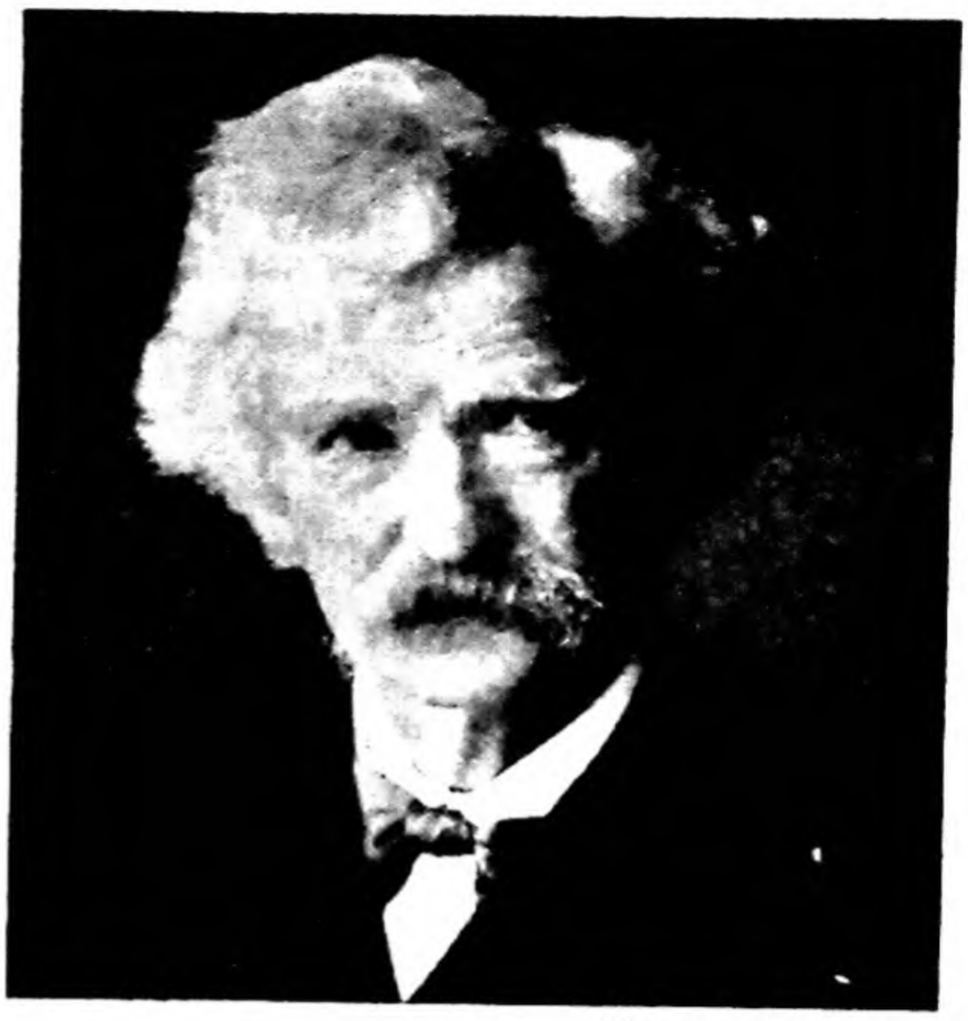
In the East, William Dean Howells in *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885) and Henry James in *The American* (1876) described the society about them. The South had its own group: there was Joel Chandler Harris with *Uncle Remus* (1880), telling of the quaint Negro folklore; George W. Cable's *Grandissimes* (1880), presenting the picturesque Creole life in old New Orleans; and Thomas Nelson Page, *In Ole Virginia* (1887) and other works, preserving in literature the traditions of the vanishing Southern plantations.

The economic revolution and literature of reform. As the eighties and nineties passed, writing came to be much influenced by the economic revolution. 1. The attack on social problems. Some writers wanted to destroy the old order, root and branch, while others were satisfied to attack its worst practices. In 1879 Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* advocated the single tax on land values as a means of destroying the trusts and other monopolies. His work was soon followed by Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1887), which advocated the introduction of a socialist state in which public and not private corporations would own and operate the industries and the means of communication. Henry Demarest Lloyd in *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894) was content to describe the faults of the economic order and leave his readers to find the solution; and so was Ida Tarbell in the *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1903), in which she turned her attention to the particular monopoly which at the time was regarded as the most serious offender of all.

2. The novel as reform literature. Several young novelists used their art to champion the cause of reform. Two books published in 1906 may be mentioned as examples of a new kind of literature, the number of which was legion: Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, exposing the practices of the meat packers, and Winston Churchill's *Coniston*, revealing those of the railroads. The novels of Frank Norris, *The Octopus* and *The Pit*, attacked the evils of dishonest railroading and speculation in the grain market. Most of the novels first appeared as serials in magazines: *McClure's*, *Munsey's*, *Everybody's*, the *Cosmopolitan*, and others. These magazines, which sold for ten cents on the newsstands, had a wider circle of readers than the older magazines ever did, and so gave greater strength to the new reform movement.

3. The "muckrakers." The criticism of various aspects of America which appeared in the magazines was dubbed "muckraking" by President Theodore Roosevelt. The muckrakers attacked many phases of American life — the corruption of the judiciary, the bribing of legislatures, the evils of American city government, the dishonest practices of certain trusts, banks, and railroads. The method pursued by the muckraker was frank exposure of crooked practices. The fact that few of these journals were successfully sued for libel would seem to indicate that the charges were founded on truth (pages 511–512).

Mark Twain is the pen name of Samuel Langhorne Clemens (1853–1910). One of America's great literary figures, he is famous as a humorist and as the creator of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn.

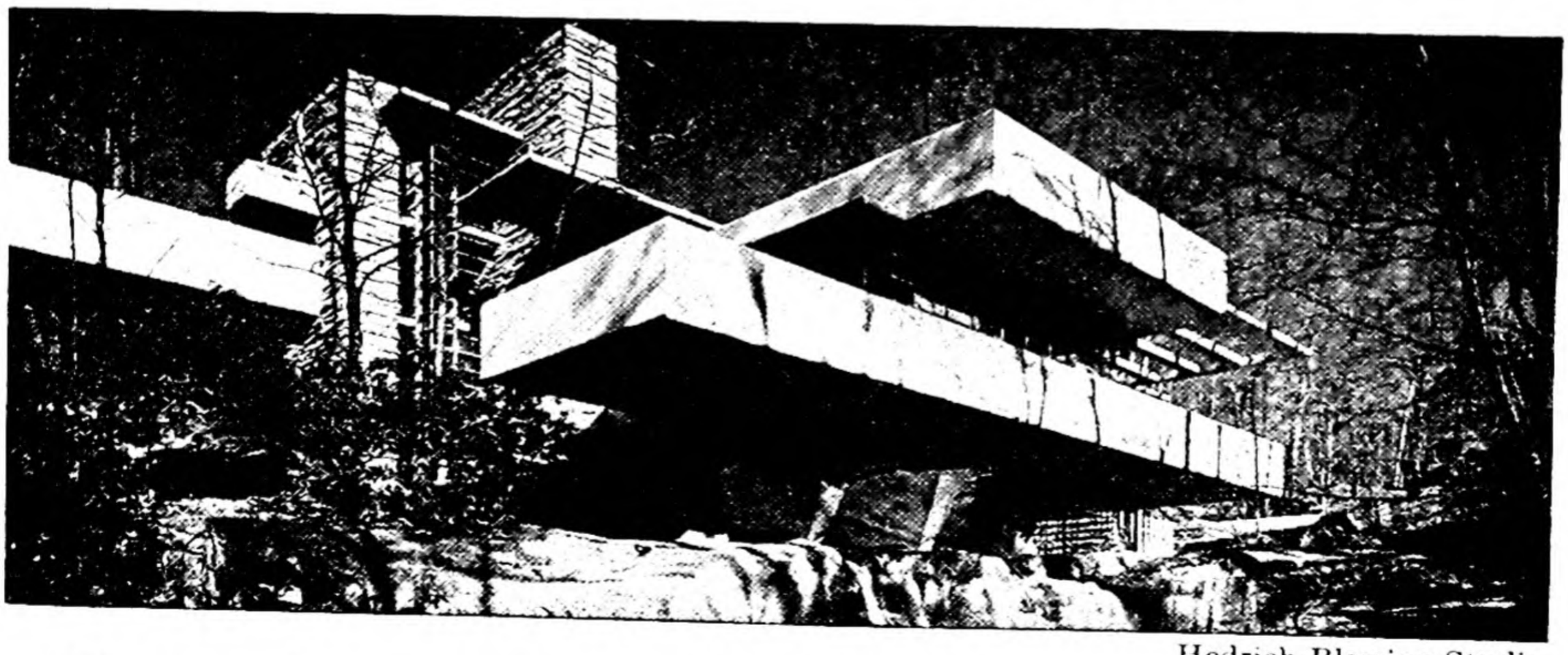


Brown Brothers



From the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Collection of Contemporary American Painting.* Copyright *Encyclopaedia Britannica*

The landscape and horses in *Tom Kenney Comes Home*, by Frank Mechau, well-known modern American painter, reflect an eerie, brooding desolation.



Hedrich-Blessing Studio

This house, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, one of America's foremost contemporary architects, illustrates his belief that building style should harmonize with the natural surroundings.

Research in the social sciences. Of more permanent influence than the work of the "muckrakers" was the development in the universities of a new kind of expert – those trained to diagnose the ills of society. These included the historians, the economists, the political scientists, and the sociologists. They were taught to attack a problem of society as a scientist attacks his problems.

Many scholars in their writings both reflected and influenced the great issues that were being debated by the people. Thus, for example, William Graham Sumner, professor of political science at Yale University, advocated the doctrine of free enterprise and individual initiative. On the other hand, others, such as the economist Richard T. Ely and the sociologist Lester Ward, began to criticize individualism and laissez-faire. In *Dynamic Sociology* (1883), Ward criticized the ruthless competition for power and profits by the individualist; he advocated co-operation among individuals and the intervention of the government to bring about an improvement in social and economic conditions. Still later, Thorstein Veblen in his *Theory of Business Enterprise* (1904) and other books pointed out that corporate, not individual, enterprise dominated American industry, and that the actual practices of corporations in destroying competition were at variance with the theories of the individualist school of free enterprise.

Other scholars directed their energies to a study of various aspects of American life. In 1883 a professor of economics at Johns Hopkins, John R. Commons, published a *History of the Labor Movement in America.* Two years later Woodrow Wilson, also trained at Johns Hopkins, completed his work on *Congressional Government.* Shortly afterwards another of the Johns Hopkins group, Frederick J. Turner, published his study of the *Significance of the Frontier in American History.* James Harvey Robinson led a movement among historians toward a broader study of man's past – his work, his play, his ideas, as well as his political and military adventures. James Ford Rhodes, who had studied in American and European universities after long experience in business, published the scholarly *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850.*

In the early years of the century the "American Nation Series" – an exhaustive study of American history in twenty-six volumes by specialists – was published under the editorship of Professor Hart of Harvard. In 1919 the "Yale Chronicle Series" – a group of fifty volumes published under the editorship of Allen Johnson – gave a readable and popular account of American life. Charles A. Beard in a group of books and articles placed emphasis upon the economic basis of politics. Edward Channing spent the early years of the twentieth century gathering material for an extended history, but succeeded before his death in finishing only seven volumes, which brought his history of the United States down to the close of the War between the States. In 1927 Dixon

Ryan Fox and A. M. Schlesinger began editing a series of volumes called *A History of American Life*, which probably more than any other work reflects the newer tendencies and interests of historians. Two notable co-operative efforts were the publication of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by E. R. A. Seligman, and the *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone. Statesmen like Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson contributed to historical and periodical literature. Senator Albert J. Beveridge completed a monumental and scholarly *Life of John Marshall* and had carried his study of the *Life of Lincoln* up to 1858, when death interrupted his labors.

Recent American literature. In 1873 Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner published *The Gilded Age*, which is a description of political corruption and the search for wealth in the days of President Grant. Literary critics have seized upon the title of this book to describe the culture of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The literature of this period is characterized by romanticism. Modern literature is a reaction against the artificiality of the "Gilded Age" and is described as *realism.* Among the early writers of this school were Theodore Dreiser, whose novel *Sister Carrie* was published in 1900. Still other pioneers in stern realism were Frank Norris, Jack London, and Upton Sinclair. Later these novelists were imitated by an increasing number of writers —Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, and others. Novelists exposed the cant, hypocrisy, and foibles of the business world, the courts, the clergy, the city, and the home, as well as the hardships and misery of the masses of the people. They found their themes in the life about them. Lewis in *Babbitt*, *Elmer Gantry*, and *It Can't Happen Here* pitilessly portrayed the smallness and emptiness of many areas of American life. John Steinbeck in *The Grapes of Wrath* described the plight of migratory farm workers. In the theater Eugene O'Neill, winner of the Nobel Prize in 1936, was hailed as the great American dramatic genius for his realistic portrayal of the relentlessness of fate. Laurence Stallings and Maxwell Anderson in *What Price Glory* exposed the horrors of war. This play, later adapted for the screen, was seen by thousands, and along with other plays, books, and pictures which revealed the evils of imperialism, was a potent agency in stirring the hopes of men for universal peace.

One literary critic, V. F. Calverton, thus interprets recent American literature:

> The standardization of American life which has come with the advance of American industry, the emphasis upon commercialism which has invaded the arts are all features of the contemporary scene that the American artist has set out to attack. . . . The development of American literature in the twentieth century, and in particular in the past two decades, is historically important because it marks off the

> period when our poets, novelists, and critics finally outgrew the English heritage. Since 1914 we have created an American literature. This literature is indigenous not only in its materials but also in its problems.

Among the American poets who have helped to create this new literature may be listed Amy Lowell, Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost, Vachel Lindsay, Edgar Lee Masters, and Edna St. Vincent Millay; among the novelists, Willa Cather, Sinclair Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Thornton Wilder; and among the dramatists, Paul Green, Lillian Hellman, Sidney Howard, Jack Kirkland, and Eugene O'Neill.

Painting, music, and sculpture. Not only in literature and science, but also in the fields of painting, music, and sculpture, modern America has achieved notable results and made distinctive contributions. John La Farge, George Inness, John Singer Sargent, James Whistler, and Grant Wood are among the outstanding American artists, while Augustus St. Gaudens, Daniel Chester French, George Grey Barnard, and Gutzon Borglum rank high as sculptors. In architecture, Cass Gilbert, Louis Sullivan, and Frank Lloyd Wright exercised an extensive influence on their fellow craftsmen. Deems Taylor and Edward MacDowell achieved fame for their serious musical compositions; Victor Herbert and Reginald DeKoven won success in light opera. The jazz music of Irving Berlin and George Gershwin and the orchestras of Paul Whiteman and Benny Goodman achieved a remarkable popularity.

Words and Phrases

Anti-Saloon League, Associated Press, discrimination, feminism, Fundamentalism, Gilded Age, loyalty oaths, lynching, muckrakers, population trends, pressure group, propaganda, race riots, rackets, realism, segregation, Seneca Convention, sharecropper, slums, standardized pattern, Susan B. Anthony Amendment, tabloids, Twenty-first Amendment, urbanization, zoning

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What are the causes of the growth of the city?
2. What special problems have resulted from the growth of cities and how have cities endeavored to solve them?
3. What efforts have been made to improve city government?
4. What special problems result from the shift in occupations and the shift in age groups among the population?
5. What were the conclusions of the Brookings Institution in 1929 concerning money income and its distribution? To what extent are these conclusions valid today?
6. How has the Negro been disfranchised?
7. What are the causes of lynching? What are the causes of race riots?
8. What are the outstanding accomplishments of the feminist movement?
9. What were the reasons for the adoption of prohibition by the Eighteenth

Amendment and the reasons for its repeal by the Twenty-first Amendment?

10. What agencies other than the schools contribute to the education of the American people?
11. Why is America confronted with the problem of law enforcement?
12. How do the school, the newspaper, the radio, television, and the movies tend to contribute to the creation of a standardized America?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. What type of government has your city? What noteworthy reforms have been made in that government in the last twenty-five years?
2. How does your city attempt to deal with traffic congestion, the need for recreation facilities, automobile accidents, planning for future growth?
3. Formulate an ideal program for the future development of your city. Which items in the program are capable of practical achievement within the next ten years? Why do you consider some items practical and others utopian?
4. What novels have you read that plead for solution of some social, economic, or political problem of modern America?
5. Would an amendment to the Constitution be necessary before the federal government could assume control of education?
6. Next to your home, what agency has most influenced your character?
7. Contrast changes in the status of women between 1900 and the present.
8. Give arguments for and against federal aid to education; federal control of education.
9. Investigate and report on the contributions of the United States in medical science, invention, art, architecture, and literature in the period 1900–1925, and in literature in the period from 1925 to the present.
10. List the main arguments for or against either of the following statements: Literature reflects the spirit of an age; literature is an important factor in influencing political and social changes.

Suggested Reading

POPULATION TRENDS: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 393–403; Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 177–248, 281–308; Haworth, *America in Ferment;* Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America* (A.L.S.), pp. 203–228, 318–349; *Recent Social Trends,* I, pp. 1–58; Schlesinger, *Rise of the City* (A.L.S.), pp. 53–120.

RACIAL PROBLEMS: Lester and Wilson, *The Ku Klux Klan; Recent Social Trends,* I, pp. 553–601; Thomson, *The New South* (Y.C.S.), pp. 129–156; Vickery, W. E., and Cole, S. G., *Intercultural Education in American Schools;* Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma;* Washington, *The Story of the Negro.* For current developments, consult the *Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations,* published by the Social Science Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT: Addams, *Long Road of Women's Memory;* Beard and Beard, I, pp. 754–761; II, 404–406, 751–758; Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 153–177; Harper, *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony;* Hart, V, pp. 487–506; *Recent Social Trends,* I, pp. 709–750;

Schlesinger, *Rise of the City* (A.L.S.), pp. 120–159; Slosson, *Great Crusade and After*, pp. 130–162.

PROHIBITION: Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 603–612; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 520–523; Hart, V, pp. 448–456; Malin, *The United States after the World War*, pp. 270–275; Merz, Charles, *The Dry Decade; Report of the Wickersham Committee;* Slosson, *Great Crusade and After*, pp. 105–130.

EDUCATION AND JOURNALISM: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 460–479; Cubberly, *Public Education in the United States;* Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 188–203, 248–260; Hart, V, pp. 588–609, 632–638; Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America* (A.L.S.), pp. 240–242; *Recent Social Trends*, I, pp. 325–381; Report of the Harvard Committee, *General Education in a Free Society;* Slosson, *Great Crusade and After*, pp. 320–372; Sullivan, *America Finding Herself*, pp. 1–49, 184–194.

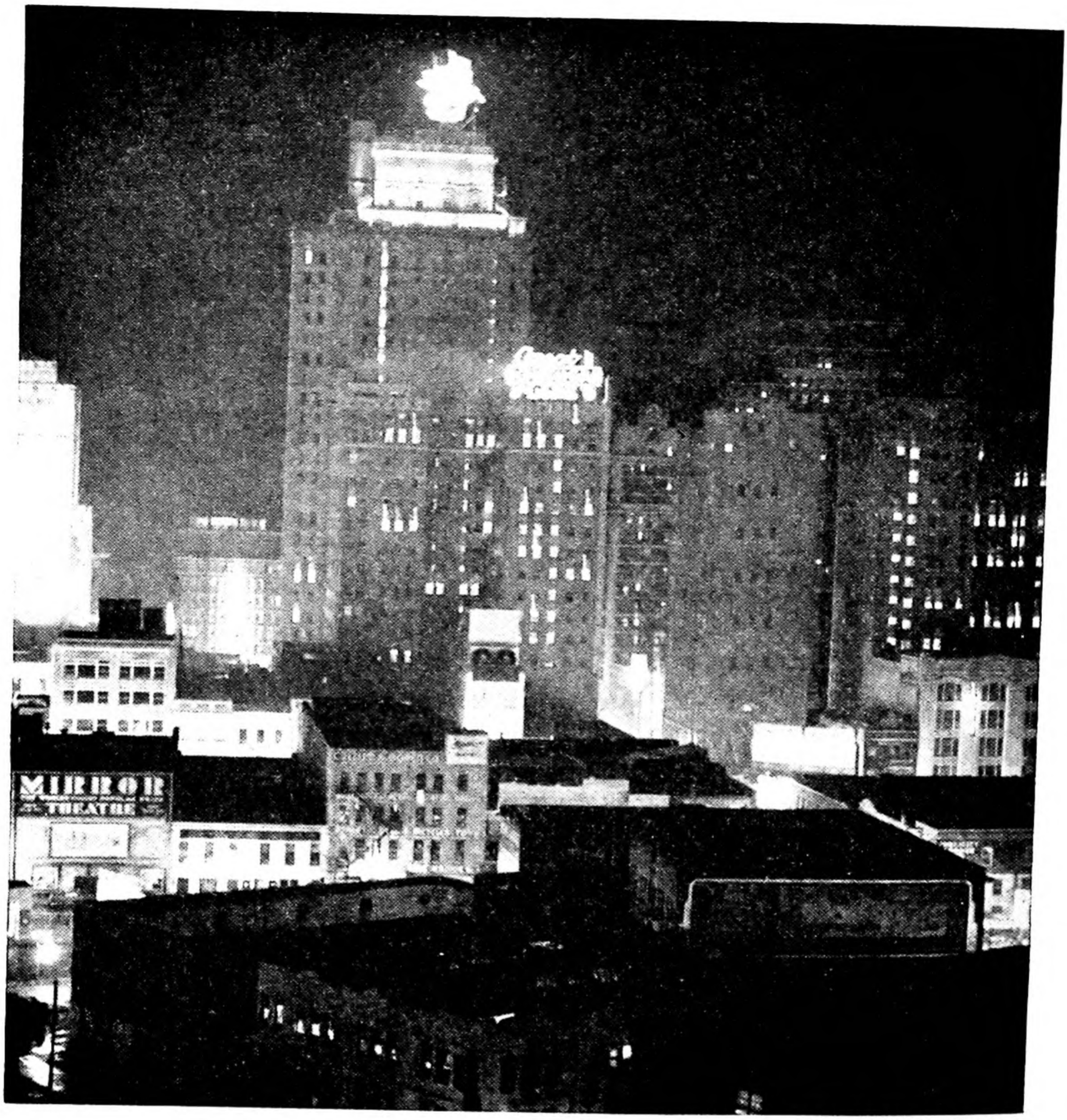
RECENT LITERATURE: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 434–446, 784–814; Curti, *Social Ideas of American Literature;* Kazin, Alfred, *On Native Grounds;* Pattee, *History of American Literature Since 1870; The New American Literature* (1890–1930); Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature* (Y.C.S.); Schlesinger, pp. 388–394; Sullivan, *America Finding Herself*, pp. 62–143; Amherst Readings, *Democracy and the Gospel of Wealth; Pragmatism and American Culture.*

VI

THE UNITED STATES SEEKS A SOLUTION OF DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

CHAPTERS

29 *Domestic Adjustment to Economic Change*
30 *Politics, Politicians, and Campaigns, 1865–1900*
31 *The Agrarian Crusade, 1865–1900*
32 *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement, 1900–1913*
33 *Woodrow Wilson and the New Freedom*
34 *Normalcy, Deceptive Prosperity, and Collapse, 1921–1932*
35 *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*
36 *Immigration*
37 *The Conservation of Our Natural and Human Resources*
38 *Searching for Ways to Improve Democracy*



Charles Phelps Cushing

Lights outline the sky line of downtown Dallas, a manufacturing city in northeast Texas with a population of 434,000. The tallest building is the Magnolia Building, which rises 450 feet above the sidewalk. This scene is typical of the downtown sections of more than a hundred cities scattered throughout the nation. The growth and rapid expansion of urban centers of population characterize modern America. We have become an urban people; the influence of these centers of population extends far beyond the city limits. Industrial centers like Dallas, however, are dependent upon transportation facilities and a rich hinterland of farms and abundant natural resources. Although the cities symbolize America's strength and power, they also raise many problems.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

Domestic Adjustment to Economic Change

THE NATION SEEKS TO FIND THE ANSWER TO ITS PROBLEMS THROUGH THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

Difficulties in the way of "finding solutions." In the preceding unit we have sketched in outline some of the more important economic and social changes in the period from 1865 to the present — the closing of the frontier, the industrialization and urbanization of the country, the growth of Big Business and the rise of organized labor. In the chapters of this unit we shall learn how the American people turned to their state and national governments to deal with these changes. In studying how the people struggled to adjust themselves to changing conditions it is well to remember the following: (1) The powers of government in the United States are divided between the nation and the states; (2) the national government functions through three branches: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial; (3) traditionally, American democracy seeks to accomplish its purposes through either of two political parties; (4) the many problems resulting from the closing of the frontier and the industrialization of the country did not become apparent at the same time or in the same degree; (5) conflicting economic interests tugged this way and that as the necessity for adjustment became more and more acute.

The inconsistency of political parties. We have learned (pages 104, 144) that individuals with similar interests, real or imaginary, tend to group themselves into political parties to secure their ends. In general the party cleavage in American history has been between the interests of commercial, financial, industrial, and big business enterprise on the one hand, and the interests of the small businessman, the farmer, and the laborer on the other. There is, therefore, an essential similarity among the Federalist principles of Hamilton, the Whig principles of Clay and Webster, and the Republican principles of Lincoln, McKinley, Hoover, and Dewey. So, too, there is a basic similarity in the ideas and policies of Jefferson, Jackson, Cleveland, and Wilson.

Political parties have not, however, always been consistent, nor have all the members of a party agreed with the program of the major-

ity. Each party has usually had strong dissenting groups. The lack of party harmony and the inconsistency of political parties are caused by the economic differences between the sections of the country, and by the eagerness of politicians to win votes by advocating programs that will appeal to all classes of people. Sometimes either the more radical and independent members of a party have forced the majority to accept their point of view, or else they have attempted to achieve their purposes by the organization of third parties (pages 474–478). While minor parties have seldom attracted a large number of voters, they have frequently forced the older parties to take a definite stand on embarrassing issues.

The theory of laissez-faire. The commonly accepted economic and political philosophy at the time of the War between the States was that of laissez-faire. *Laissez-faire* is the idea that the individual should be let alone to carry on his business as he sees fit, with little or no government interference. Jefferson expressed it when he said that the powers of government should be exercised only to protect the life, property, and freedom of the individual in providing for his family and acquiring wealth. It is also expressed in the saying "That government is best which governs least." Laissez-faire is based on the belief that free competition between individuals will bring about an ideal functioning of the economic system. In a strict sense laissez-faire has been more talked about in theory than actually practiced. The advocates of laissez-faire had no objection to government favors in the way of land grants, subsidies to railroads and steamship companies, protective tariffs, and the granting of valuable franchises to electric light and gas companies. The quarrel came when the government, having been generous to business, attempted to protect the consumer, or endeavored to improve the condition of the workers or to regulate the prices charged by public utilities for their services. The laissez-faire supporter demanded less government in business. He objected not to the generosity of the government, which increased opportunities for wealth, but to heavy taxation for schools, relief, social security, laws compelling safety appliances, minimum wages, or the abolition of child labor.

Competition among businessmen was ruthless; many were ruined by the unfair practices by which the strong crushed the weak. Small merchants and manufacturers, farmers, and the workers who were being pushed to the wall protested against this policy and demanded government intervention. Consumers also demanded that the government do something to check high prices, and to protect them against fraudulent advertising and the adulteration of products.

The beginnings of state and federal control. Those who protested against unchecked individualism and asked for government help first turned to the state legislatures for relief. This was in keeping with earlier traditions; besides, it was easier to secure state action than federal

action. The state legislatures, therefore, enacted (and are still enacting) a series of laws which ignored the principles of laissez-faire — laws restricting the activities of corporations, regulating railroad rates, child labor, minimum wages, tenement house construction, and a host of other matters. But the people were not completely satisfied with these state laws, because there was no uniform policy and business was national in scope. Furthermore, lawyers for business interests succeeded in getting the state regulatory laws set aside by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. For some time the Supreme Court followed the principle that these state laws interfered with the right of persons to liberty and property without due process of law. Gradually reformers turned to the national government for action, and toward the close of the 1880's the national government began to abandon the idea that business should be let alone. For example, it passed the Interstate Commerce Act regulating railroads in 1887 and the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890.

Changes in our political philosophy. To focus our attention more clearly on the problems of domestic adjustment, the years between 1865 and the present can be divided into four periods. While there was great overlapping, each period may be characterized by its dominant trends, as follows:

1. 1865–1900. The frontier closed, and industry, organized in corporations, made tremendous strides. This was the period of unbridled competition, the accumulation of huge individual fortunes, and the careless exploitation of our natural resources. Discontented groups sought relief through state laws, which were at first declared unconstitutional (pages 498–500); but the evils that state laws sought to correct were so glaring that gradually the Supreme Court changed its point of view and began to tolerate state laws dealing with the situation. A slight beginning in national control was made toward the end of this period (chapters 30 and 31).

2. 1900–15. Sometimes called "the progressive era," this is the period in which muckrakers forced the attention of the country upon the evil ways of some big business. In Theodore Roosevelt's administration attempts were made to enforce the antitrust laws; but the United States Supreme Court, by a group of decisions concerning trusts and labor, became a bulwark against federal action. The political campaign of 1912 brought some of the issues to the foreground, and President Wilson got Congress to adopt some important measures of reform. During this era the pendulum swung in the direction of governmental intervention (chapters 32 and 33).

3. 1915–30. World War I and its problems, the continued expansion of farm and factory, the growth of corporations, the accumulation of capital, and the remarkable prosperity of the period caused the pendulum to swing back in the direction of laissez-faire. Nationally,

laissez-faire was enthroned, although many of the individual states kept hammering out a program of social legislation which indicated that the basic problems were still present (chapter 34).

4. 1930–40. The pendulum swung again in the direction of government intervention. The collapse of prosperity in 1929 was a cause; so, too, was the continued acceleration of economic changes which precipitated the crisis. So pronounced has been the drift away from laissez-faire that a commission of scholars declared: "Cumulative evidence supports the conclusion that, in the United States, as in other countries, the age of individualism and laissez-faire in economy and government is closing, and that a new age of collectivism is emerging." It remains for the future to determine the accuracy of this judgment, but to many observers of events in our own time there seems ample proof of the statement (chapter 35).

The Republican party. Throughout the entire period Big Business gave its support to the political party which favored its interests. In general this was the Republican party; but Big Business also found many allies in the leadership of the Democratic party. Indeed some corporations gave large sums to the campaign funds of members of both parties. Politics and business went hand in hand.

From 1860 to 1932 the Republican party captured the presidency in campaign after campaign. The Democrats were able to win the presidency with Cleveland in 1884 and 1892, and with Wilson in 1912 and 1916. Under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democrats halted the string of Republican successes, winning the presidency in 1932, 1936, 1940, 1944, and 1948. The Republican party consistently advocated the payment of the national debt in full, and thus endeared itself to the bondholder; it advocated a sound national currency; it sponsored the National Banking Act of 1863, and later opposed the cheapening of the currency either by issuing greenbacks or by placing silver on a par with gold. It was generous with land grants to railroads and with mineral and timber resources. It maintained a high protective tariff and thus won the support of powerful manufacturing interests and many wage earners as well, the latter being persuaded that the high tariff was the cause of American prosperity and high wages. Keeping the promise of its platform of 1860 for free land, it won the support of many of the farmers of the new West.

Having identified itself with the Western farmers, the banking business, and great commercial enterprises, it sought to enlarge trade as rapidly as possible by securing foreign markets. Thus under Republican auspices the country embarked upon a policy of imperialism; nevertheless, it was unwilling to surrender the old doctrine of isolation except when forced by circumstances to do so. The Republican party upheld the judiciary in its process of establishing the principle of laissez-faire individualism. In recent years the Republican party of



Acme



Wide World

These are typical scenes from a Democratic National Convention (*above*) and a Republican National Convention (*below*). Every four years the business of nominating a President causes each of the two large parties to stage a mammoth convention. Here rival factions within each party struggle for control of the party. Sometimes the results of a convention are known in advance, but nonetheless the show is staged. At other times the convention is the scene of fierce struggles for principles or power. Demonstrations such as these illustrated are frequently prearranged, but occasionally they represent spontaneous outbursts of enthusiasm on the part of the delegates.

Hoover and Dewey has stood for essentially the same alignment of Big Business and politics.

The Democratic party. During the same period the Democratic party has often taken an opposite view. It was handicapped by its support of slavery and by its record during the War between the States. Under Grover Cleveland (President, 1885–89, 1893–97) it made efforts to reduce the tariff. Under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan, who dominated the party for two decades, it committed itself to cheap money. When Woodrow Wilson was in office (1913–21), the Democratic party began with legislation lowering the tariff and favoring labor, but in general accepted a policy toward trusts, railroads, and banking only slightly different from that of the Republicans. Wilson committed the party to a wholehearted participation in Old World affairs, which subsequent leaders of his party hesitated to support until World War II. Alfred E. Smith, candidate for the presidency in 1928, endeavored to modify the Democratic attitude on the tariff and its supposed hostility toward Big Business.

Many students felt that the difference between the two major parties was becoming more and more a difference in name only. The great depression of 1929, however, rocked both parties. The Republicans were defeated in 1932, 1936, 1940, 1944, and 1948. The Democratic leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt, carried the party so far in the direction of governmental control that he alienated many prominent members of his own party. On the other hand, many liberal and progressive Republicans supported him. Roosevelt's policies cut across party lines and revealed that the conservative leaders of both parties preferred rugged individualism, or "ordered liberty," to the "collectivism" of the New Deal.

Whatever the future may hold, it seems clear that the basic issue between the parties will be concerning the extent to which the government should go in the supervision and regulation of our economic life, one group seeking to hold the government in check, and the other moving still further in the direction of government control of finance, transportation, commerce, industry, and labor.

THIRD PARTIES SERVE TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON EMBARRASSING ISSUES

Throughout the entire period a number of minor political parties battled valiantly for their ideals. Third-party movements usually spring into being (1) to spread propaganda for some reform; (2) to furnish an outlet for the discontented; and (3) to come to grips with important issues with which the older parties are reluctant to deal. Much of the political and economic progress of the American people is due to the insistent urging of third parties.

Types of minor parties. Some parties have persisted over several decades without ever achieving much success at the polls. Such parties are usually organized about some strong central idea, examples being the Prohibition party, which has existed continuously since 1869, and the Socialist party, since 1900 (pages 428–430). Other third parties have arisen in response to the issues of a single campaign, and even after winning large numbers of votes in that election, have soon thereafter disappeared. Examples are the Liberal Republicans of 1872 and the Progressive Republicans of 1912 (pages 482, 521–522). Some minor parties, like the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota in the 1920's, have been active in only one or two states.

Labor parties. Most third parties have been organized by and for underprivileged groups, especially laborers and farmers. In 1872 a Labor Reform party was formed, and again in 1888 a Union Labor party tried to commit all workers to common political action, but neither met with much success. More enduring have been the Socialist Labor party (from 1877 to the present) and the Socialist party (from 1900 to the present). The former has never been strong, but in times of industrial unrest and discontent the Socialist party has succeeded in getting close to a million votes. In the 1920's the more radical faction of the Socialists split off to form the Communist party, but in 1944 the Communists decided, temporarily at least, to cease to function as a political party, and formed instead a political "association." The American Labor party, organized in a few Eastern industrial states in 1936, obtained the support of many communists, socialists, and liberals, and endorsed President Franklin D. Roosevelt. "Right" and "left" wing factions caused a split in this third party group, and in 1944 the right wing faction organized a new Liberal Party.

THIRD PARTIES

Party and Chief Leaders	*Period of Activity*	*Platform*
Anti-Masonic	1832	Opposed to alleged abuses of Masons and other secret societies. (Page 248.)
Liberty James G. Birney	1840–44	Advocated the immediate abolition of slavery. (Pages 274, 292.)
Free Soil Charles F. Adams Martin Van Buren	1848–52	Opposed to the extension of slavery in the territories — Took as slogan, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men." (Pages 299–300.)
Know-Nothing (American)	1856	Opposed to foreigners — "America must rule America." (Forerunner of the Ku Klux Klan.) (Pages 317–318, 450–451.)

Party and Chief Leaders	*Period of Activity*	*Platform*
Republican (The only third party that became a major party, a distinction which it may be said to have achieved in 1856.) Salmon P. Chase William H. Seward	1854–56	Opposed to the extension of slavery, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Fugitive Slave Law. Also advocated free land, high tariff, transcontinental railroad. (Pages 316–317, 321–323.)
Constitutional Union	1860	Evasive on the slavery issue. Advocated the preservation of the Union at all costs. (Pages 322–323.)
Liberal Republican Horace Greeley Charles F. Adams Carl Schurz	1872	Fought corruption and incompetence in the national government. Advocated civil service reform, a revenue tariff, and greater leniency toward the South. (Page 482.)
Prohibition	1872–	Advocates prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages. (Pages 446–447.)
Greenback (In 1878 became the Greenback-Labor party.) Peter Cooper James B. Weaver	1875–84	Advocated the repeal of the Specie Resumption Act of 1875, the suppression of national bank notes, and an increase in the number of legal-tender notes in circulation. (Pages 501–502.)
Socialist Labor Daniel DeLeon	1877–	Advocates the gradual and peaceful abolition of the capitalist system; active political organization of workers. (Pages 428–430.)
Populist James B. Weaver	1892–1908	Advocated the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; a graduated income tax; government ownership and operation of railroads, telephones, and telegraphs; the adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall; and the popular election of senators. (Pages 503–504.)
Socialist (First known as Social Democratic party and later as Socialist party.) Eugene V. Debs Norman Thomas	1900–	Holds same fundamental principle as the Socialist Labor party but also advocates immediate reforms such as government ownership and operation of industries, social insurance, the improvement of industrial conditions. Supports a variety of progressive reform measures. Very weak in the 1950's. (Pages 428–430.)

Party and Chief Leaders	*Period of Activity*	*Platform*
Progressive Robert M. La Follette Theodore Roosevelt	1912	Advocated government regulation of Big Business; the direct primary; the popular election of senators; the initiative, referendum, and recall; the recall of judicial decisions; minimum wages for women; and social insurance. (Pages 521–522.)
Progressive Robert M. La Follette	1924	Advocated the control of monopoly by the government; the abolition of the right of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional; farm relief; the initiative, referendum, and recall; and the direct election of the President. (Pages 543–544.)
Communist (Originally began secretly as Workers' party in 1919.) Changed from a "party" to an "association" in May, 1944. Resumed political activities in 1945. Earl Browder William Foster	1928–	"Revolutionary socialism." Advocates the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalistic system by the immediate seizure of power by the working class or proletariat. In recent years it pursued an opportunistic policy, placing less emphasis on its major goal and seeking to identify itself with liberal reforms, democracy, opposition to fascism and war, and to World War II, till Germany attacked Russia in June, 1941. Pursued a policy of "boring from within," and also supported "united front" or "popular front" movements. Was affiliated with the Communist International until its dissolution but denied that its program was dictated by Moscow. Though claiming to be opposed to war, it urged American "intervention" against "fascist" aggression. Used situations to propagandize and ceaselessly "agitate," hoping to hasten the day of proletarian dictatorship. Pages 430–431, 637–638, 814.
Several minor parties have achieved considerable power in some states and cities, such as the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota, the Progressive party in Wisconsin, the American Labor party in New York State.		Advocated such reforms as: more stringent government control over monopoly and banking, progressive labor legislation, the limitation of the use of injunctions in labor disputes, and more government aid to the farmers. (Pages 475, 478, 512, 538–539, 550–551, 589–590, 595.)

Farmer and Labor parties. The labor parties have depended for support largely upon workers in cities. Some other parties have been characterized by the alliance — usually temporary — of farmers and laborers. In this class were the Greenback and Greenback Labor parties of the 1870's and 1880's, the Populist party of the 1890's, and the three Progressive parties of the twentieth century — 1912, 1924, and 1948.

Mixed support for minor parties. The several parties mentioned in the preceding paragraphs have not depended for support exclusively upon farmers and industrial workers. Many dissatisfied groups and individuals, notably intellectual liberals and radicals, have turned to them. On the other hand, most farmers and laborers have stayed within the two major parties and have never voted for a third party.

Third-party issues as national problems. Most third-party movements since the War between the States have either been interested in some special proposal, such as that of the Prohibition or Greenback parties, or else they have given expression to dissatisfaction with the inactivity of the older parties to various social, economic, and political problems. (Study carefully the platforms of the minor parties given in the table on pages 475–477.) Third-party movements have usually been radical in their demands — several years in advance of the general acceptance of their proposals. Many of them were demanding the popular election of senators, government regulation of business, and inheritance and income taxes long before the older parties were ready to enact these ideas into law. If we analyze the programs of the third parties we can discover the major domestic problems that have confronted the nation in the years since the War between the States. These problems are (1) agrarian discontent; (2) railroad regulation; (3) industrial combinations and monopolies; (4) banking, currency, and the extension of credit; (5) the conflict between labor and capital; (6) conservation; (7) immigration and Americanization; and (8) improvements in the machinery of government.

Words and Phrases

agrarian, collectivism, Greenbackism, individualism, *laissez-faire*, left wing, liberalism, "ordered liberty," Populism, progressivism, radicalism, right wing, social legislation

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What is meant by rugged individualism? By collectivism?
2. Outline in parallel columns the principles of the Republican and Democratic parties. Indicate the principles first advocated by third parties which have been accepted by the two major parties.
3. What are the fundamental points of difference between the present-day Republican and Democratic parties?
4. Why have third parties usually advocated "radical proposals"?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. "Governments compromise and adjust conflicting economic interests." "Governments are usually controlled by some dominant economic group." Discuss the truth or falsity of these statements. Are they contradictory?
2. In what respects has the United States abandoned the theory of individualism for the theory of social control?
3. What, if any, is the relationship between the political principles of Hamilton, of Lincoln, and of the present leaders of the Republican party; between the principles of Jefferson, of Jackson, and of the present leaders of the Democratic party? Indicate in outline form the major differences between the Republican and Democratic parties of the present.
4. Defend the proposition that the support and organization of third parties serves a useful and practical purpose, although the supporters and organizers of such movements seldom achieve political power.
5. Compare the two-party system in the United States with the multiple-party system in France. What are the advantages of each?

Suggested Reading

Beard and Beard, II, pp. 224–228, 278–343, 550–608; Dewey, *National Problems* (A.N.S.), pp. 127–145, 238–251; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 252–272, 352–358; Hart, V, pp. 106–112; McKean, Dayton D., *Party Pressure Politics,* pp. 393–425; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 167–208, 364–383; Schlesinger, pp. 51–82, 200–227; Sparks, *National Development* (A.N.S.), pp. 327–351; Tarbell, *Nationalizing of Business* (A.L.S.), pp. 10–34, 68–90.

CHAPTER THIRTY

Politics, Politicians, and Campaigns, 1865–1900

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CONTROLS THE PRESIDENCY FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY, 1861–85

Reasons for Republican supremacy. With the election of Lincoln in 1860 the Republican party enjoyed its first national triumph. It was not until 1884 that the Democrats were returned to power. It was natural enough that the Republicans, who brought the war to a successful conclusion, should enjoy a period of power. Had not this group saved the Union? Was not the Democratic party regarded as the party of obstruction and rebellion? The eight years of uninterrupted prosperity in the North and West which followed the war strengthened popular confidence in the Republican party. Industrial leaders looked to it for favors, and, obtaining them, became supporters and molders of its policies and contributors to its campaign funds.

Ulysses S. Grant, 1869–77. For the presidential campaign of 1868 the Republicans nominated General Grant, the hero of Appomattox. Grant was unfamiliar with the ways of politicians, without experience in civil affairs, and, above all, a poor judge of men. His sole claim to fame was his war experience. A West Point graduate, he had served for a while in the Army, but resigned and worked as a clerk in his father's leather store in Illinois. Although personally popular, he was incapable of leadership as President and became the tool of politicians who used his friendship to secure favors.

The chief issues in the campaign of 1868 were reconstruction of the South and the character of the national currency, for even at this date some Western leaders were urging that war bonds should be redeemed in greenbacks instead of gold. Grant received 214 electoral votes to 80 for his Democratic opponent (Horatio Seymour of New York), but his majority of the popular vote was only 300,000 out of a total of 5,700,000. He was re-elected in 1872 and so held office for eight years. His first term was marked by business prosperity and speculation; his second by business depression (pages 495–497). Throughout most of the years of Grant's presidency the former Confederate states were largely under

the control of the Negro, the carpetbaggers, and federal troops. A wave of corruption in business and politics swept over the nation.

The "nadir of national disgrace." While the carpetbaggers were plundering the South, selfish business interests and unscrupulous politicians in all parts of the nation were enriching themselves at the expense of the public treasury in city, state, and nation. Professor Dunning has used the phrase "the nadir of national disgrace" to describe the political corruption prevalent during Grant's administration. Political scandals were not confined to one section or to one party.

1. The "Tweed Ring" in New York City. Scarcely an American city of any size escaped the plunder of politicians. In New York City, William Tweed, leader of Tammany Hall, controlled the Democratic organization. Tweed determined appointment and election to office, and succeeded in placing his henchmen in positions of power. For several years the "Tweed Ring" shamelessly plundered the city. The members of the ring used the plunder to keep themselves in power, dealing out charities to the poor, giving legal protection to law-breakers, finding work for immigrants, bribing voters and members of the legislature.

The cartoons of Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly* and the editorials of the *New York Times* were very effective in arousing the conscience of the people. Tweed was ultimately tried (1871) and sent to prison; other members of the ring either shared his fate or went into exile abroad.

2. The Crédit Mobilier scandal. National leaders and members of Congress did not escape the contagion of corruption. To speed up the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, Congress was lavish in its grant of land and government bonds. A group of stockholders of the Union Pacific organized a construction company known as the Crédit Mobilier, and then gave construction contracts at handsome prices to the new company; that is, to themselves. Of course, the earnings of the Crédit Mobilier were fabulous, about $3500 being paid out for each $1000 invested to those "in" on the "deal." To block a threatened congressional investigation, Oakes Ames, a member of Congress, sold shares of the Crédit Mobilier to members of Congress at par, although they were worth twice as much in the market. Ames even lent them money with which to buy the stock. In his own words, Ames placed the shares "where they would do the most good." An investigating congressional committee some years later found that Vice-President Colfax was involved (1869–73), as well as several congressmen.

3. Still other scandals. In 1874 Secretary of the Treasury Richardson was forced to resign because of a scandal in connection with the collection of internal revenues. In 1875 the St. Louis "Whiskey Ring," which annually defrauded the government of a million dollars in taxes, was exposed. Babcock, Grant's private secretary, was implicated in this scandal, and one of the members of the ring accused Grant of shar-

ing in the profits. In 1876 Secretary of War Belknap resigned just before he was impeached, when it became known that for years he had indirectly received an annual bribe of $6000 to keep an Indian agent in control of a profitable concession at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

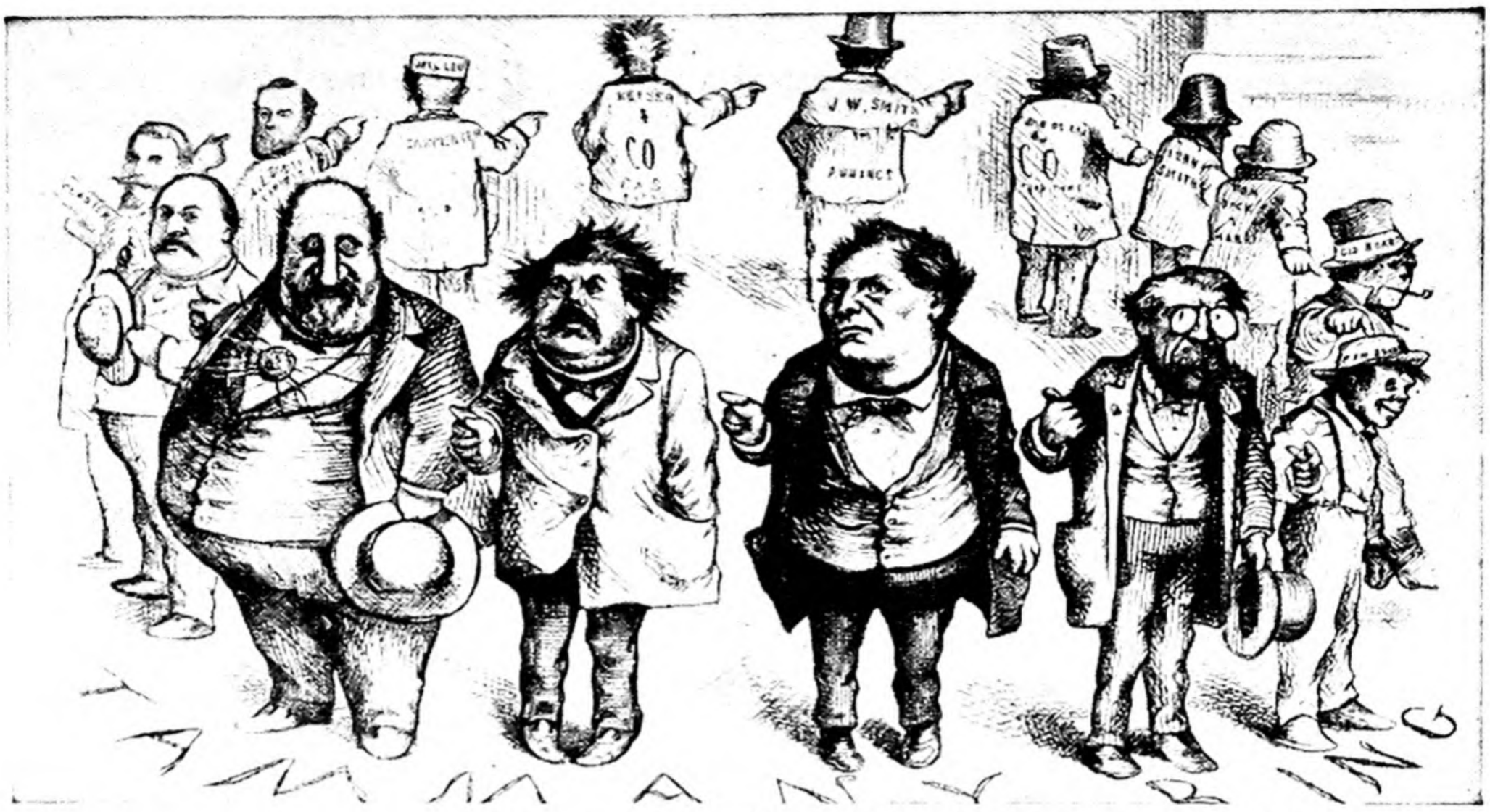
The causes of political corruption. The business expansion of the country tended to overemphasize material gain. In the desire of business interests to secure some special favor, such as government contracts or franchises, we can find the basic cause of corruption; the public officials are, as a rule, merely the agents or tools of others. The crookedness of Big Business has at times surpassed corruption by government officials. Industrial leaders stopped at nothing. The bribery of legislatures and judges was merely a small part of the evil practices they indulged in. The new political leaders during Grant's administration — Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, Congressman James A. Garfield of Ohio, Senator James G. Blaine of Maine, and others — were stockholders or corporation lawyers in the very enterprises that would be affected by the laws they sponsored.

Difficulty in arousing public indignation. One startling fact that reveals itself in connection with the wholesale demoralization of the public service was the apparent indifference of the public itself. It took years of strenuous agitation on the part of reforming newspapers and magazines — *Harper's Weekly*, the *Nation*, the *New York Times* — and reform leaders like Thomas Jenckes, Carl Schurz, James Russell Lowell, Horace Greeley, and Samuel Tilden to arouse the people to revolt.

The "Liberal" Republicans and the Campaign of 1872. A beginning in the direction of reform was made by a group of Liberal Republicans who insisted that their party adopt a policy of conciliation toward the South, inaugurate a program of reform in the civil service, and revise the tariff downward. The Liberal Republicans held a national convention in 1872 and nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, for the presidency. The Democrats accepted Greeley, despite the fact that he had bitterly opposed them previously. Grant's personal popularity, combined with the distaste for Greeley which kept many Democrats from voting, saved the day for the Republicans. Just after this election the scandals in national life began to be revealed.

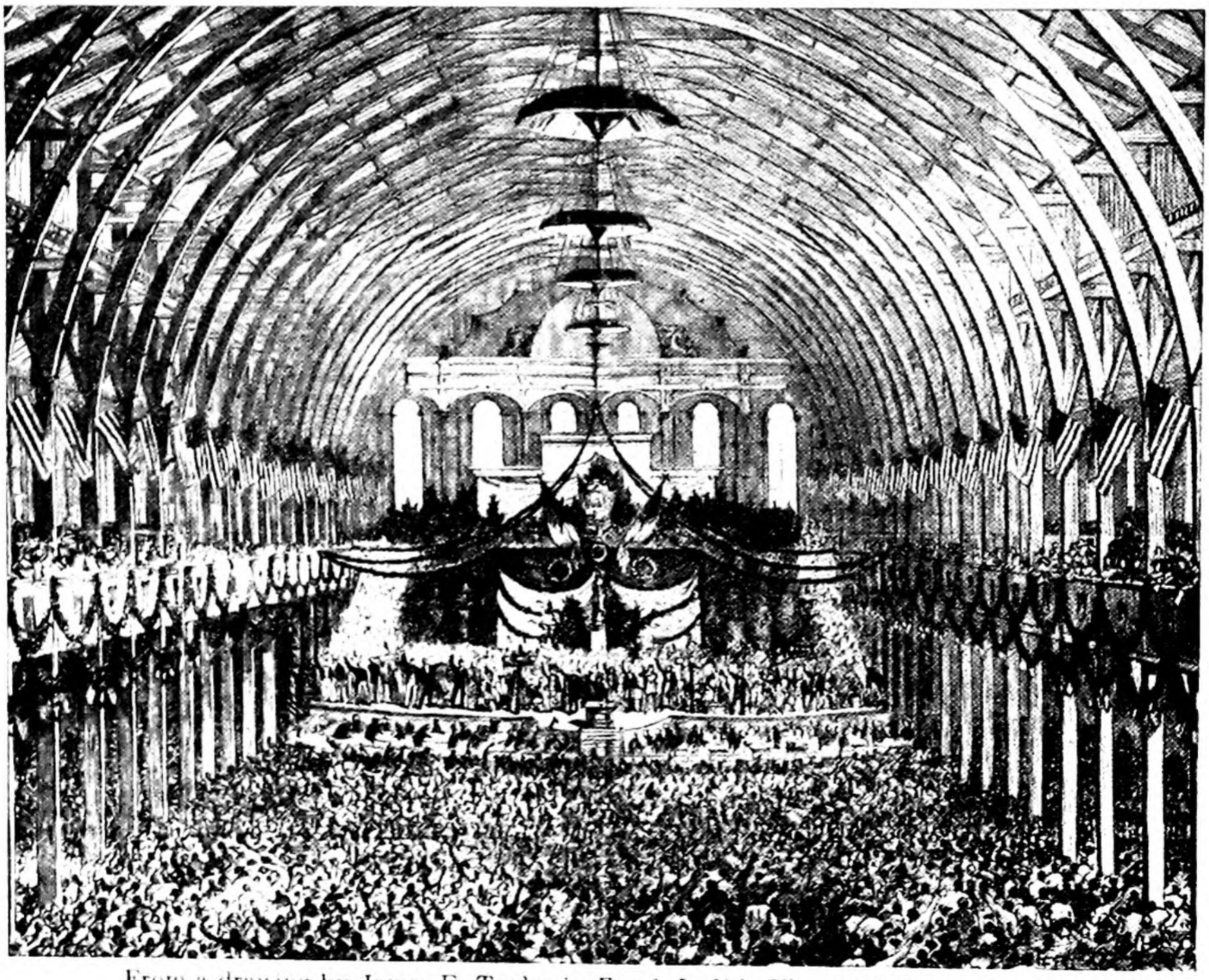
The revelation of corruption in high places and the hard times that began with the Panic of 1873 resulted in a political reversal in the midterm elections of 1874. The people, in protest against the party in power, elected a Democratic House of Representatives for the first time since the war. Samuel J. Tilden, fresh from his successful attack upon "Boss" Tweed, was elected governor of New York.

The campaign of 1876. Tilden, the "reform" governor of New York, thus earned the Democratic nomination for President in 1876. Blaine hoped to be the Republican nominee, but the nomination went to Rutherford B. Hayes, then serving his third term as governor of Ohio.



From a cartoon by Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*, August 19, 1871

Thomas Nast was one of the most influential of American cartoonists. This cartoon, *Who Stole the People's Money?* is one of a series by which Nast aroused the people from their indifference. His exposure of the corruption of the "Tweed Ring" influenced the reform movements of the 1870's. The political cartoon is a feature of American journalism.



From a drawing by James E. Taylor in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 12, 1872

The Liberal Republican party held a national convention in Cincinnati in 1872. Delegates thronged the hall as Carl Schurz, one of the leaders of the Liberal Republican movement, announced the nomination of Horace Greeley for President.

Both candidates represented the better elements in each party; both were men of high character and good repute. The Republicans "waved the bloody shirt," as appeals to war prejudices were called. Tilden's chief weakness was the weakness of the Democratic party — the great dependence upon the support of the white South. He obtained a majority of the popular vote, but his electoral vote was one short of 185, the necessary number. Tilden had 184, Hayes 165, and 20 were in doubt. Nineteen of these came from the Southern states of South Carolina (7), Florida (4), Louisiana (8), in which white supremacy had not yet been established. The other doubtful vote came from Oregon, where there was a dispute over the eligibility of an elector.

The difficulty in the three Southern states was more complicated. The carpetbaggers, who were Republicans, controlled the state election machinery and were in charge of the returning boards (the committees which had power to pass upon the validity of election returns). There is little doubt that there was considerable fraud, violence, and intimidation practiced in the Southern states, and it was even alleged that the Republican returning board of Louisiana had offered to sell its results to Tilden's supporters. The election boards certified that Republican presidential electors had been chosen; but the Democrats, charging that the election boards had fraudulently rejected votes, also sent their electoral votes to the Senate. Thus there were two sets of electoral returns from these states — Democratic and Republican.

The Electoral Commission. The Constitution provides that the president of the Senate shall in the presence of both houses of Congress open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The Constitution is silent as to who shall have the authority to pass upon disputed returns. As the day for the inauguration drew near, Congress finally agreed to leave the decision as to which set of returns should be counted to an Electoral Commission, consisting of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. By a strict party vote of 8 to 7, the Electoral Commission decided in favor of the legality of the Republican returns in each case, thus making the electoral vote, Hayes 185, Tilden 184. The decision of the Commission was made on March 2, 1877.

Attitude of Hayes and Tilden. Both Hayes and Tilden acted with admirable restraint during the strife of their partisans. No disturbance marred the inauguration of Hayes two days later, although Democratic papers published his picture with the word "Fraud" written across his brow and made much of "old man 8 to 7." It was a marvelous triumph for the forces of law and democracy that a controversy which in many countries would have provoked a revolution was peacefully settled.

Rutherford B. Hayes, 1877–81. Few Presidents have started their term of office handicapped as was Hayes, but by his actions as President he gradually won popular esteem. In his first inaugural Hayes announced his policy: "He serves his party best who serves his country

best." He endeavored repeatedly to have Congress enact a civil service law but without avail. By his demand for reform, by his rugged honesty, and by his abandonment of the Republican program of reconstruction in the South, he estranged many in his own party, who referred to him as a "half-breed" Republican, while they dubbed themselves "Stalwarts." These nicknames persisted for several years. The "Stalwarts," led by Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, represented what might be called the professional politicians, or the "spoilsmen." The "Half-Breeds" were the reformers who did not have the "conscience" to stand for some of the "deals" and practices of their party leaders.

The election of 1880. In 1880 the Stalwarts, under the leadership of Conkling, endeavored to secure a third term for Grant. The other chief contender for the nomination was James G. Blaine. Because the convention was unable to choose either of these men, the nomination went to a dark horse, James A. Garfield of Ohio, a veteran of the War between the States, member of Congress since 1863, and at the time of his nomination Senator-elect. Conkling and his group of Stalwarts were contented with Chester A. Arthur, formerly Collector of the Customs in New York — a man whom Hayes had dismissed from office — as candidate for the Vice-Presidency. The Democratic nominee was General Winfield S. Hancock. The popular vote was extremely close, but Garfield obtained a large majority in the Electoral College. It was in this election that all the states of the South, now free from congressional "reconstruction," first voted solidly for the Democratic candidate.

The assassination of President Garfield. Garfield's avowed interest in reform was discredited when it was learned that during his own campaign for the presidency, he had permitted the practice of collecting campaign contributions from government employees. But public disgust was turned to sorrow on July 2, 1881, when the President was shot by a disappointed office seeker, Charles G. Guiteau, crying that he was a "Stalwart" who wanted Chester A. Arthur to become President.

Chester A. Arthur, 1881–85. In September the President died, and "Chet" Arthur, machine politician and Stalwart, became President. It is reported that one of his friends exclaimed: " 'Chet' Arthur President of the United States! Good God!" Although a machine politician, Arthur as President surprised his friends by devoting himself to the cause of reform. Apparently the tragedy of Garfield's assassination and the sobering influence of the presidential office worked a remarkable change in the professional politician. In his annual messages to Congress he urged with vigor the adoption of civil service reform. He so conducted himself in office that he gradually overcame his earlier reputation, and retired from the presidency with honor and dignity.

Civil service reform. In January, 1883, Congress adopted the *Pendleton Act* providing for competitive tests to select applicants for office. Its purpose was to substitute the merit system for the spoils system.

1. Machine politics and the spoils system. Many people attributed to the spoils system the growth of corrupt machine politics. To understand the spoils system and machine politics it is necessary to understand that there are thousands of government employees appointed by elected officials (pages 260–263). Under the spoils system it is the usual practice for a party that wins an election to turn out the enemy job holders and put in its friends. Because congressmen and senators were slow to adopt a reform measure which would deprive them of the opportunity to reward faithful supporters, it took decades of agitation and the assassination of a President to force Congress to action.

A feeble beginning had been made in the direction of reform when Congress in 1871 appropriated $25,000 for a Civil Service Commission, to which Grant appointed George W. Curtis as chairman. But since Congress refused to continue the appropriations, the Commission was powerless to carry on its work.

2. The Pendleton Act. The Pendleton Act of 1883 was in itself a halfway measure, though it was the act which laid the foundation for the present federal civil service system. This act established a federal Civil Service Commission with power to examine candidates for office to determine their fitness. The Commission was authorized to prepare eligible lists for such offices as the President by executive order should declare to belong to the "classified civil service." Congress thus left to the President the task of determining to what jobs the merit system would apply. The law also forbade the collection of funds for political purposes from officeholders. President Arthur placed some fifteen thousand positions on the classified list, which was about 12 per cent of all the federal positions. This was a small but significant beginning.

3. Support given by succeeding Presidents to Civil Service reform. The success of the law obviously depended upon the support given it by succeeding Presidents. Despite enormous pressure brought to bear upon Grover Cleveland by job-hungry Democrats, out of power for twenty-four years, he increased the number of positions that came under the merit system. There was, however, still plenty of opportunity for the spoilsmen. Harrison appointed Theodore Roosevelt to the Civil Service Commission, and the Commission took on new power and life. Every President since Arthur — especially Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson — has extended the classified civil service list, so that sixty years after the enactment of the law, about 75 per cent of the federal positions are under the merit system. However, there are still thousands of positions which provide opportunity for the spoilsmen.

4. State and municipal action. The movement for civil service reform in the national government was accompanied by a similar movement for the elimination of the spoils system in cities and states. The Pendleton Act did not, of course, apply to cities or states, but about half of the states have adopted similar rules to govern the appointment of

their employees. About one-half of the cities with a population in excess of 25,000 have civil service laws of some kind. The 175,000 governmental units in the United States — cities, counties, townships, states, and the nation — employ about three and a half million people. Of this number less than a million come under civil service regulations. After more than sixty years of agitation, there still remains much work to be done to eliminate the spoils system.

THE DEMOCRATS RETURN TO POWER WITH GROVER CLEVELAND

The presidential campaign of 1884. In 1882 New York elected a Democratic governor, Grover Cleveland, who had achieved a reputation, first as sheriff of Erie County and later as an honest and fearless mayor of Buffalo. As governor of New York, Cleveland earned such a good reputation that he won the Democratic nomination for President in 1884. In that year the magnetic Blaine, who had served for a brief period as Garfield's Secretary of State, at last achieved his lifelong ambition by obtaining the Republican nomination. The campaign was one of the most scandalous in our history, although there were no outstanding issues involved. The Democrats reviewed the record of Republican scandals and an old charge of wrongdoing against Blaine. Cleveland's personal character was attacked. In the closing days of the campaign, one of Blaine's supporters (the Reverend Mr. Burchard) slurringly referred to the Democratic party as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." This insult to a large number of Catholic citizens aroused indignation against Blaine. Cleveland carried his own state of New York by a scant 1149 votes and with it the election. For the first time in twenty-eight years a Democratic President had been elected.

Cleveland's first administration, 1885–89. Cleveland as President had the opposition of a Republican Senate, and in a short time also of a faction of his own party. He earned, however, the support and respect of a large following of independent Republicans for his courage, industry, and honesty. These reformers who supported Cleveland were dubbed "Mugwumps" by the "Regulars." His attitude toward office-holding was expressed by his oft-quoted phrase: "Public office is a public trust." The spoilsmen of his party were annoyed when he refused to make appointments as rapidly or as extensively as they demanded; the "cheap money" Democrats were turned against him by his constant support of "sound money." Veterans of the War between the States and congressmen were bitter because he had the presumption to veto pension bills. Cleveland's independence is illustrated by his tariff message of 1887, when, because of a surplus in the treasury which he felt was encouraging extravagance, he urged a downward revision of the tariff.

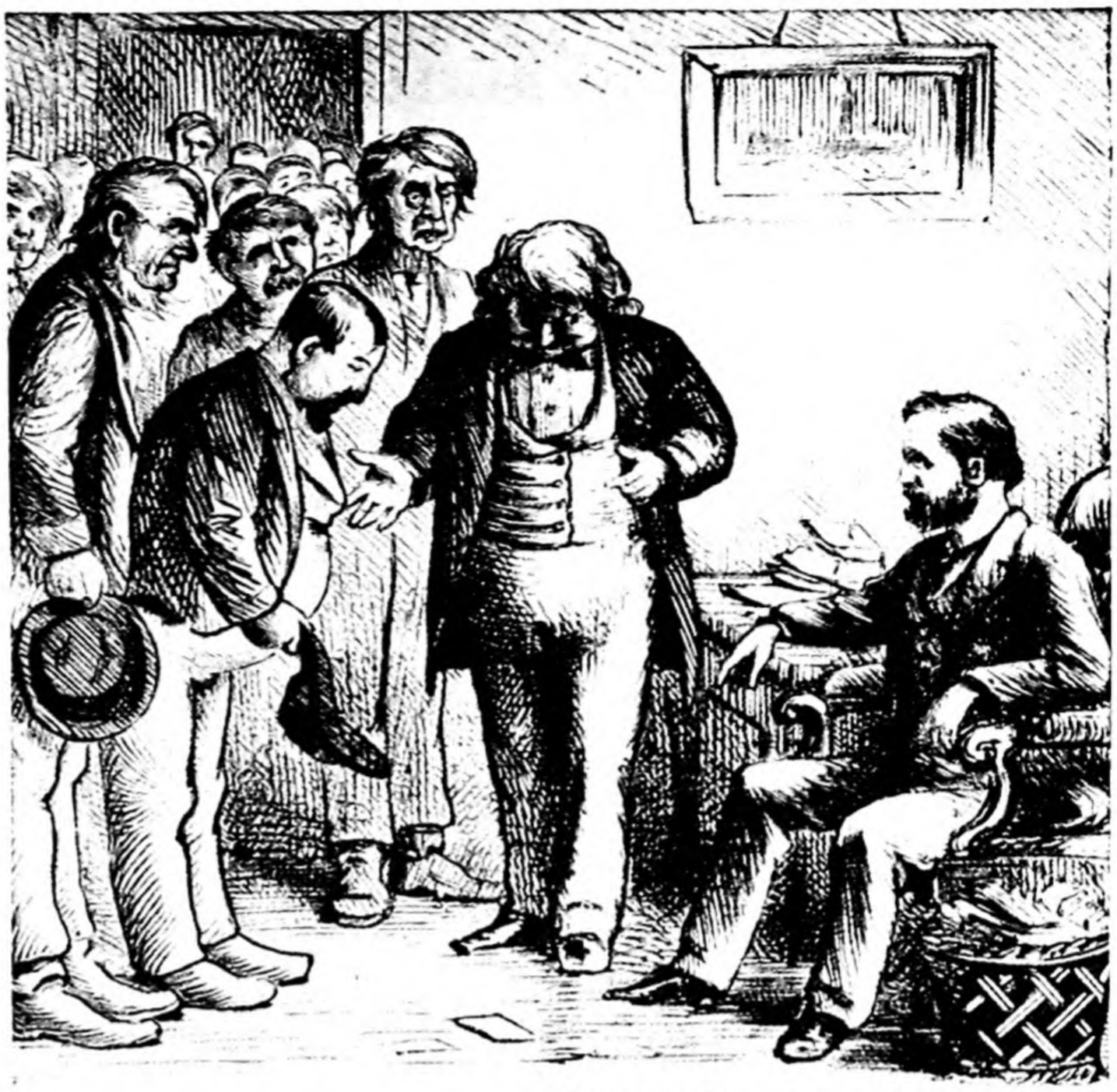
Congress passed two laws during Cleveland's administration to correct defects in our political structure. One was the Presidential Succession Act of 1886 (pages 119–120). The other was the Electoral Count Act, intended to prevent a dispute such as that of 1876 by providing that only the election returns certified by the governor of the state would be counted. This placed the burden of determining the validity of its electoral returns upon each state.

The election of 1888. Cleveland's tariff message of 1887 provided the issue of the campaign of 1888. Cleveland again received the Democratic nomination. Benjamin Harrison, Senator from Indiana, and grandson of the Whig President, William Henry Harrison, was the Republican nominee. The outcome of the election depended upon Indiana and New York, both of which had supported Cleveland in 1884. Harrison's popularity and generous campaign expenditures in Indiana gave him that state; the activity of "protected" industries gave him New York. Cleveland had a popular majority of more than 100,000 over Harrison, but the electoral vote read: Harrison 233, Cleveland 168.

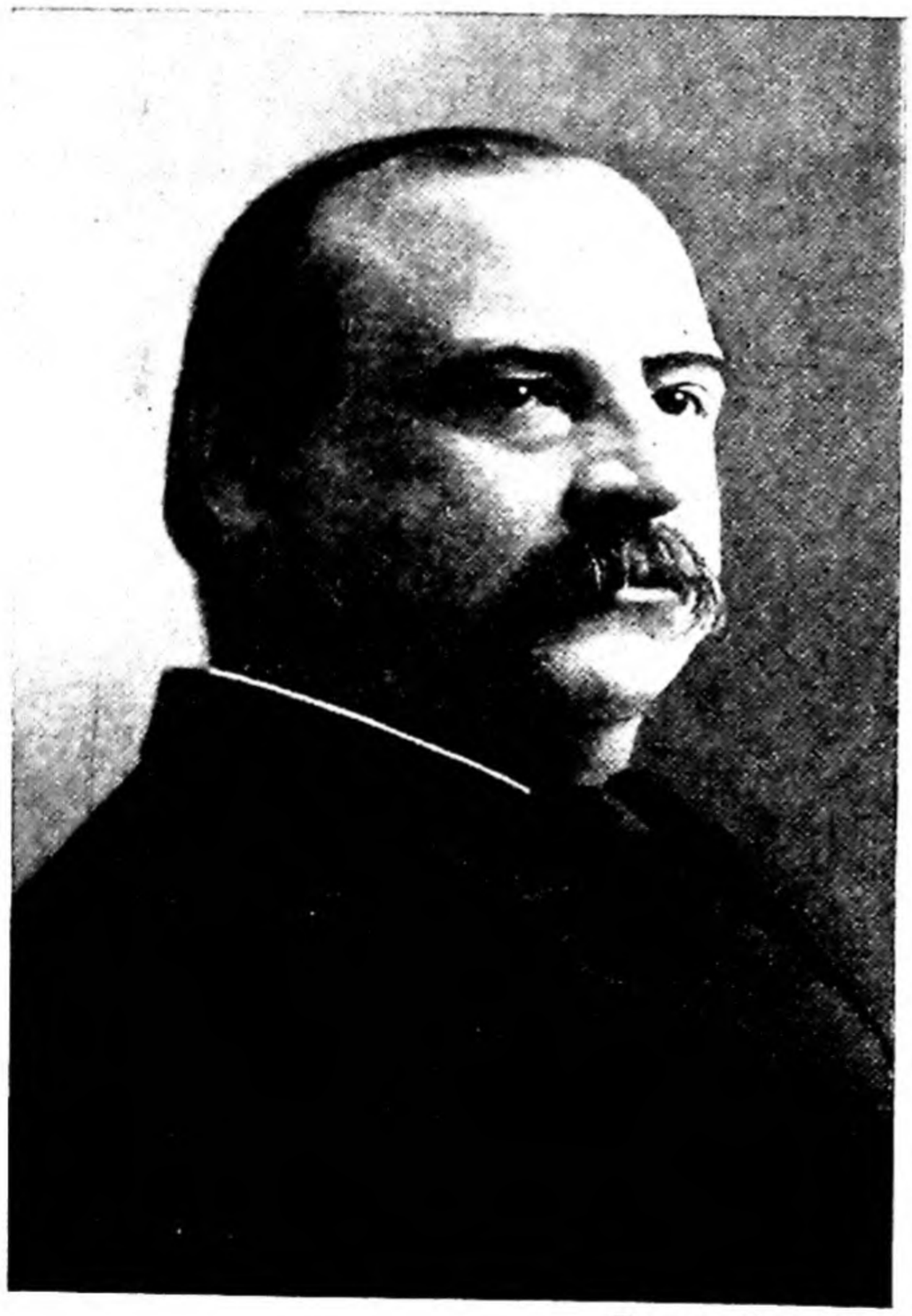
The administration of Benjamin Harrison, 1889–93. In 1888 the Republicans captured not only the presidency but also both houses of Congress. The Republicans passed the pension bills vetoed by Cleveland, and annual expenditures for pensions jumped from $81,000,000 to $135,000,000. Large appropriations were made for a navy and for coast defense, indicating America's growing interest in world affairs. Federal expenditures for one year reached $1,000,000,000 for the first time; this outlay was proudly defended by Speaker Reed with the statement that this was a billion-dollar country. Agitation against trusts had reached a point where Congress was compelled to do something, and, consequently, the Sherman Antitrust Act was passed (pages 413–414). The inflationists of the West also got another silver bill passed, the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 (pages 502–504). The West forced the East to vote for silver in exchange for the Western vote for the high rates of the McKinley tariff bill (1890), demanded by Eastern manufacturers.

"Czar" Reed's control of the House of Representatives. During Harrison's administration the Speaker of the House was Thomas B. Reed of Maine. To stop the passage of bills the minority party frequently refused to answer the roll call, thus preventing the assembly of a quorum with which to transact business. Reed stopped this practice. When a Democrat protested against being counted present when he had not answered the roll call, "Czar" Reed, as he came to be called, calmly observed: "The chair is making a statement of fact that the gentleman from Kentucky is present. Does he deny it?" Reed's rules for the House were desirable. The Democrats themselves adopted them a few years later, and ever since the House of Representatives has carried on its business without undue obstruction by a determined minority. The

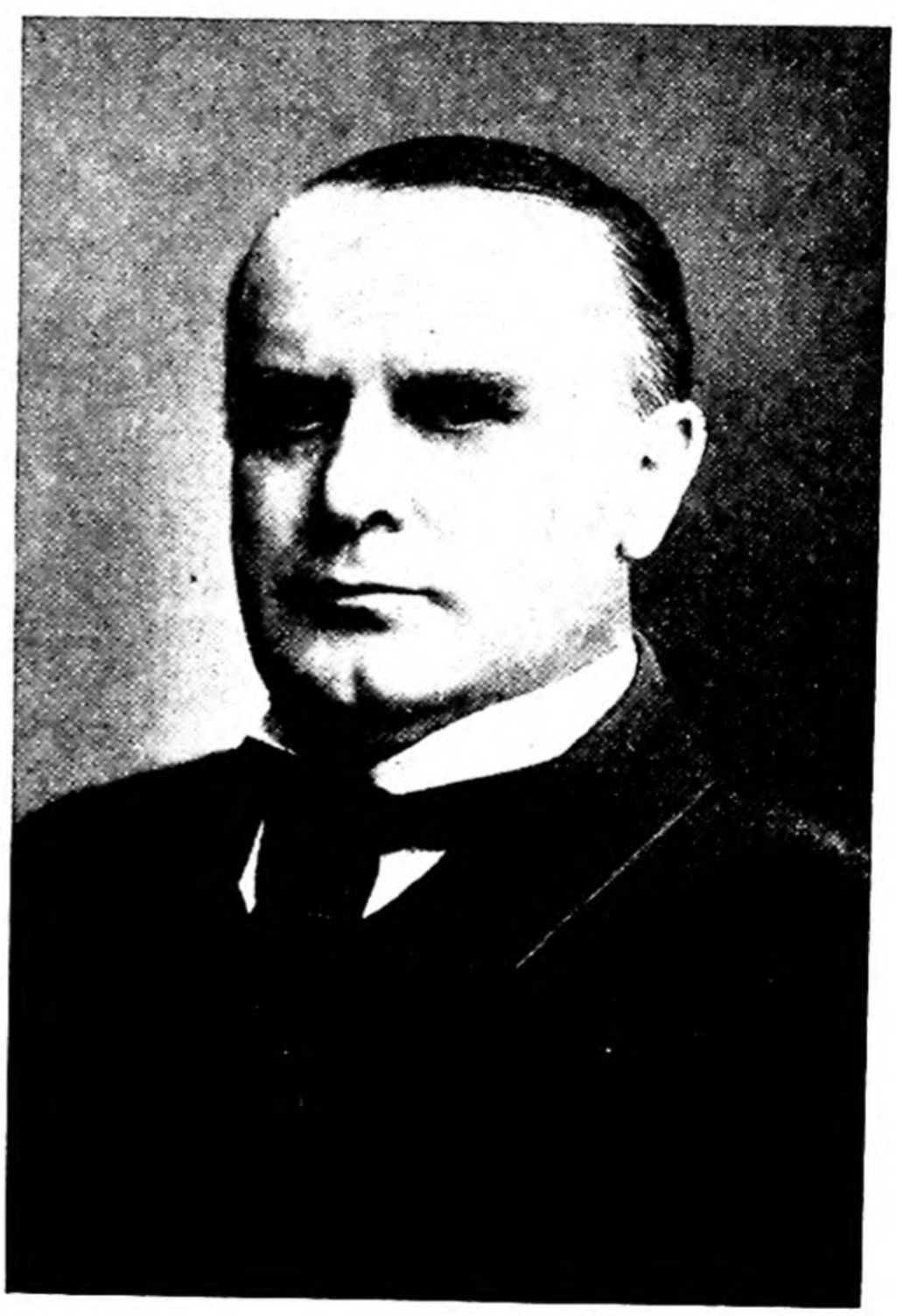
This cartoon, showing a member of Congress presenting a "few" of his constituents for office, was an attack upon the spoils system and a plea for civil service reform.



Courtesy New York Public Library



Brown Brothers



Brown Brothers

Left: Grover Cleveland (1837–1908) was independent, fearless, and a champion of reform. His election to the presidency in 1884 broke a quarter century of Republican control. Defeated in 1888, he was elected for a second time in 1892.

Right: William McKinley (1843–1901) was an ardent protectionist and represented the conservative groups who disliked Cleveland's independence and Bryan's radicalism. Elected President in 1896 and again in 1900, he had only served a few months of his second term when he was shot by an anarchist.

rules of the House then adopted lodged unusual power in the Speaker, but in 1910 a Democratic revolt transferred this power from the Speaker to the Committee on Rules (page 520).

The election of 1892. The "billion-dollar" Congress, and especially the high rates of the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890, brought about a complete reversal in the mid-term elections. The Democratic landslide gave them 235 members in the House as against 88 Republicans, and their victory forecast a Democratic victory in 1892. Harrison was again the Republican nominee, and Cleveland for the third time secured the Democratic nomination. But the most interesting phase of the election of 1892 was the third-party movement of the Populists (pages 503–504) who polled a million popular votes and 22 electoral votes. Cleveland won the election with 277 electoral votes to 145 for Harrison.

Cleveland's second administration, 1893–97. Cleveland's second administration was mainly concerned with problems growing out of the disastrous panic of 1893. Believing that the panic was caused in part by the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, Cleveland successfully urged its repeal (1893), thus identifying himself with the "hard money" interests. He struggled to get a tariff reform bill through Congress, but was unsuccessful; finally, he allowed the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Bill (1894) to become a law without his signature. The coal, wool, sugar, and iron senators had so modified the House bill that Cleveland called the bill an illustration of "party perfidy and dishonor." This bill carried with it an income tax law which the Supreme Court (1895) declared unconstitutional. Hard times, the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act, the decision of the Supreme Court, the use of federal troops in the Pullman Car strike of 1894 (page 426), all weakened Cleveland's hold on the members of his own party and the masses.

The free silver campaign (1896) and the election of 1900. The presidential campaign of 1896 turned for the first time since 1860 upon a real issue of vital importance to the nation. In that year William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska succeeded in committing the Democratic party to the advocacy of free and unlimited coinage of silver. The Populists, or People's Party, also supported Bryan. The Republican candidate was William McKinley, of Ohio. McKinley's campaign was organized by Marcus Alonzo Hanna, a businessman turned politician. Hanna collected a campaign fund of some $3,000,000 from bankers, manufacturers, and corporations. Bryan, the "boy orator of the Platte," the "silver-tongued" radical, had only $300,000 at his disposal. Nonetheless (until the advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930's), business had never been more frightened by radicalism than in 1896. McKinley won the election with 271 electoral votes against 176 for Bryan. Big Business won. The administration of McKinley was noteworthy for the Spanish-American War, which brought possessions overseas and marked the emergence of America as a world power

(pages 653–657). The Dingley Tariff of 1897 raised the tariff and the Gold Standard Act of 1900 marked the triumph of "hard money."

The campaign of 1900. Bryan and McKinley were again candidates in the campaign of 1900. The Spanish-American War, and the beginning of prosperous times in 1897, served to distract attention from the fiery silver crusade of 1896, and McKinley was again successful.

The beginning of a new era. Within a few months after his second inauguration McKinley was assassinated by an anarchist. Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt, who had been nominated to the Vice-Presidency to remove him from New York politics, where he had been a thorn in the side of "Boss" Platt (pages 512–513), became President.

With Roosevelt's accession to the presidency in 1901 a new era begins. The frontier was closed, and industrialism, triumphant, was searching for markets overseas. But the reforming zeal of the 1890's had not spent itself; it burst forth in the progressive movement of the first years of the new century. Theodore Roosevelt was the first President to sense the profound effect of economic changes. In the next chapter we will review this same period (1865–1900) to study in more detail the unrest and discontent among the people. Basically the country was struggling to find answers to the issues presented by industrialism.

Words and Phrases

civil service, Crédit Mobilier, merit system, Mugwumps, "Czar" Reed, 8 to 7, electoral commission, Half-Breeds, Liberal Republicans, old guard, Pendleton Act, "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," Stalwarts, Tweed Ring

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What are the chief reasons for political corruption? Illustrate by reference to the scandals in the period 1865–75.
2. What is meant by Civil Service Reform? What are the defects of the civil service laws which apply to the national government, to the state, to the city, and to the county governments?
3. Why was there a disputed election in 1876? Contrast with 1800, 1824.
4. What were the issues in the presidential campaigns of 1884, 1888, and 1896? Account for the fact that Blaine, like Clay and Webster, never achieved the presidency.
5. Explain the meaning of Cleveland's statement with regard to the tariff that "a condition not a theory" confronted the country.
6. What were the outstanding characteristics of Cleveland, Conkling, and McKinley?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Investigate and report in some detail on one of the following: Tweed Ring, Crédit Mobilier, Star Route frauds, James G. Blaine and the "Mulligan" Letters. Contrast any one of these with a more recent scandal, na-

tional, state, or local. Read James Russell Lowell's "Centennial Ode" and explain the allusions to corruption contained in that biting satire.

2. Discuss the proposition that governmental corruption is no greater than that which exists in business.
3. Consider yourself on the staff of an advertising company that has been requested to map out an advertising campaign to promote (a) the sale of Western railroad bonds; (b) the westward migration; (c) the election of either Hayes or Tilden; Cleveland or Blaine; Bryan or McKinley; (d) the adoption of Civil Service Reform. Prepare sample advertisements.
4. Should the principle of the merit system be applied to all but a few elective and appointive positions? Reasons. Make a study of the conditions of civil service in your city, county, and state.
5. Roscoe Conkling said: "When Dr. Johnson said that patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel, he ignored the enormous possibilities of the word reform." What did Dr. Johnson mean? What did Conkling mean? Why might you expect Conkling to entertain this point of view? Do you agree? Reasons.

Suggested Reading

POLITICAL CORRUPTION: Bassett, *Makers of a New Nation* (Pageant), Chaps. III, IV, VII; Beard and Beard, II, pp. 195–204, 298–311; Carman, II, pp. 654–660; Dewey, *National Problems* (A.N.S.), pp. 127–161; Dunning, *Reconstruction: Political and Economic* (A.N.S.), pp. 203–220, 281–294; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 44–54, 61–78; Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, pp. 320–331; Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America* (A.L.S.), pp. 178–202; Schlesinger, pp. 51–56.

ELECTION OF 1876: Dunning, *Reconstruction: Political and Economic* (A.N.S.), pp. 294–342; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 50–54; Hart, IV, pp. 504–508; Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election;* Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, pp. 344–348; Schlesinger, pp. 56–64; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, I, pp. 356–393.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM: Bassett, *Makers of a New Nation* (Pageant), Chaps. V, VI; Dewey, *National Problems* (A.N.S.), pp. 21–39; Fish, *Civil Service and the Patronage;* Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 84–86; Schlesinger, pp. 64–69; Sparks, *National Development* (A.N.S.), pp. 154–164; Commager, No. 308 – Pendleton Act.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

The Agrarian Crusade, 1865–1900

THE UNITED STATES HAS SERVED THE NEEDS OF AGRICULTURE

A summary of important changes. In the previous chapter we reviewed the presidential campaigns of an interesting period in American history. It was a period in which the population of the country more than doubled: 31,000,000 in 1860, 38,000,000 in 1870, and 76,000,000 in 1900. It was a period when immigrants flocked to our shores by tens of thousands, when our cities grew rapidly in size and number, when politics gave flagrant evidences of its ugliness in the cities, in the states, and in the nation. It was the period when the prostrate South slowly recovered from the war and the "crime of reconstruction," when railroads spanned the continent, when big businessmen organized American industry, when the farm lands of the West began to yield rich harvests, and when national labor unions began to play an important part in American life.

It was a period of great progress; it was also a period of unrest and discontent as the people struggled to adjust themselves to the great changes that were taking place. The people, then as now, formed many associations to champion the cause of various reforms. The country debated many issues; and some of them it still continues to debate. What is the best tariff policy? How shall we rid ourselves of political corruption? How shall we deal with "Big Business," with monopoly prices, with the "unfair practices" of railroads? How shall we rid ourselves of panics and depressions and extend prosperity to all groups and all sections? How can we develop a banking and credit system that will serve the needs of all and yield special privileges to none? And there was then, as always, the political question: what part should government play in helping the people find the answers to these questions?

The rise of the West. As might be expected in a country as big and diverse as the United States, not all of these questions have been in the forefront of popular interest at the same time. In the last third of the nineteenth century — the period of the "emergence of modern America" — the outstanding political development was the revolt of the farmers of the West and South against the dominant influence of captains of industry, railroad magnates, and banking overlords. The West grew rapidly; with the help of laborsaving machinery the American farmers

produced a surplus which was exported to Europe. Increased production tended to push down farm prices, while the farmer usually had to pay high prices for his farm machinery and other manufactured products. The farmers were in distress, especially following the panics of 1873 and 1893. It is little wonder, then, that during this period the farmers rose in revolt, organized associations of various kinds and petitioned state legislatures and Congress for laws they thought would help them.

Early government aid to farmers. Briefly reviewing the history of the country in terms of the farmers' needs, we recall that the treaty with Spain in 1795 and the purchase of Louisiana in 1803 were made in response to the demands of the Western farmers for control of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The subsequent territorial expansion of the country was in response to the farmers' request for more land. In the first years of the nineteenth century the controversy in the halls of Congress over the federal construction of wagon roads, highways, and canals arose because the farmers demanded means of transportation. To facilitate the occupation of the Western lands the government adopted a liberal land policy. Land grants to railroads and colleges were among the ways whereby the government helped the farmer. As a result of the Homestead Act of 1862, the government gave away more than one hundred million acres of land.

Influence of the farmer on banking. American banking history reflects the debtors' insistent demand for cheap credit. The first Bank of the United States (1791–1811) and the second (1816–36) were efforts on the part of the national government to maintain a sound banking system. The farming sections, at first under Jefferson, later under Jackson, disliked this national control because it deprived them of the opportunity to induce local banks to be liberal in the extension of credit.

National control of the banking system was re-established by the law of 1863, which gave the federal government supervision over the note issue of national banks, and the law of 1865, which by heavy taxes restricted the note issue of state banks. From 1865 to 1896 the farmers wanted a banking and currency system to fit their needs.

"CHEAP MONEY" IS FREQUENTLY ADVOCATED AS A CURE FOR A NATION'S ILLS

The problem of the farmer was especially acute in the period of 1865–96. The farmers sought relief by demanding issuance of greenbacks, unlimited coinage of silver, and regulation of railroad rates.

"Cheap money" and high prices. According to the quantity theory of money, prices of commodities are affected by the amount of money in circulation. If there is a large amount of currency in proportion to the amount of goods for sale, money will be plentiful and cheap, and hence prices will be high. On the other hand, if there is a limited

amount of currency, money will be scarce and dear, and therefore prices will be low. Apparently, then, to control prices it would be desirable to control the amount of money in circulation — just the thing that the farmers wanted to do. Those opposed to increasing the amount of money in circulation claimed they wanted "sound money."

Relation of prices to the note issues of banks. What determines the amount of money in circulation? In general, two things: actual gold and silver, and credit, usually in the form of promises to pay. If a businessman wishes to borrow money from a bank, he writes out a note promising to pay the bank the amount of the loan at some future time. These notes could circulate as currency, but only among the small circle of friends of the man who made the note, for they are likely to be the only ones who have confidence in his ability to pay. On the other hand, the notes issued by a bank serve as money, mainly because a large number of people are familiar with the bank. Even those who do not know its reputation are likely to have confidence in the note of a bank, because they know that the affairs of the bank are supervised by either the state or the national government. However, banks sometimes issue more notes than they can actually pay. When this condition exists, the note issue is said to be inflated.

An inflated note issue declines in value because the people doubt the ability of the bank to pay. As the note issue depreciates in value, people will demand more of these notes in payment for their goods, and prices will tend to rise. To prevent overissue, the government has found it necessary to exercise supervision over the power of the banks to issue notes. Thus by the banking acts of the War between the States the note issue by state banks was stopped, and the note issue of national banks was guaranteed by bonds of the federal government.

Prices and "greenbacks." During the War between the States, the federal government itself issued notes, called "greenbacks," which were promises by the government to pay the holder of the note its face value. The government did not have anything of value, gold or silver, with which to pay the holder should he demand payment. The greenbacks were, therefore, not actually redeemable. The government stopped issuing them before they became so numerous as to lose all value.

Decline of prices after the war. After the war, as normal times returned and business expanded, the greenbacks affected prices less and less. The expansion of business and the construction of railroads and factories created a demand for a large volume of currency. Since the government accumulated a gold reserve with which to redeem the greenbacks, and actually provided for the resumption of specie payments (1875), the people gradually began to believe that the greenbacks were as good as gold, and so this paper money did not have the effect of inflating the currency. Furthermore, as the country prospered, the government obtained larger revenues and began to redeem

its bonds. As the government bonds were paid, the national banks decreased the amount of bank notes they issued; for they were permitted to issue notes only to the extent that they held federal bonds as security. These developments had the effect, then, of *contracting the currency*, or, as it is called, *deflating the currency*. As the currency is contracted, or deflated, it becomes scarce, *increases in value, and prices tend to drop*. The effect of expanding business (because it created a real need for a large volume of currency) and the reduction of the amount of money in circulation (because of the retirement of the government bonds) was a steady decline in prices which continued during the rest of the century. It was not confined to this country alone, for gold production had remained constant for a long time. (There is, of course, another explanation of the decline in prices: the cultivation of more lands and the use of farm machinery produced an agricultural surplus, which also tended to depress prices.)

How declining prices affect debtors and creditors. A decline in prices seriously affects those who are in debt. And in the years following the War between the States, it was the farmers who were most in debt. Farmers who settled the prairie West and those who acquired the lands of the Southern planters went into debt for land, machinery, or livestock. They borrowed, for the most part from Eastern moneylenders, to whom they gave a mortgage on their property as security. Their debts were especially large because they had borrowed when prices were high. The price decline after 1865 meant that the farmers were obliged to pay back a more valuable money than they had borrowed. Let us suppose that a farmer borrowed $3000 at 8 per cent during the War between the States, giving a mortgage on his farm as security. The interest on this debt was $240 a year. In the 1870's, when wheat sold for a dollar a bushel, the farmer could pay this interest by selling 240 bushels of wheat; in the 1880's, when wheat was selling at seventy-five cents a bushel, the farmer would have to sell 320 bushels. In the 1890's, when wheat dropped to fifty cents a bushel, the farmer would have to work even harder in order to pay off the mortgage on his property.

The panic of 1873. The rapid spread of areas of farming through the West, bringing too much land under cultivation in a short time, the establishment of new industries, and especially the extension of railroad lines and the rebuilding of old lines could not go on indefinitely. The most important cause for the panic of 1873 was excessive railroad building. All the money that could be obtained in the United States and all that could be borrowed from abroad was being put into roadbeds, rails, and equipment. A panic in Europe in May, 1873, warned European bankers of the need they would have for their own capital at home and stopped the flow of European capital into American enterprises. Jay Cooke and Company of Philadelphia, one of the most respected bank-

ing houses of the time, had invested heavily in the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Caught with its own capital tied up in the Northern Pacific, and without other resources, Jay Cooke and Company failed. Its failure started a panic which carried down many other banks, railroads, and industries, and caused a depression which lasted many years. During this period the Western farmers suffered most.

The complaints of the farmers. The farmers claimed that their difficulties were caused by the following: (1) In the ten years, 1863–73, the farmers were getting a dollar and a half for a bushel of wheat. Some years they received two dollars. For ten years after the panic, 1874–84, the average price of wheat was a dollar, and in some years it ranged from sixty-five to seventy-five cents. At such prices there was no profit in wheat culture. The cotton and corn planters fared no better. (2) The tariff, still approximately at the War between the States level, worked to the disadvantage of the farmers, for it kept up the prices of the products farmers had to buy. (3) In transporting their grain to market and selling it, the farmers were at the mercy of the railroads, wholesalers, and warehousemen. (4) Many thousands of farmers, particularly in the West and South, lost their farms by the foreclosure of mortgages. Burdened by falling prices, high tariffs, high railroad rates, and high interest charges, the farmers thought that their interests were neglected by the government.

THE FARMERS ORGANIZE AND CRUSADE FOR VARIOUS REFORMS

The "Patrons of Husbandry." In 1867 Oliver Hudson Kelley, a Minnesota farmer serving as a clerk in the Bureau of Agriculture at Washington, organized a farmers' association. This was called the "Patrons of Husbandry," or the "Grangers." Kelley felt that the local granges, or lodges, would bind the farmers together for social and intellectual advancement, and that the social life and the opportunities for an exchange of views would rescue the farmers from isolation.

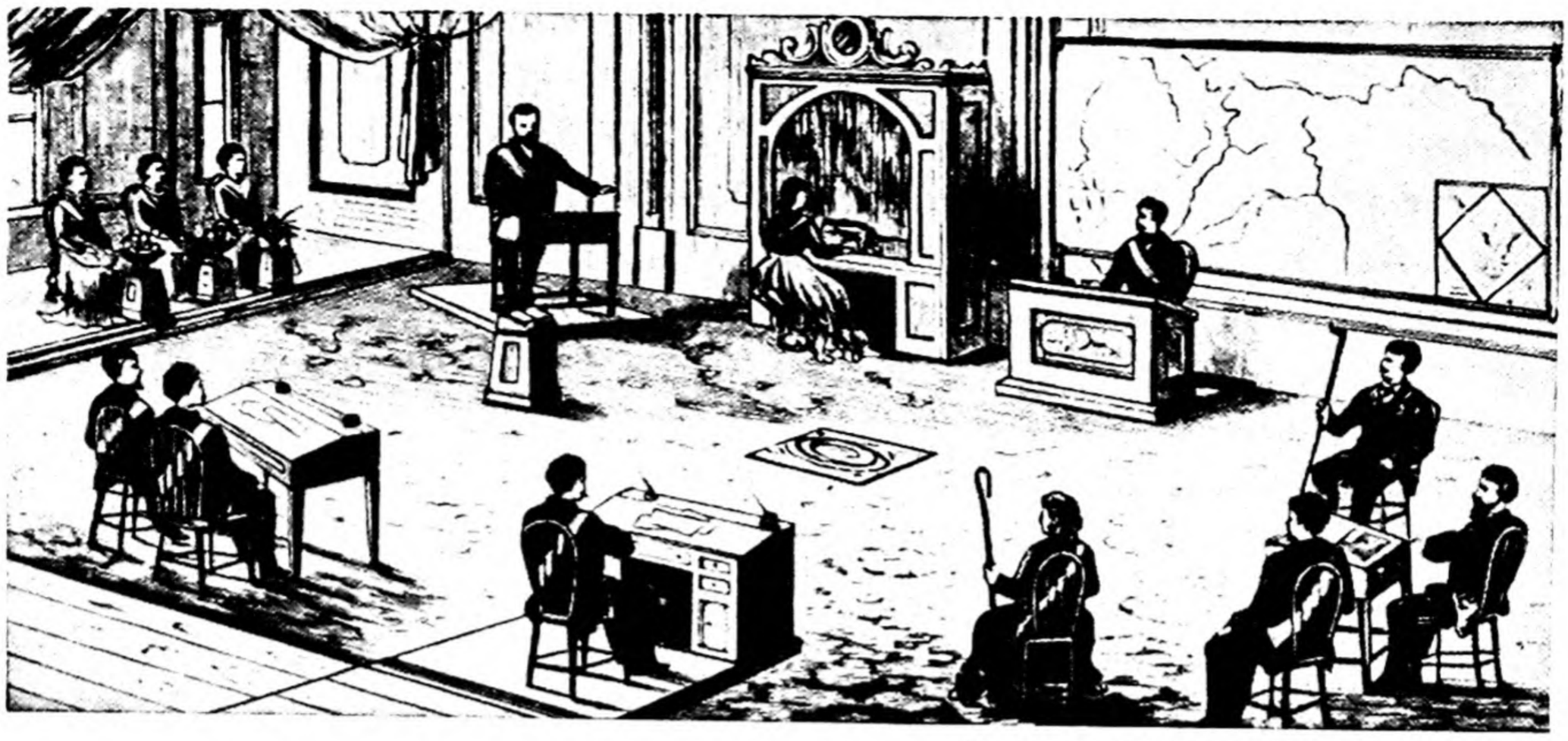
Kelley returned to his farm in Minnesota and appealed directly to his neighbors. By the time of the panic of 1873 he had succeeded in establishing some three thousand granges. The hard times of 1873 and 1874 stimulated the movement, and by 1875 the number of granges had increased to nineteen thousand with a total membership of a million and a half. While two thirds of these granges were located in the North Central and the South Central states, where the agricultural distress was greatest, there were granges in almost every part of the country. The Grange was not a political party, but its leaders soon devoted their energies to the support of Granger legislation in the states. "Co-operation" and "Down with Monopoly" became the slogans of the movement, because the Grange organized many co-operatives and worked for the regulation of monopolies, particularly the railroads.

The Grangers and state legislation. The Grangers turned to the state legislatures rather than to Congress for relief. Experience had taught them that Congress, dominated by Eastern representatives, had no more understanding of the problems of the West than it had had of those of the old South. At a time when the majority of the population were farmers, their interests were not adequately represented in Congress. Sixty-one per cent of the Congressmen were lawyers, 16 per cent businessmen, and only 7 per cent farmers. The state legislatures were local bodies, more easily influenced by local problems.

The unfair practices of the railroads. The Grangers complained of high railroad rates, and of the discrimination practiced by the railroads in fixing their rates. It was common practice for the railroads to give *rebates* to some favored shipper, usually someone who gave the railroad a large volume of business. These rebates worked a hardship on the small shipper, who found it difficult to compete with his more powerful rival. Often a large trust, like the Standard Oil Company, would compel a railroad to give it a rebate which would permit it to undersell a competitor. Besides this discrimination between shippers, railroads also practiced discrimination between places, when they charged more for a short freight haul than for a long haul. A railroad did this when it had a monopoly of the traffic along the intermediate points of its route, but had to compete with another railroad for the traffic to distant cities. The railroads charged what the traffic would bear, claiming that unless they obtained a good portion of their revenue by high local freight rates, the small towns would be forced to get along without railroad service. Railroads also entered into pooling agreements with one another and with large shippers. By means of these pools, through which profits were shared or the volume of business was divided, the railroads tried to avoid the evils of cutthroat competition.

The Grangers demand railroad regulation. The Granger movement became chiefly a crusade against the railroads. It was a bitter contest. As one writer says: "The farmers had votes, the railroads had money, and the legislators were sometimes between the devil and the deep sea in the fear of offending one side or the other." For the most part the so-called "Granger laws" enacted by several states prohibited discriminatory practices, and set up state commissions which had the power to regulate rates. The railroads challenged the constitutionality of these laws. In one of the Granger cases (Munn *vs.* Illinois) decided in 1876, the Supreme Court upheld a law of Illinois which fixed the maximum prices for the storage of grain in Chicago warehouses. In deciding this case, which is among the most important in American constitutional law, the Court declared that when

> one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good. . . . *When*



Courtesy Minnesota Historical Society

Grange meetings such as this were held in farm districts throughout the country. The Grange had a wide social as well as political and economic influence.



From a cartoon by Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*, November 22, 1873

The Grange Wrecks the Railroad, another cartoon in which Nast addresses himself to a national problem, summarizes the chief interest of the Grangers.



From a drawing by W. A. Rogers in *Harper's Weekly*, April 9, 1887

Uncle Sam's "Wild West Show" cartoons the attempt of the Interstate Commerce Commission to control the railroads.

private property is devoted to public use, it is subject to public regulation.

For a few years, under the protection of this decision, Granger laws in several states regulated warehouses, grain elevators, and railroad rates. However, lawyers for the corporations kept bringing cases before the Supreme Court in which they challenged the decision in Munn *vs.* Illinois. In 1886, in the case of the Wabash Railroad *vs.* Illinois, the Supreme Court held that the Illinois legislature had acted *beyond its authority* because the regulation of *interstate commerce* should be carried out by the Congress of the United States under the commerce clause of the Constitution. It was this decision of the Court which led to the passage by Congress in 1887 of the Interstate Commerce Act.

(1) This law forbade railroads (a) to discriminate between persons or localities in fixing their rates, and (b) to charge more for a short haul than for a long haul over the same line. (2) The law prohibited the pooling of traffic. (3) Railroads were required to file annual reports and to publish their rates. (4) The law created an Interstate Commerce Commission of five men (increased by later laws to eleven) to supervise and regulate the railroads.

Weakness of the law. In general, this law gave the Commission power to investigate but little power to act. The Commission had power to issue orders, but it could compel obedience only by bringing the railroads into court. All manner of shady practices continued. The Commission was baffled by court rulings which took the teeth out of its findings and recommendations. In a series of rate cases, the courts gradually assumed the right of *judicial review* of the *reasonableness* of railroad rates and regulation, on the ground that "unreasonable" rates deprived the railroads of property without due process of law. Many shippers, particularly in the West, continued to receive special commissions and rebates, which were concealed by tricky bookkeeping. Questionable practices included traffic associations, shipping groups, and "gentleman's agreements." A generation was to pass before the Interstate Commerce Commission was given effective powers (pages 514–516).

Decline of the Granger movement. The Grange had ceased to be a strong political force several years before the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. It had begun to decline about 1876. In attacking monopolies the Grangers organized co-operative associations to sell their produce, to store their grain, and to buy farm machinery. Many of these early co-operative associations failed through lack of capital and experience. The pioneering efforts of the Grange in the 1870's to help the farmer through co-operatives and regulation of monopolies produced results later when the Greenback Labor Party, the Farmers' Alliances, the Populists, and others carried on the struggle. The Grange has survived as a farmers' society and is active socially.

Currency inflation as a cure. Even while the Granger movement was in full swing, another proposal began to attract attention from railroad regulation as a way of curing the farmers' ills. This was the proposal to increase prices by inflating the currency. At first the aim was to increase the number of greenbacks in circulation, later to increase the amount of silver in circulation.

"Greenbackism" and resumption of specie payment. The greenbacks were first issued during the War between the States; they had no security except the government's promise to pay at some future time. This the government set about to do in 1866–68, when $77,000,000 worth of greenbacks were withdrawn from circulation. This contraction of the total volume of currency helped depress prices and alarmed the advocates of "cheap money." For ten years opposing factions fought over the question of the greenbacks. Conservatives (Easterners and creditors) insisted that all greenbacks be withdrawn; but Westerners, Southerners, farmers, laborers, and debtors generally not only opposed the withdrawal of the existing supply of greenbacks in circulation but even urged that additional quantities be printed. "Inflate the currency," said one of the advocates of greenbacks, "and you raise the price of my steers and at the same time pay the public debt." In Grant's second administration, under the influence of "sound money" men, Congress passed a law (1875, modified slightly, 1878) providing for the *resumption of specie payment.* This law provided (1) that the supply of greenbacks then in circulation should be neither diminished nor increased, and (2) that the treasury should accumulate a supply of gold with which to redeem the greenbacks, beginning January 1, 1879. This law virtually restored our currency to the gold standard. (The greenbacks outstanding on January 1, 1879, amounting to $346,681,016, have ever since continued to circulate on a par with gold or other currency.)

The Greenback Labor Party. The resumption of specie payment, really a victory for the "sound money" men, did not please the inflationists. Western farmers in 1875 formed the Greenback party; three years later they were joined by the National Labor Reform party, and finally became the Greenback Labor Party. The "Greenbackers" adopted a platform which demanded (1) the expansion of the greenback issue; (2) the suppression of national bank notes; (3) the use of public lands for actual settlers; and (4) the end of land grants to the railroads. At the time of the famous Hayes-Tilden contest for the presidency in 1876, the Greenback candidate, Peter Cooper, a retired iron maker turned reformer and philanthropist, did not poll many votes, but in the congressional and state elections of 1878 the party's candidates won nearly a million votes and fourteen seats in Congress. General James B. Weaver of Iowa was the Greenback Labor party candidate in 1880, but,

like Peter Cooper, he did not succeed in getting many votes. Greenbackism soon faded; Western discontent gradually fastened upon a less radical plan for cheap money — the free, or unlimited, coinage of silver.

The demand for the free coinage of silver. The United States had officially recognized either gold or silver as a standard for money from 1792 to 1873. But since about 1834 relatively little silver had been brought to the mint for coinage. This was because the law provided that one dollar would be given at the United States mint for either 23.22 grains of gold or 371.25 grains of silver, this being the so-called fixed ratio of 16 to 1. Now it so happened that the owner of 371.25 grains of silver could sell it to a silversmith for $1.02 in 1873, and naturally that kept him from taking it to the mint to be coined into $1.00. Recognizing this situation, Congress passed a law in 1873 omitting the silver dollar from the list of coins to be minted. This law "*demonetized*" silver. Shortly thereafter, however, the price of silver declined very rapidly as a result of the discovery of new mines in Nevada and Colorado and the demonetization of silver by several European countries. (The total domestic production of silver, which had amounted to one million dollars in 1830, had jumped to thirty million dollars in 1875.) When, in 1876, the silversmith offered the silver owner only ninety cents for his 371.25 grains of silver, the silver owner regretted bitterly that he could no longer get $1.00 for it at the mint. The debtor classes, who wanted an expanded volume of currency, also wished that silver might still be coined; for now that its price was cheap, it was practically certain that enormous quantities would be brought to the mint if only Congress would "remonetize" it. The silver-mine owners and inflationists condemned the demonetization law of 1873, calling it the "crime of '73" and alleging that it was the result of a conspiracy on the part of Eastern bankers, a charge that had no foundation in fact.

Limited coinage of silver. Although the advocates of silver kept up a vigorous campaign for twenty years, they never succeeded in gaining their main objective — the agreement of the government to accept *all* silver presented at the mint. They were, however, successful in securing the passage of two laws — the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, which permitted a *limited* amount of silver to be coined each month. (The Bland-Allison Act directed the Treasury to purchase from two to four million dollars' worth of silver bullion each month; the Sherman Silver Purchase Act authorized the government to purchase four and a half million ounces of silver each month and pay for it in treasury notes.) Both acts were secured in response to the demands of the South and the West against the protests of the East. And both were disappointing in their results, for they did not relieve the farmers. The failure of limited coinage of silver to work out *according to theory* was due to several complicating factors. Among them were (1) the simultaneous contraction of the volume of national

bank notes as a result of the retirement of the government bonds on which the note issue was based; (2) the need of expanding business for a large volume of currency; and (3) a drop in the world market price for wheat as a result of increased production in Argentina, Australia, and Russia.

The Farmers' Alliance. As the Granger and Greenback movements declined in the 1880's, a continued drop in the price of wheat, corn, and cotton led to the rapid growth of a number of farmers' clubs — the Farmers' League, the Farmers' Union, the Agricultural Wheel, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, the Farmers' Alliance, and others. These organizations were nonpolitical at first, but gradually they began to advocate political reforms — the popular election of United States senators, a graduated income tax, the regulation of interstate commerce, tariff reduction, and free silver. By 1888 two powerful regional associations, popularly known as the Northern Alliance and the Southern Alliance, had brought many of these farm organizations into a loose union. In 1889 labor organizations were represented at the St. Louis Convention of the Alliance, which adopted resolutions favoring the abolition of national banks, free silver, and the government ownership of railroads. One of the most famous of Alliance speakers was Mrs. Mary E. Lease, who stumped Kansas, urging the farmers to "raise less corn and more Hell." In the mid-term of elections of 1890 several Alliance leaders were elected to Congress and the state legislatures.

The Populist Party. Alliance leaders, along with several labor leaders, decided that the time was ripe to cut loose completely from the two regular parties. They held conventions at Cincinnati (1891) and St. Louis (1892) and formed the People's Party of America. Ridiculed as "hayseed socialists," they came to be known as the Populists. In July, 1892, at Omaha, Nebraska, the Populists held a large convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. They published a famous platform of principles which summarized the grievances and demands of discontented farmers and laborers. The preamble reads:

> We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the legislature, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. . . . The newspapers are largely subsidized and muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished; and the land concentrated in the hands of the capitalist. The urban workmen are denied the right to organize for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down. . . . The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few . . . and the possessors of these . . . despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice, we breed the two great classes of tramps and millionaires.

The platform pledged the party to work for (1) "a national currency without the use of banking corporations," (2) free coinage of silver, (3) a graduated income tax, (4) postal savings banks, (5) government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, (6) popular election of senators, (7) limitation of the presidency to one term. With General James B. Weaver, who had been the Greenback candidate in 1880, as presidential nominee, the Populists made a good showing in 1892, casting more than a million votes. They captured the electoral votes of Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, and Nevada, and elected several men to the Senate and to the House. The Populist movement so split the ranks of Western Republicans that the Democrats won the election, and Grover Cleveland again became President in March, 1893.

The panic of 1893. Cleveland was scarcely inaugurated for his second term when the country found itself in one of the worst panics in its history. Conditions in Europe had something to do with it. The primary cause was the overbuilding of railroads and the overexpansion of industries. Prices declined sharply, factories closed, banks failed, and city soup kitchens served long lines of the unemployed and hungry. The suffering was widespread. One fourth of the railroad property went into bankruptcy. "General" Jacob S. Coxey led an "army" of unemployed from Ohio to Washington to demand a public works program, but when he attempted to make a speech on the steps of the Capitol, he was arrested and his followers were driven away.

The repeal of the Silver Purchase Act. President Cleveland thought that one cause of the panic was "unsound" money, a large volume of silver coins, and certificates which were worth fifty or sixty cents to the dollar. He was bitterly criticized, especially in the West, for a bond deal with the Wall Street bankers which he entered into in order to increase the Treasury's gold stock. He further antagonized the West by calling Congress in special session to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. The repealing act was fought through Congress amid great bitterness between the silver and gold factions of both parties. The panic came to an end about the time the President's policy was established, though the commercial depression lingered on for two or three years. It may be doubted whether Cleveland's measures had much to do with the end of the panic.

The Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894. Other actions of Cleveland's second administration estranged the members of his party. In his first annual message Cleveland directed the attention of Congress to the subject of the tariff, and thus awakened a hope in the West and South that tariff revision would give them relief from the high cost of manufactured goods. The House of Representatives passed a tariff bill fairly well carrying out the party pledges. In the Senate, however, protectionist Democrats joined with the Republican protectionists in attaching 634 amendments to the Wilson bill in the interests of the industries

which they served (pages 239–240). A long, heated controversy followed between special interests and party factions, and between the houses of Congress. In the end the House yielded to the Senate, and the tariff reformers to the protectionists. Cleveland refused to sign the Wilson-Gorman bill, but allowed it to become a law without his signature rather than to continue, in effect, the McKinley Act. Cleveland denounced publicly the Democratic tariff. "The livery of Democratic tariff reform," he said, "has been stolen and worn in the service of Republican protection" (page 490).

Cleveland deserted by his party. Partly because of the hard times, for which the government was blamed, and partly because each act of Cleveland's administration had alienated some parts of the country, the congressional election of 1894 turned out as disastrously for the Democrats as that of 1892 had been for the Republicans. Within two years the Democratic members of Congress had turned against the President: those of the West and South on the silver issue, those of the East on the tariff. It seemed that the country had disowned the party.

BRYAN AND McKINLEY FIGHT THE "BATTLE OF THE STANDARDS"

William Jennings Bryan. Party leaders marked time from 1894 until the presidential campaign of 1896. The division of control between the parties — with a Republican House and Senate and a President without a party — was such that issues had to await a decision by the people. Finally, in 1896, free silver — "sixteen to one" — became the issue between the Republicans and the Democrats. After a remarkable contest in the Democratic convention, William Jennings Bryan, scarcely thirty-six years old, widely known in the West as a champion of free silver, concluded the bitter debate between the gold and silver Democrats. His "Cross of Gold" speech is regarded as one of the greatest orations in American political history. Replete with clever argument, impassioned attack, and brilliant defense, it concluded:

> Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

Bryan's speech stampeded the convention. A silver platform, demanding free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, was adopted, and Bryan was chosen as the Democratic standard-bearer.

Eastern gold Democrats, who were unwilling either to vote the Republican ticket or to support Bryan, bolted the regular Democrats in a body, and on a gold platform supported John M. Palmer of Illinois for President. Populists and silver Republicans of the mining West supported Bryan. The Populists merged with the Democrats, considering

the cause of silver more important than the survival of the party. The campaign marked the end of Populism as a political party, but many of the demands of the Populists have since been enacted into law.

Marcus A. Hanna, a Cleveland capitalist, once said to be "the genial owner of more mines, oil wells, street railways, aldermen, and legislators than any other man in Ohio," shaped the course of the Republican convention and held the majority to the gold standard and to William McKinley, the candidate of his own choosing.

The battle of the "standards." Bryan carried the issue to the people. He traveled more than thirteen thousand miles and addressed millions of voters. At his home in Canton, Ohio, McKinley made front-porch speeches for the benefit of visiting delegations. "Mark" Hanna, his skilled campaign manager, collected a campaign fund of between three and four million dollars from the banking and business interests, who regarded Bryan as a "madman," "demagogue," and "anarchist." Posters hailing McKinley as "the advance agent of prosperity" and referring to the Republican party as the party of the "full dinner pail" were scattered over the country. In the closing days of the campaign Hanna played his trump cards. Farmers were told that their farm mortgages would not be renewed; businessmen placed orders for goods only on condition that McKinley were elected; and manufacturers told their workers that factories would close if Bryan were victorious.

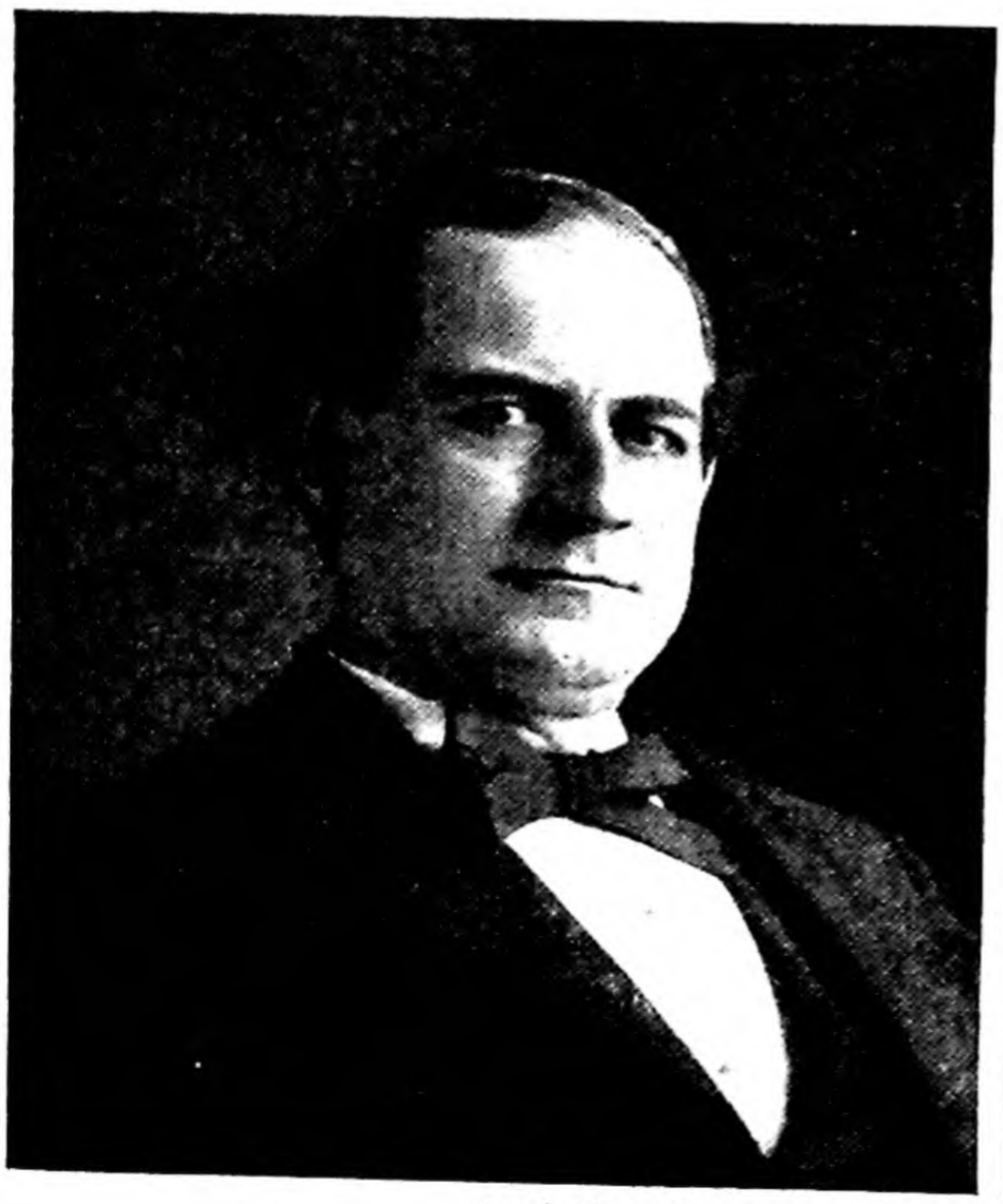
Defeat of free silver. McKinley won, receiving six hundred thousand more popular votes than Bryan. In some states, notably Ohio, Indiana, and Oregon, McKinley's margin of victory was close. The old South and the Far West generally supported Bryan; the East and the old Northwest, McKinley. It is significant that the midwestern states where the Granger and the Greenback parties had flourished, Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois, and Indiana, went Republican. (See map, page 508.)

Disappearance of free silver issue. Gradually the controversy between East and West over the currency question died down. Chance events had more to do with this decline in interest than statesmanship. Reviving foreign trade after 1896 tended to remove problems of federal revenue, of unemployment, and of shortage in the gold reserve. But the most potent cause of the disappearance of this issue in future campaigns was the rapid increase in the amount of gold in the markets of the world. This was due to the discovery of gold in South Africa, Australia, and Alaska, and to the discovery of new and cheaper methods of mining gold. With the increase of the gold supply the value of gold decreased, and the price of silver rose. As the price of silver rose, the Western miners ceased to demand government help in the form of free coinage. During the quarter century of the struggle there had been a real need for an enlarged currency because of expanding business and the small amount of gold being mined.



From a drawing by W. A. Rogers in *Harper's Weekly*, May 12, 1894

The Original "Coxey Army" is a sympathetic take-off on Coxey's Army. This famous cartoon was first published fifty years ago. There have been many variations of this illustration of the demands of "pressure groups" for special legislation.



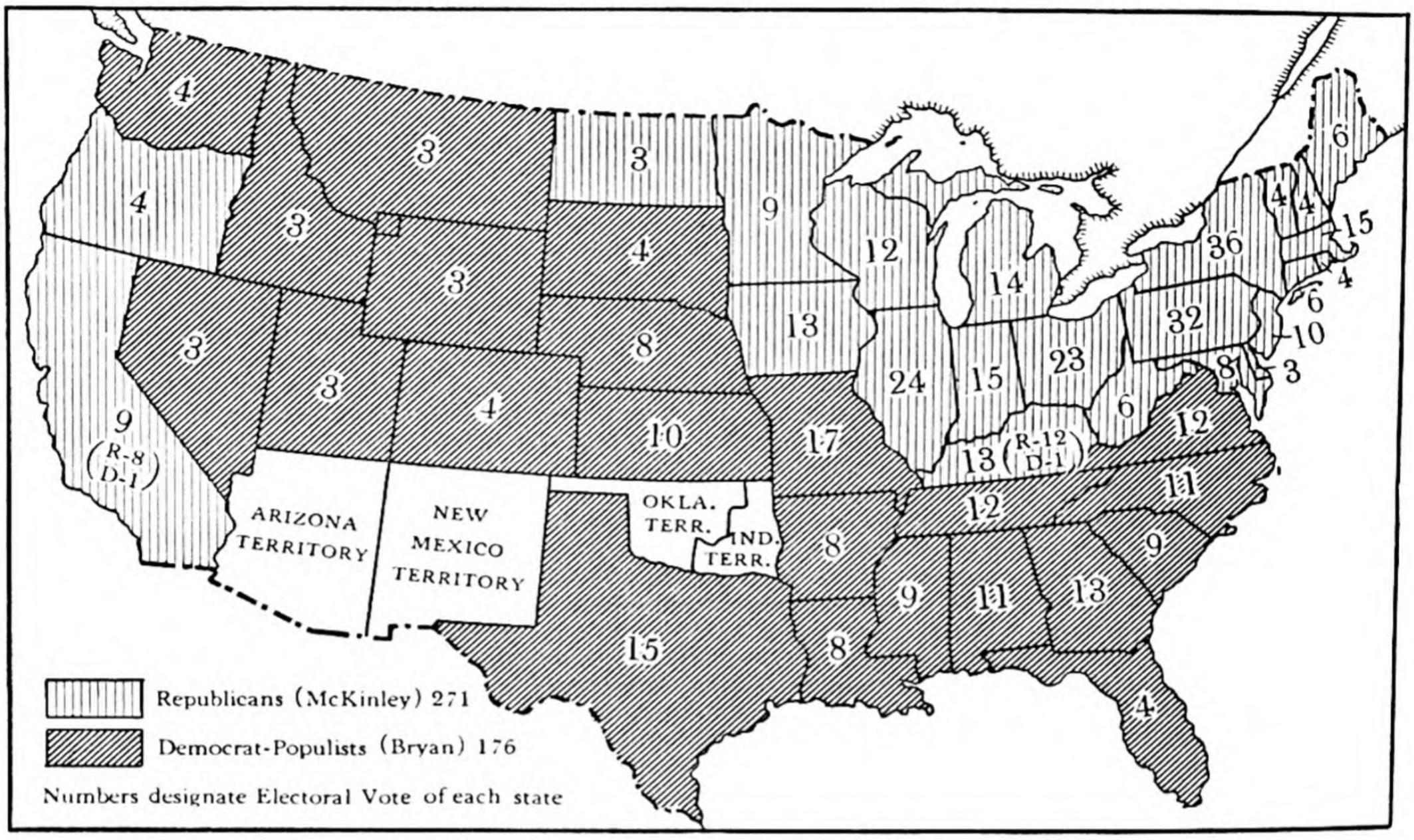
Pach Brothers, New York



Brown Brothers

Left: William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925), was known as "the great commoner."
Right: Marcus A. Hanna (1837–1904) was McKinley's astute campaign manager.

The increase in gold and the larger use of bank notes, bank checks, and deposit currency in business caused prices to rise. This ended a quarter century decline in prices. The year of the change was 1897. The increasing prices affected most products and all classes of buyers.



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1896

The Gold Standard Act, 1900. In 1900 Congress passed the Gold Standard Act, declaring gold, at the fixed government price of $20.67 an ounce, to be the monetary standard of value, and promising to convert all other forms of currency into gold on demand. The greenbacks and silver certificates still remained in circulation, but everyone had confidence in the ability of the government to maintain their parity with gold. But demands for a reform in the currency system and for easier credit facilities for farmers continued (pages 527–529, 551, 571).

The meaning of the campaign of 1896. In a large sense the campaign of 1896 closes a period in American history. It was the first campaign in which issues born of the economic revolution came to a head. Bryan attempted to win the support of the masses in a battle against the masters of capital. Big Business won. Hanna typified the newer type of statesman, a captain of industry who became a politician to secure government favors for the interests he represented. The captains of industry grew wealthier and more powerful than ever before. The muckraking campaign, the liberalism of Theodore Roosevelt, and the Progressive movement drew strength from the fires of this campaign.

Words and Phrases

"cheap money," "crime of 1873," "Cross of Gold" speech, deflation, demonetization of silver, free silver, Gold Standard Act, Grangers, Granger

laws, greenbacks, Gresham's law, inflation, Interstate Commerce Act, 1887, Munn *vs.* Illinois, note issue, "Patrons of Husbandry," Populism, resumption of specie payment, "sixteen to one," Wabash Railroad *vs.* Illinois

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. In what respects did agricultural interests influence the history of the United States from 1789 to 1865?
2. How would each of the following tend to affect prices: government issue of a large quantity of paper money; an increase in the volume of business; free coinage of a cheaper metal than gold; the unchecked issuance of bank notes which circulate as currency; the extension of bank credit?
3. How are debtors affected by rising prices; by declining prices? How are creditors affected?
4. What were the purposes and achievements of the Grangers?
5. What practices of the railroads were criticized by the Grangers? Why?
6. Outline the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act, 1887. What were its weaknesses? What is its significance?
7. Account for the fact that the farmers found it difficult to force Congress to listen to their demands.
8. How are the opposition to "resumption," the demand for greenbacks, and the demand for free silver related to one another?
9. What was President Cleveland's attitude toward the silver question?
10. Why did Cleveland refuse to sign the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act?
11. Why is the campaign of 1896 sometimes referred to as the first really important political campaign after 1860?
12. Which demands of the Populists are no longer considered "radical"?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Why might the reduction of the government debt bring about deflation; an increase in the government debt bring about inflation?
2. "Neither Jackson nor Cleveland understood the social changes that made their times periods of class and sectional conflict." Compare the Jackson and Cleveland periods. Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement with this opinion. Contrast the policies of the two Presidents.
3. Report briefly on the career and influence of James B. Weaver of Iowa, Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, "Sockless" Jerry Simpson of Kansas.
4. Bryan in his famous "Cross of Gold" speech (1896) suggested that the free silver question was a "struggle between 'the idle holders of idle capital' and the 'struggling masses who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country.'" Why do you agree or disagree with this interpretation of the demand for free silver? Compare the ideas in the Populist Platform of 1892 with those in the "Cross of Gold" speech.
5. The objectives of the Granger movement are illustrated by two selections in Commager's *Documents*, Volume II, page 78, or Document No. 287. Compare the ideas advanced in 1873 and 1874 with ideas prevailing today. To what extent have the ideas of the Grangers been accepted?
6. Report on Hanna's methods in conducting the campaigns of 1896 and 1900.

7. Investigate and prepare a report on the regulatory Granger laws and the controversy over Supreme Court decisions in the period 1870–1890. Compare with the period 1933–1940, when the New Deal was criticized because it interfered with business and attacked the Supreme Court.

Suggested Reading

THE GRANGER MOVEMENT: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 278–284; Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade* (Y.C.S.); Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 229–230; Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America* (A.L.S.), pp. 154–177; Schlesinger, pp. 58–59; Shannon, Fred A., *The Farmer's Last Frontier, Agriculture, 1860–1897;* Commager, Nos. 287, 294 – Granger Movement and Munn *vs.* Illinois.

THE FARMER AND INFLATION: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 329–335; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan,* pp. 360–364; Dewey, *National Problems* (A.N.S.), pp. 76–82; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 253–269; Hicks, J. D., *The Populist Revolt;* Schlesinger, pp. 142–146; Commager, No. 325 – Populist Party Platform.

THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARDS: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 337–341; Croly, Herbert, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna;* Dewey, *National Problems* (A.N.S.), pp. 220–277, 314–329; Faulkner, pp. 552–556; Ford, *The Cleveland Era* (Y.C.S.), pp. 171–194; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 264–277; Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America* (A.L.S.), pp. 290–317; Schlesinger, pp. 156–161; Tarbell, *The Nationalizing of Business, 1878–1898* (A.L.S.); Werner, M. R., *Bryan;* Commager, Nos. 285, 299, 311, 321, 322, 327, 338, 341–343 – Documents on the Silver and Gold Question.

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement, 1900–1913

A LITERATURE OF REFORM HERALDS THE "QUEST FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE"

Populism and progressivism. The return of prosperity in 1897 and the interest in foreign affairs stimulated by the Spanish-American war and by our acquisition of overseas possessions temporarily turned the attention of the people away from the burning issues raised by the Populist "revolt" of the 1890's and the bitter conflict of 1896. But not for long. The problems of big business and monopoly, of labor and capital, of corrupt practices in our political life would not down. The first fifteen years of the twentieth century witnessed a great wave of reform in our cities, in our states, and in the nation. The period has therefore been called the Progressive Era. The country was not to experience another such era of reform until the 1930's. These two periods had much in common. In each, city, state, and nation tackled problems which were fundamentally the same, but which differed in degree and form because social and economic conditions had changed, or because the latter period could build upon the reforms already achieved.

"Ideas are weapons." The popular ferment generated by populism and agrarianism was encouraged and strengthened by the writings of such thinkers as Henry George, Henry Demarest Lloyd, Edward Bellamy, and others (pages 460–463). Probably at no other period in our history was a greater quantity of reform literature published than in the opening years of the twentieth century. For about seven years (1902–9) the muckrakers spread before the country in magazines, books, and novels the story of the unsavory actions of powerful corporations — their unscrupulous trade practices, their manipulation of the stock market, their control of city councils, state legislatures, and judges. The muckrakers also exposed the corrupt political machines of the cities and the states.

In 1902 Ida M. Tarbell began the publication of her famous series of articles on the history of the Standard Oil Company (page 460). Ray Stannard Baker, later the biographer of Woodrow Wilson, wrote a series of articles called "Railroads on Trial"; Thomas W. Lawson

wrote *Frenzied Finance;* Charles E. Russell exposed the meat-packing industry; Samuel Hopkins Adams wrote about patent medicines and drugs; David Graham Phillips exposed the business connections of United States senators. Life insurance companies, railroads, finance, the beef trust, the judiciary, and the Senate were all subjected to merciless attack. At the same time various magazines described the way the "progressive" states of Oregon and Wisconsin were attempting to solve the admitted evils. Presently Big Business attempted to force the magazines into bankruptcy or to moderate their attacks. The muckraking movement spent its main force between 1902 and 1908, but not until it had thoroughly aroused the public to a demand for reform.

Cities and states pioneer. The cities and states began to grapple with the problems presented by the muckrakers before progressivism affected national politics. Thus from 1901 to 1909 the city of Cleveland had the services of a great reform mayor in the person of Tom Johnson, who waged an unceasing fight against the street railways of Cleveland, and finally brought them under the city's control. Johnson also succeeded in developing a broad program of city planning and a sound reorganization of the system of assessment and taxation. Lincoln Steffens, one of the muckrakers, whose fascinating *Autobiography* is a mine of information on this era, hailed Johnson as the "best mayor of the best governed city of the United States."

The states also experimented with reforms. Oregon, under the leadership of William S. U'Ren, a clever organizer and powerful advocate of political reforms, championed a series of improvements in election practices: the initiative and referendum, 1902; a direct primary law, 1904; a corrupt practices act, and the recall, 1910 (pages 628–634). These reforms were widely debated. Soon they were imitated in other parts of the country. In Wisconsin Robert M. La Follette, Sr., "Fighting Bob" as his devoted followers called him, was another pioneer of reform and the sponsor of the so-called "Wisconsin idea." During three terms as governor, La Follette inaugurated various reforms. Among the most original of these were (1) a complete system of railroad regulation providing for the valuation of railroad property and the determination of fair rates, (2) an inheritance tax law, and (3) legislation intended to break the power of lobbies and to protect the interests of labor. La Follette had already achieved a national reputation as governor when he entered national politics as Senator from Wisconsin (1906) to continue for two more decades to champion reform.

Theodore Roosevelt. The man, however, who dominated American life in the first decade of the twentieth century was the dynamic, colorful President, Theodore Roosevelt, advocate of the "strenuous life" and the "square deal" and wielder of the "big stick," a man of varied interests, affectionately called "Teddy" by millions of people. Roosevelt's influence extended into the administration of his friend and successor,

William Howard Taft (1909–13), and even into the administration of his opponent, the Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson (1913–21).

When Theodore Roosevelt became President in September, 1901, he was forty-three years old. His previous experiences had been remarkably varied. After graduating from Harvard he spent two years in the West on a ranch in North Dakota. Upon returning East he engaged actively in politics. He served in the New York State Legislature, became a member of the national Civil Service Commission, served as Police Commissioner of New York City, and later was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He resigned this position to organize a regiment to take part in the Spanish-American War. This regiment is known to fame as the "Rough Riders." The popular Colonel of the "Rough Riders" was elected governor of New York in 1898, where he displayed a reluctance to take orders from "Boss" Platt. To get rid of Roosevelt, Platt urged him as McKinley's running mate in the campaign of 1900. McKinley's assassination elevated him to the presidency in September, 1901.

Roosevelt, and after him, Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, thus far are the only Presidents of the twentieth century who regarded the presidency as a sort of premiership — an opportunity to exert leadership in order to carry out the proposals that they felt were for the best interests of the country. Other Presidents — Taft, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover — were content to suggest and recommend to Congress; they did not seek to compel Congress to do their bidding.

The anthracite coal strike, 1902. Theodore Roosevelt's capacity for leadership and willingness to take the initiative are shown by his actions during the anthracite coal strike of 1902. This strike began on May twelfth. John Mitchell, leader of the United Mine Workers, won the sympathy of the public early in the strike by offering to arbitrate the strikers' demands for a nine-hour day, an increase in wages, and recognition of their union. On the other hand, the mine operators refused to arbitrate. One of them stated the point of view of many capitalists by referring to his colleagues as "Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom had given control of the property interests of the country." As the strike dragged on, industries had to shut down and householders were threatened with a winter without fuel. Although without any constitutional or legal authority, Roosevelt decided to intervene. He demanded that the operators accept Mitchell's offer to arbitrate, and threatened to use federal troops to operate the mines unless they did so. He sent Elihu Root to persuade J. P. Morgan to use his influence with the operators. The operators yielded, and the strike ended in October, 1902. The miners secured a shorter working day, a 10 per cent increase in pay, and an agreement that future disputes would be referred to a board of conciliation made up of miners and operators. This was a great victory for Roosevelt and illustrates his forceful and direct manner of dealing with problems that confronted him.

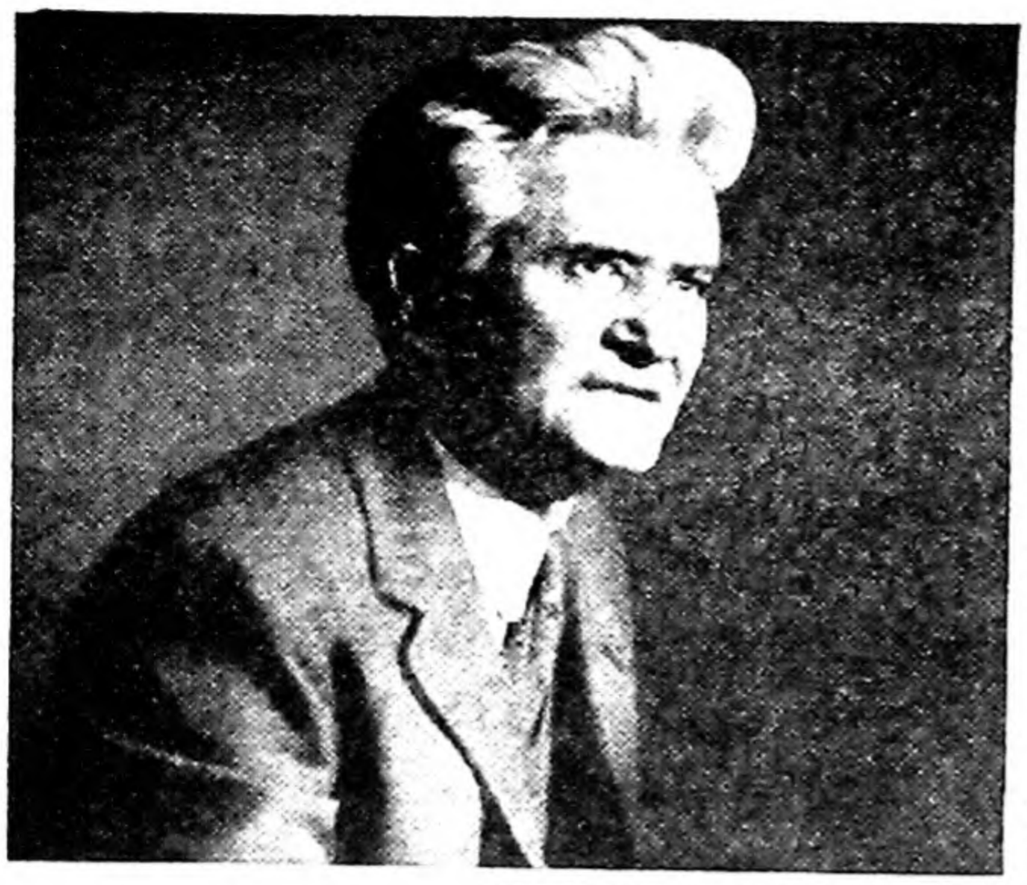
The "standpat" policy of "hands off." Political bosses like Platt of New York and Mark Hanna of Ohio, who had groomed the conservative McKinley for the presidency in 1896, wondered what course the independent and aggressive Roosevelt would take when he became President. Their worst doubts were soon confirmed, for in his first message to Congress Roosevelt outlined a program of action which emphasized the control of Big Business, improvement of the Navy, the construction of the Panama Canal, conservation, and restriction of monopoly. The spokesmen for Big Business were insistent that the government should keep "hands off." According to Hanna, and those for whom he spoke, the chief function of the government was to aid business, not to inquire into its practices, and above all not to inquire into its method of making profits. Hanna's advice to his party associates to "stand pat" gave popularity to the nickname "standpatters" to describe those who opposed economic and political reforms.

The opponents of the "standpat" philosophy had a courageous leader in Senator La Follette, whose attitude toward trusts was one of uncompromising hostility. He declared combinations and trusts to be the "gravest danger menacing our free institutions."

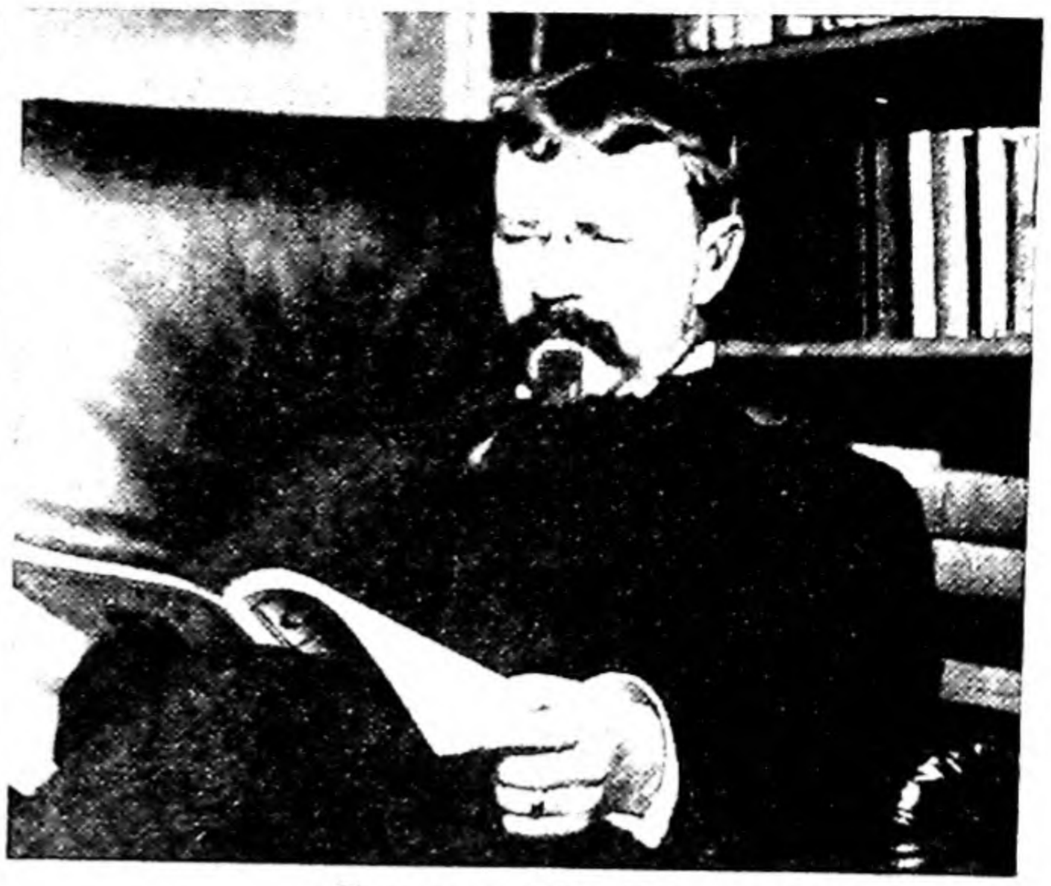
Roosevelt's attitude toward the trusts. Between those who wished the trusts to be let alone and those who demanded that they be smashed, Theodore Roosevelt made himself the spokesman of the middle course. He looked upon certain features of the economic revolution as both inevitable and beneficial, and made a distinction between "good trusts" and "bad trusts." He relied upon government regulation and supervision of business activities to prevent unfair practices. In his autobiography he describes the two extreme points of view.

> The men who saw the evils and who tried to remedy them attempted to work in two wholly different ways. One group saw the evil done by the big combinations and sought to remedy it by destroying them and restoring the country to the economic conditions of the middle of the nineteenth century. This was a hopeless effort, and those who went into it, although they regarded themselves as radical progressives, really represented a form of sincere rural toryism. [Another group] sought to keep matters absolutely unchanged. These men demanded for themselves an immunity from government control, which, if granted, would have been as wicked and foolish as immunity to the barons of the twelfth century. Many of them were evil men. Many others were just as good men as were some of the same barons; but they were just as utterly unable as any medieval castle owner to understand what the public interest really was.

Roosevelt's legislative program. Roosevelt's energy called for action of some kind. Besides, he was genuinely interested in reforming



Underwood & Underwood

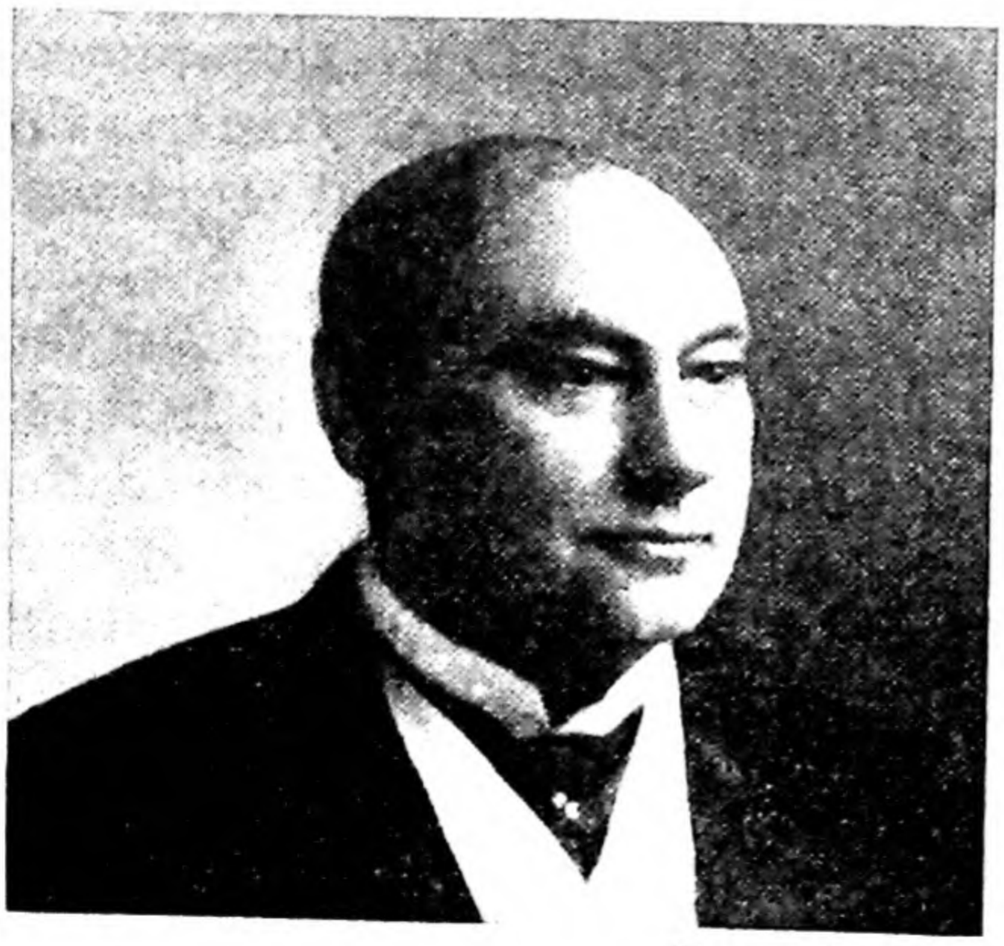


Courtesy Ella Winter Steffens and Harcourt, Brace and Company

Robert M. La Follette, the reforming progressive Republican (*top left*), Lincoln Steffens, sometimes called "the dean of the muckrakers" (*top right*), and Theodore Roosevelt, the strong, reforming President (*right*, leaving the stand after his first inaugural) are three of the most important figures in the progressive movement of the early twentieth century.



Underwood-Stratton



Brown Brothers



From a drawing by E. W. Kemble in *Collier's*, June 3, 1905

Left: Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, chief chemist (1883–1912) of the Department of Agriculture, led the campaign against adulterated foods.
Right: This cartoon, drawn just before the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed, attacked the evils of certain patent medicines.

some of the evils described by the muckrakers. He drove Congress to action. In 1903 Congress created the Department of Commerce and Labor; its head became a member of the Cabinet. The new department, and particularly its Bureau of Corporations, provided the federal government with agencies of investigation and publicity. (In 1913 this department was broken up into the Department of Commerce and the Department of Labor.) The Meat Inspection Act (1906), largely a result of Upton Sinclair's disclosures in *The Jungle*, and the Pure Food and Drug Law (1906), brought about chiefly through the efforts of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, gave the executive branch power to stop certain evils in the preparation of foods and drugs. These two laws started the federal government on a policy of inspection, supervision, and control of business practices in the food and drug industries. (However, the provisions of these early laws were long regarded as inadequate, and were finally strengthened and improved by the Copeland Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of June, 1938.) The control of the Interstate Commerce Commission over the railroads was greatly improved by four acts passed during the administrations of Roosevelt and his successor, President Taft. The Elkins Act (1903) provided strict punishment for "rebating"; the Hepburn Act (1906) gave the I.C.C. limited power to fix "just and reasonable maximum rates." Under this act and the Mann-Elkins Act (1910) the jurisdiction of the Commission was extended to include pipe lines, express companies, and telephone, telegraph, and cable companies. A Valuation Act (1913), a triumph for Senator La Follette, gave the Commission power to appraise the actual physical value of the railroads in fixing rates. This act foreshadowed long court controversies between the I.C.C. and the railroads concerning the property values on which they were to be permitted to earn a "fair" profit.

This legislative record of Roosevelt's trust policy represents a marked change of attitude on the part of the national government toward the problems created by the economic revolution. It marks the beginning of an elaborate and extensive system of federal regulation and control.

"Trust busting." New laws to regulate Big Business are not the feature of Theodore Roosevelt's trust policy for which he is best remembered. He was called the "trust buster" because he revived the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 and ordered his Attorney General to start suits against the trusts. Forty-four cases for violation of the antitrust law were begun during Roosevelt's administration, but they were not decided till after his term of office had expired. Roosevelt's policy was continued with vigor by President Taft (1909–13) in whose administration sixty-seven suits against corporations were started.

In 1904 the Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four, ordered the dissolution of the Northern Securities Company, which had been organized to purchase control of competing railroads in the Northwest in

order to bring about a consolidation and a monopoly of the railroads in that region. In this case Justice Holmes gave one of his famous dissenting opinions, arguing that in the case of railroads "the size of the combination is reached for other ends than those which could make them monopolies." In spite of his displeasure with Holmes' dissent, Roosevelt was jubilant over the decision and went ahead with full vigor in the prosecution of the "bad" trusts. However, the close vote in the Court, and the language of Holmes' dissent, forecast long and bitter court battles to come. It is significant that less than a *quarter century later the government itself was recommending the very consolidation that the Northern Securities Company had effected* (pages 535–536).

The Supreme Court and the "rule of reason." In 1911, during Taft's administration, the Supreme Court gave decisions in cases involving the Standard Oil and American Tobacco companies. In doing so the Supreme Court announced the "rule of reason," declaring in effect that the Sherman Act meant that only "*unreasonable*" *restraint* of trade was illegal. This decision is a good illustration of what the dissenting judges called "judicial legislation." This term describes the important power that the courts have to make new laws by their interpretations of old ones. These decisions were seriously criticized by those who did not realize that the organization of large business units was an inevitable part of the economic changes that were taking place. Dissatisfaction with the "rule of reason" and other court decisions later caused Theodore Roosevelt (1912) to advocate a proposal which would permit the "recall of judicial decisions." The slowness of the "trust-busting" process, the meagerness of the results, and the uncertainties of Court interpretations prepared the way for Wilson's attempt to formulate a more definite policy toward the trusts (pages 529–531).

Roosevelt's interest in conservation. "Trust busting" is only one aspect of Roosevelt's many activities. In the field of domestic policies, Roosevelt's greatest service to the country was the forceful way in which he aroused the interest of the people in the movement for the conservation of natural resources (pages 612–614).

Foreign policies. While waging a vigorous campaign for his domestic policies, Roosevelt conducted foreign affairs in such a way that his name is linked inseparably with great achievements – the Panama Canal, the Navy, and his interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine (pages 675–677). Realizing the significance of America's growing export trade and of the acquisition of colonies overseas, Roosevelt ardently advocated an improved and larger navy. A policy of naval expansion was formulated which, within a generation, was to make the United States Navy second only to that of England. For this reason Roosevelt's birthday, October twenty-seventh, is now honored each year as "Navy Day."

Having made up his mind concerning the necessity of a canal at Panama, he vigorously got the work started (pages 658–661). Sensing

that America was destined to play a constantly increasing part in world affairs, he acted to help bring the Russo-Japanese War to an end.

The election of 1904. Roosevelt was nominated by acclamation by the Republican party in 1904. The Democrats selected a conservative candidate, Judge Alton B. Parker, who announced to the Democratic Convention that he was a gold Democrat. The colorless Parker was no match for the dynamic "Teddy." Parker's popular vote was a million less than Bryan had obtained in the 1900 campaign; the electoral vote gave him only the "Solid South." In this election the Socialist candidate, Eugene V. Debs, gathered about four hundred thousand votes. Shortly after his election Roosevelt established a new precedent by declaring that he would regard the completion of three and a half years of the term to which McKinley had been elected as his own and that he would not be a candidate for a "third" term, a policy followed by Coolidge in 1928. Roosevelt's position was so strong in the party that he easily dictated the choice of a successor. He selected William Howard Taft, his Secretary of War, as the man who should succeed him.

TAFT CARRIES ON, BUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS SPLIT

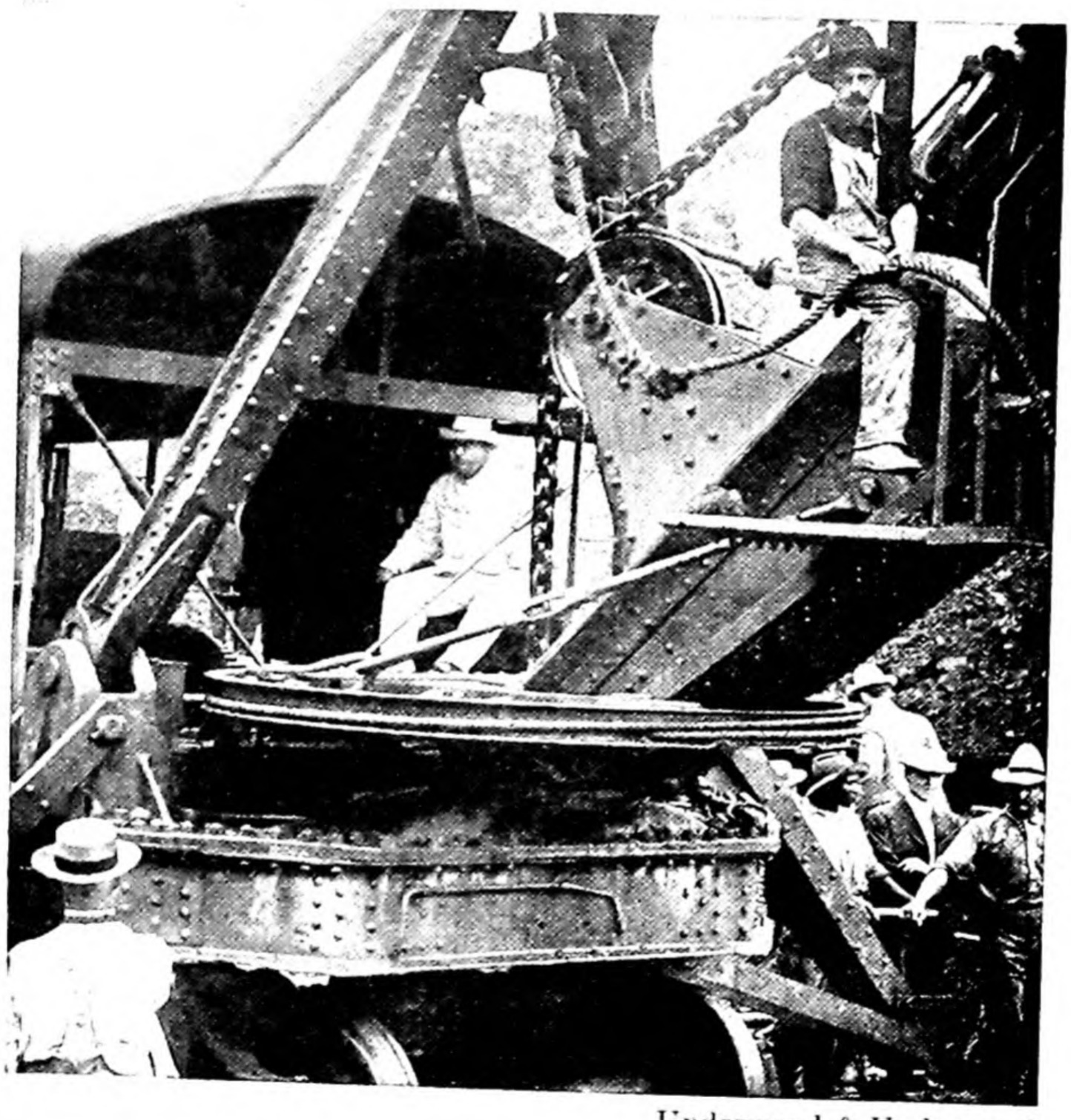
The campaign of 1908. The presidential campaign of 1908, like that of 1904, is not of great importance. Bryan was for the third time the Democratic standard-bearer. The Republican platform contained some interesting promises; indeed, we may say that these promises are the most important thing about the campaign. The Republican party urged an immediate downward revision of the tariff, a reform in the currency system, and the strengthening of laws to regulate railroads and trusts. These promises were partly the result of the panic of 1907 and the bad times that followed it. They were also the result of the progressive spirit which Roosevelt, along with others, had infused into the party. The old Populist demand for the direct election of senators was being urged vigorously; so, too, was the demand for the initiative, the referendum, the recall, the direct primary, woman suffrage, and reforms in city government. State legislatures were busy with programs of social welfare legislation, such as labor laws, workmen's compensation acts, improved election laws, and taxes on incomes, inheritances, and corporation profits. In the midst of this "revolt" Taft was elected President over Bryan, but in many of the states Democratic or "Progressive" Republican governors were put in office.

The Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1909. Taft, who had been a federal judge, then Governor General of the Philippines, and then Secretary of War, was judicial in temperament, jovial, good-natured, and able. However, he lacked Roosevelt's spectacular qualities of leadership, and in the special session of Congress that he called to revise the tariff downward, the standpatters wrested control from the "insurgents," as the



From a cartoon by Joseph Keppler, Jr., in *Puck*, May 8, 1907

The title of this cartoon "Elisha Roosevelt Sicketh the Bears upon the Bad Boys of Wall Street" is self-explanatory. The bears are identified as the "Interstate Commerce Commission" and the "Federal Courts."



Underwood & Underwood

Theodore Roosevelt's ability to assert vigorous leadership made him a "strong" President. His initiative and forcefulness were evident in the negotiations for the Panama Canal. In order to encourage the workmen and inspect the work, he visited the Canal Zone during the construction of the canal.

reform group came to be called. The result was the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, more frankly protectionist than any Congress had yet passed. Liberals in the Republican party and the Democrats criticized the tariff as a deliberate "sell-out" to "privilege." Unfortunately, in defending the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, Taft referred to it as "the best tariff bill that had ever been passed." This high praise of a tariff which defied campaign pledges caused the public to regard Taft as an extremely conservative standpatter, the foe of progressivism. Although such opinion was not deserved, it weakened Taft's hold on both his party and the country. The farming sections were the first to feel the "pinch" of higher prices for manufactured articles and became the center of protest.

The insurgents and Speaker Cannon. The Republicans who refused to follow Taft's lead were called "insurgents." In the sessions of 1910 and 1911, the insurgent Republicans in the House joined with the Democrats to destroy the arbitrary power which custom, tradition, and rules of procedure had given to the Speaker of the House (pages 488–490). It was almost wholly within the power of the Speaker to determine what bills should or should not be passed. The Speaker was not only a member of the committee which controlled the order of business in the House, but he also appointed the other members. The Speaker and his friends ruled the House. For three Congresses the Speaker had been Joseph G. Cannon, an ardent and able standpatter. Smarting under their inability to secure a favorable hearing for their measures, the insurgents insisted upon depriving the Speaker of his dictatorial powers. Republican insurgents and Democrats revised the rules, deprived the Speaker of a place on the Committee on Rules, doubled the size of the committee, and provided for its election and that of the other committees by the House. The overthrow of "Cannonism" is but an illustration of the spirit of unrest.

The "Revolution of 1910." In the congressional mid-term elections of 1910 the country passed judgment on the issues over which the Republicans quarreled. The results were decidedly against the party. The Democrats secured a majority in the House of Representatives. It was the first time the Democrats had obtained control of either branch of Congress in any election since 1892, which, as so often in our history, forecast a Democratic triumph in the following presidential campaign. Progressive Republicans in the West took the place of many standpatters, and many Democratic governors were elected in states that normally chose Republicans. The last two years of Taft's administration were years of continued bitterness between Republican factions. Champ Clark, a Democrat, became Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a contender for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1912.

Progressive measures sponsored by Taft. President Taft supported the proposed income tax amendment to the Constitution. Congress

had several times passed income tax acts, but in 1895 the Supreme Court, by a five to four decision, had ruled that such a tax was a direct tax, and according to the Constitution must be imposed on the states in proportion to population. The fight to amend the Constitution to give Congress power to levy a tax on incomes without apportionment among the several states had been going on for a generation. It was the progressive spirit of the times which forced Congress to make the proposal and the states to ratify. The Sixteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution in 1913. Within a few years income taxes became the most important source of government revenue.

Taft supported the conservation program and put through a series of laws recommended by the National Conservation Commission. Other progressive measures included the establishment of the parcel post system, the postal savings banks, and a Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor and Commerce. All these measures were received with apprehension by the standpatters. As we recount these constructive achievements of the Taft administration, the wonder grows that Taft's administration became a political tragedy for him and his party. Many feel the answer is that Taft, slow and even-tempered, did not stand forth as the leader of those who were urging reform, but was content to accept the milder reforms that others forced upon him.

The campaign of 1912. 1. Rivalry between La Follette and Roosevelt. The points of view of the two factions of the Republican party — the standpatters and the Progressives — were irreconcilable. President Taft saw weakness in the extreme positions and tried to harmonize them. For that he lost the support of the Progressives. In January, 1911, a group of insurgent congressmen organized the National Republican Progressive League, and recognized Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin as their leader. They suggested La Follette's name to the Republicans of the country as "the logical candidate for the presidency." There were many Progressives, especially those in the East, who considered the La Follette brand of progressivism too radical. They turned to ex-President Roosevelt, who had returned from a long hunting trip in Africa. After some months of hesitation Roosevelt, waiting apparently to determine whether the progressive sentiment would shift from La Follette to himself, finally declared: "My hat is in the ring."

2. The split in the Republican party. The majority of the Republican voters would unquestionably have preferred Roosevelt to Taft as their party's nominee. Taft, however, had the advantage of being in office. As President he could control, through promises of patronage, a majority of the delegates to the nominating convention. So, of course, Taft was renominated. The Progressives withdrew from the regular convention and organized the Progressive, or "Bull Moose," party, and nominated Roosevelt for President. Thus, the Republican party was

split in two; and the country witnessed the sorry spectacle of two old friends, Taft and Roosevelt, engaged in a bitter party fight.

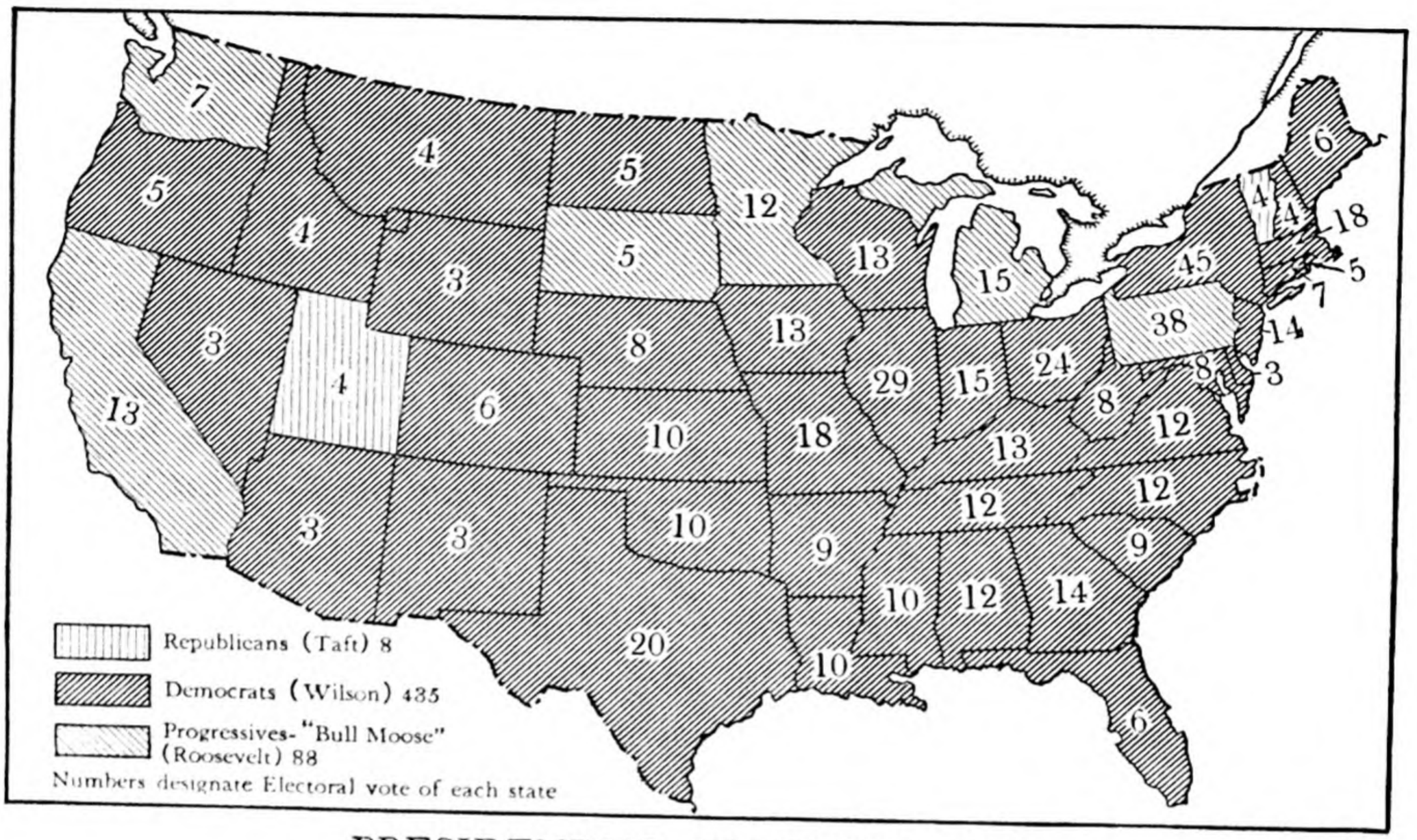
3. The Progressive platform, 1912. The Progressive platform, the result of many years of conflict, summarized the demands that had developed in protest against some of the results of the economic revolution. It began with a list of political reforms: there should be direct primaries, the direct popular election of United States senators, the short ballot, the initiative, referendum, and recall, woman suffrage, and the recall of judicial decisions by popular vote (pages 632–633). A second part of the platform dealt with the problem of the trusts and other combinations. It restated Roosevelt's policies of public control and regulation. The final part pledged the Progressives to measures which they thought necessary for social justice — the abolition of child labor, the enactment of minimum wage laws, the eight-hour day, the workmen's compensation system. (Twenty-five years later these reforms had been achieved.)

4. Nomination of Woodrow Wilson. The Democrats, meanwhile, partly because they were the party of the opposition, and partly because of Bryan's leadership, had supported many progressive measures. They settled their differences between standpatters and Progressives without splitting the party. There was a long contest in the Democratic convention between Woodrow Wilson, known as a "progressive" governor of New Jersey, and Champ Clark of Missouri, long the leader of the Democratic party in the House. After Bryan threw his support to Wilson, the Democrats nominated Wilson on the forty-sixth ballot.

5. The election. The campaign was one of the most exciting in the country's history. Taft carried only two states, Roosevelt six, and Wilson forty. The popular vote was a better measure of the people's decision — Taft, 3,484,956; Roosevelt, 4,119,507; and Wilson, 6,293,119. Eugene V. Debs, for the fourth time the Socialist candidate, polled nearly 1,000,000 votes. Wilson was thus a "minority" President, obtaining about 42 per cent of the popular vote. If the progressive Republicans failed to elect their own candidate, they had helped bring about the election of a progressive Democrat.

Roosevelt and Taft. Theodore Roosevelt was one of the country's great Presidents. Colorful, dynamic, his name is forever identified with the growth and expansion of the American Navy, with the development of a sound program of conservation, and with the first strong efforts to bring Big Business and the railroads under control. Roosevelt made many phrases popular — "trust-busting," "muckrakers," "the big stick," "malefactors of great wealth," "my hat is in the ring." As a private citizen he continued to lift his voice for righteousness and the "square deal." He died in January, 1919, just a few days before the opening of the Peace Conference at Versailles. Although Taft did not win the popular acclaim that went to Roosevelt, he carried forward

many of his progressive ideas. It is unfortunate that the two men, once friends, became bitter political rivals. Taft is the only American who has enjoyed the honor of occupying the two highest offices in the country — the presidency and the chief-justiceship. He was appointed Chief Justice by President Harding in 1921, filling the office with distinction until his death in 1930.



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1912

Words and Phrases

Cannonism, Northern Securities Case, insurgency, judicial legislation, "rule of reason," standpatters, trust buster

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. Why did Republican leaders seek to shelve Theodore Roosevelt by offering him the vice-presidency?
2. Account for the rise of progressivism in the opening years of the twentieth century. What is the relation of progressivism to populism?
3. What are the outstanding issues associated both with Theodore Roosevelt and with Franklin D. Roosevelt a third of a century later?
4. Do you classify Taft as a standpatter or Progressive?
5. How did Roosevelt's action during the coal strike of 1902 serve to illustrate his conception of the presidency?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Why is it comparatively easy for a President to secure his own nomination or the nomination of a friend? (Investigate and report on the interesting details of the convention struggles in both parties in 1912.)
2. Contrast the progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt with that of Robert M. La Follette, Sr.

3. How did the Speaker of the House of Representatives become one of the most powerful officials in the national government? (Investigate and report on the careers of Speakers Reed and Cannon.)
4. Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement with the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Holmes in the Northern Securities Case, and with the "rule of reason" decision of the Supreme Court. (Consult Commager's Documents, Nos. 363 and 375.)
5. In the formulation of a policy toward the "trusts" was Theodore Roosevelt a leader and formulator of public opinion, or did he merely follow a public opinion which others had created? (Note: This is a difficult question and no answer should be attempted by the student until several detailed accounts of Theodore Roosevelt's presidency have been examined. As a possible approach it is suggested that the student list the opinions of various writers and the reasons they give for their points of view. A similar investigation might be made in analyzing other policies of Roosevelt, those of Wilson, or of Hoover, or of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Note also the point of view of some that conditions rather than individuals force public opinion to mold itself along certain lines. What is public opinion?)

Suggested Reading

THE "MUCKRAKERS": Croly, Herbert, *The Promise of American Life;* Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 110–116; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 352–355; Howe, F. C., *Confessions of a Reformer;* Steffens, Lincoln, *The Shame of the Cities* and *Autobiography;* Weyl, W. E., *The New Democracy.*

PROGRESSIVISM: Bassett, *Makers of a New Nation* (Pageant), Chap. IX, X; Beard and Beard, II, pp. 554–568, 602–608; Chamberlain, J., *Farewell to Reform;* Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 104–109; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 355–363; Howland, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times* (Y.C.S.); Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 167–208; Pringle, H. F., *Theodore Roosevelt;* Schlesinger, pp. 200–213; Sullivan, *Pre-War America;* Commager, Nos. 379, 380, 384 – Roosevelt's New Nationalism and the Progressive Party Platform; Amherst Readings, *Roosevelt, Wilson, and the Trusts.*

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

Woodrow Wilson and the New Freedom

WILSON PLANS AND CARRIES OUT A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF REFORM

Woodrow Wilson, 1913–21. As Theodore Roosevelt dominated the first decade of the twentieth century, so Woodrow Wilson dominated the second decade. He, too, is one of the nation's great Presidents, remembered chiefly for his leadership of the country during World War I and for his advocacy of a League of Nations. Yet the legislative achievements of Wilson's first two years as President would alone cause his administration to be singled out as a great one.

Wilson's view of the presidency was not very different from Theodore Roosevelt's. Within a few months Wilson made himself the master of his Cabinet and of Congress. He dominated his party and became an aggressive leader, battling for his ideas, appealing to the people, dealing with Congressmen directly, and compelling party members to support his program by threatening to withdraw patronage.

Like Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson had a magnetic personality which won and held warm friendships and undying loyalty. Unlike Roosevelt, Wilson had not had an extensive career in politics. He had been a student of history and politics, well known for his books on *Congressional Government* and *The State.* Some opposition to his educational policies at Princeton brought him to the public notice. In 1910 the Democratic bosses of New Jersey regarded him as a safe candidate, and he won the governorship in the Democratic landslide of that year. As governor of New Jersey he did not hesitate to "break" with the bosses who had made him. He forced through the state legislature a corrupt practices act, direct primaries, the regulation of public utilities, and a series of laws designed to take away from New Jersey her unwelcome reputation as the "mother of trusts."

The New Freedom. In his campaign speeches Wilson elaborated on this program of reform and referred to it as the New Freedom. He declared that he hoped to bring Big Business under control and to restore competition. "American industry," he said, "is not free, as it once was free; the man with only a little capital is finding it harder to get

into the field, more and more impossible to compete with the big fellow. Why? Because the laws of the country do not prevent the strong from crushing the weak." In his inaugural address he outlined the items that he considered must have immediate attention:

1. A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, and makes the government itself a facile instrument in the hands of private interests;
2. A banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the government to sell its bonds fifty years ago, and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits;
3. An industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country. . . . We deal with our economic system as it is, and as it may be modified, not as it might be, as if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be. . . .

Thus he spoke on March 4, 1913. One month later he called Congress into special session to enact his program into law.

The Underwood Tariff, 1913. In order to establish closer relations between the President and Congress and to emphasize his own leadership, Wilson addressed Congress directly. His first message to Congress, personally delivered, had to do with tariff reform. The Democratic Congress ran into the same conflicts of interests and sections, the same temptations to logrolling and bargaining, which had marked the passage of earlier tariff acts. During the progress of the bill through Congress, Wilson publicly denounced the tariff lobby, claiming that the people were voiceless, while "astute men seek to create an artificial opinion and to overcome the interests of the public for their private profit." But both political parties have a long way to travel before they fix tariff duties otherwise than by compromise and adjustment of interests (pages 239–240). The Underwood Tariff Act was in no sense a carefully prepared "scientific" measure, as had been promised. It was a protective tariff but with duties considerably lowered, and it continued the corporation tax of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. It would be too much to call the Underwood Act popular, yet it was accepted as a sincere and fairly successful fulfillment of the party's first promise. The outbreak of World War I in 1914 made it impossible to form a valid opinion of its effectiveness.

Since the Sixteenth Amendment had now been ratified, the Underwood Tariff made use of the power to tax personal incomes. This income tax law — significant and revolutionary in itself — is interesting when compared with later income tax laws. The rate of taxation on annual net incomes was only 1 per cent up to $20,000, 2 per cent from $20,000 to $50,000, and graduated up to a 6 per cent tax on incomes

above $500,000. Those with incomes under $3000 if single, or $4000 if married, were not required to pay an income tax.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT, 1913, IMPROVES OUR BANKING AND CURRENCY SYSTEM

The money panic of 1907. The second item on Wilson's program was reform of the banking and currency system. The severe money panic of 1907 had disclosed weaknesses in the national banking system and gave point to Wilson's terse summary that it was perfectly adapted to "concentrating cash and restricting credits." There were in the country more than twenty-five thousand banks, some of them large ones, but most of them small ones serving local needs. When a bank accumulated a sum of money beyond what was necessary for immediate payments, it commonly deposited this "excess reserve" in some near-by city bank; these city banks in turn deposited money in the banks of the larger cities. There was a strong tendency for these deposits of the smaller banks to move to New York City. Thus, in 1912 two thirds of the banks of the country had deposits in about ten New York banks.

Use of reserve deposits by New York banks. The New York banks used the funds thus accumulated to finance speculation on the stock exchange. When things moved along normally, this centralization of banking reserves worked in a fairly satisfactory manner. But in times of pressure it betrayed serious weaknesses. At harvest time small banks in farming sections had to withdraw their funds from New York. Thus each fall saw a movement of funds from New York back to the country districts. To return the deposits, the New York banks had to call in loans that had been made to finance purchases of stock. Interest rates would go up because of the heavy demand for funds, and the forced sale of stock might bring ruin. Then when money would again flow toward New York, interest on "call money" would drop, with the result that speculators again began to gamble on the stock market. Thus stock market speculation would be encouraged. ("Call money" is money lent for an indefinite period; that is, the lender may demand payment at any time.) It was a situation of this kind that produced the money panic of 1907, at a time when business seemed to be enjoying prosperity.

The need for banking reform. The crisis of 1907 illustrated two fundamental weaknesses in our banking and currency system: (1) the currency was not *elastic;* that is, it did not expand or contract in response to the actual business needs of the country; and (2) reserves of currency and credit were not *mobile;* that is, reserves tended to become concentrated in one section of the country, and did not readily move where they were needed. To correct the first weakness Congress in 1908 passed the emergency Aldrich-Vreeland Act, which permitted

associations of banks to issue notes secured by commercial paper — the promissory notes on which businessmen borrow money from banks. This same law also created the famous Monetary Commission, or Aldrich Committee, which assembled valuable information preparatory to a complete overhauling of our banking system. During 1912 one of the great investigation committees appointed by Congress — the Pujo Committee — uncovered the vast network of interlocking directorships in industrial, banking, and insurance corporations which indirectly gave a few men control of enormous resources. These events — the money panic of 1907, the Aldrich-Vreeland Act of 1908, the studies of the Monetary Commission, and investigations of the Pujo Committee — prepared the way for banking and currency reforms. The result was the Federal Reserve Act (December, 1913) which was largely the work of Representative Carter Glass (later, a senator), Senator Owen, Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo, and President Wilson.

The Federal Reserve Act, 1913. The country was divided into twelve districts, each having a Federal Reserve Bank. These twelve banks, located in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Richmond, Atlanta, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas, and San Francisco, serve as central banks for their respective districts. General supervision was vested in a Federal Reserve Board, whose chief function was to co-ordinate the activities of the whole system. Thus, a compromise was effected between those who favored *centralized banking* and those who advocated *local autonomy* in banking.

The Federal Reserve System. 1. Ownership of the Federal Reserve Banks. All national banks are *required* to become member banks and all other banks are *permitted* to join the system. Every member bank is required to subscribe to the stock of the Federal Reserve Bank in its district. Thus each of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks is owned by the member banks in its district.

2. Quick mobilization of reserves. One function of each Federal Reserve Bank is to hold deposits for the member banks. Member banks must keep with the Federal Reserve Banks a percentage of their own deposits. In this way the Federal Reserve System brought about a *centralization of reserves* in twelve cities rather than in one. The fact that one Federal Reserve Bank may borrow from another permits the *flow of credit* from one section of the country to another. In this way seasonal demands for currency in any section are readily cared for. This function tended to create mobility of reserves.

3. Rediscounting commercial paper. A second function of each Federal Reserve Bank is to rediscount commercial paper for member banks. This means that a member bank can sell the promissory notes it has discounted for businessmen to the Federal Reserve Bank. This is called *rediscounting*, because the member bank has already discounted the promissory note when it made the original loan. By low-

ering the rediscount rate each Federal Reserve Bank encourages rediscounting; by raising the rediscount it puts a check on rediscounting, and, therefore, it can put a brake on overconfidence, excessive borrowing, and overspeculation. The rediscount rate is thus the *control lever.*

4. Issuing Federal Reserve notes. A third function of each Federal Reserve Bank, very closely related to the rediscount functions, is to issue Federal Reserve notes. It can issue Federal Reserve notes to member banks when the member bank rediscounts commercial paper. When business is brisk there is a larger issue of Federal Reserve notes; that is, the currency expands. When business is dull, very little commercial paper is rediscounted, and hence there is a *contraction* of the Federal Reserve notes. The law surrounded this function of the Federal Reserve Bank with certain safeguards. It carefully defined the kind of commercial paper eligible for rediscount, and it also provided that at least 40 per cent of the Federal Reserve notes issued must be secured by gold. These requirements tended to give *stability* as well as *elasticity* to the Federal Reserve notes.

The Federal Reserve System was almost immediately put to the severe test of functioning during a great war. It accomplished its fundamental purposes of mobilizing reserves and providing for an elastic currency. It served the country well for more than twenty years, and is commonly considered one of Wilson's greatest accomplishments. The storms and stresses of the great "boom" during the 1920's and the disastrous panic of the 1930's revealed that certain changes were needed. As we shall see, the banking system was overhauled in the 1930's, but the basic features of the law of 1913 were retained (pages 562–563).

In 1916 the Federal Farm Loan Act created twelve Federal Land Banks to lend money on farm mortgages (pages 551, 571).

WILSON STRENGTHENS THE ANTITRUST LAWS

Uncertainty in the antitrust laws. In Wilson's first year in office Congress enacted a tariff act and a banking act. In January, 1914, he appeared before Congress and asked for legislation concerning trusts. Under Roosevelt and Taft, lawsuits had been started to compel obedience to the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. These cases were long delayed in the courts; in 1911 the Supreme Court had invoked the "rule of reason" (pages 516–517). Because there was no clear definition of reasonable and unreasonable restraint, business was in a state of confusion, and the public was angry. The Democratic party was pledged to end this uncertainty, and as a result of Wilson's urging, Congress passed two important laws: the Federal Trade Commission Act (September 26, 1914) and the Clayton Antitrust Act (October 15, 1914).

The Federal Trade Commission, 1914. The Federal Trade Commission Act set up a Federal Trade Commission of five members to be

appointed by the President, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." The Commission was given the following powers: (1) to prevent persons, partnerships, or corporations from using *unfair methods* of competition; (2) to gather and compile information concerning corporations; (3) to require corporations to file with the Commission reports as to their organization, business, and practices; (4) to investigate trade conditions in and with foreign countries; (5) to readjust and reorganize businesses charged with violating the antitrust laws. The Commission had *quasi-judicial powers*, for it was given the power to issue orders to corporations and others to cease unfair practices. The corporation whose policies might be affected by such an order had the right to have the Commission's ruling reviewed by the courts.

The Clayton Antitrust Act, 1914. The Clayton Antitrust Act defined some unfair practices and declared them to be illegal. Among these are the following: (1) price discrimination "where the effect of such discrimination is to lessen competition or to tend to create a monopoly"; (2) contracts for the sale of goods which fix the price or give a rebate or discount on the condition that the purchasers will not handle the goods of a competitor; (3) the purchase by one corporation of stock of another; and (4) interlocking directorates, under certain conditions. The law also provided machinery permitting the competitor who is injured by unfair trade practices to obtain an injunction to stop the practice or to sue for damages. These provisions made it easier for the small business with limited resources to get help from the courts before the large corporation had forced it into bankruptcy.

The working of the antitrust laws. It should be noted that in forbidding various practices — price discrimination, tying contracts, interlocking directorates — the law added the important phrase, whenever such policies tended "to lessen competition or create a monopoly." This phrase left room for much uncertainty. Many cases have been brought before the Supreme Court to test decisions of the Federal Trade Commission. Therefore, the courts have the final word in matters of economic policy. These trust laws — the Sherman law of 1890, the Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914, and the Clayton Act of 1914 — have not been changed by legislative enactment in any important particular except that laws have been passed exempting export corporations (Webb Act, 1918) and farming organizations (Capper Act, 1922) from the operation of the antitrust laws. From 1933 to 1935, when the National Industrial Recovery Act was in effect, the antitrust laws were suspended completely (pages 573–574).

The general principle embodied in all these laws may be stated as follows: practices which tend to lessen competition or create monopoly are illegal. It is the function of the Federal Trade Commission to interpret the meaning of this broad principle. It is an administrative body, with implied judicial powers, charged with the important task of

giving life to the principle by rules, regulations, and decisions. In general the Commission accomplishes the great bulk of its work without resort to the courts. It holds conferences with the representatives of manufacturing interests and has worked out a body of commercial practices which may be described as "standards of fair play." It frequently conducts prolonged technical investigations into the practices of corporations before taking action. It has found that large numbers of corporations are willing to co-operate with it in the formation of policies.

Some unfair practices. The following are some practices considered unfair by the Commission: misbranding of goods, adulteration of commodities, use of bribery or spying to obtain trade secrets, false or disparaging statements about a competitor's goods and credit, false and misleading advertising, close imitation of goods by a competitor by the use of similar names or wrappers for packages, inducing a purchaser to break a competitor's contract for sales.

Labor and the new freedom. As noted elsewhere (page 427), the Clayton Antitrust Act also contained important clauses intended to free the labor unions from the operation of the antitrust laws. In 1915 Senator La Follette sponsored a Seaman's Act which considerably improved living and working conditions for merchant seamen. The shipping companies protested, however, that the Act was so liberal to labor that it was practically impossible for American companies to compete with foreign companies (pages 575–576). In 1916 the Railway Brotherhoods threatened a serious strike, demanding a standard eight-hour day, and refusing to arbitrate the dispute as required by the Newlands Act of 1913. Wilson prevailed upon Congress to pass the Adamson Act, which established a basic eight-hour day for railroad workers. This law averted the strike, but Wilson was denounced for making a bid for labor votes on the eve of election and for yielding to the "tyranny of labor." The law also contained a clause that the President might take over and operate the railroads if he thought military necessity demanded such action. In the light of events twenty years later, it is interesting to record that Wilson advocated, but could not get Congress to approve, a law which made railroad strikes or lockouts illegal, pending government investigation of the controversy (pages 577, 588–589).

WAR INTERRUPTS A PROGRAM OF DOMESTIC REFORM AND CREATES PROBLEMS OF ITS OWN

Foreign affairs under Wilson. Wilson's election in 1912 came at a time when the social and political ferment of more than a decade of agitation had reached its height. Despite his interest in reform, foreign affairs were destined to dominate the stage during most of Wilson's presidency. Conditions in Mexico began to demand attention early in his term, and after August, 1914, the outbreak of World War I led to

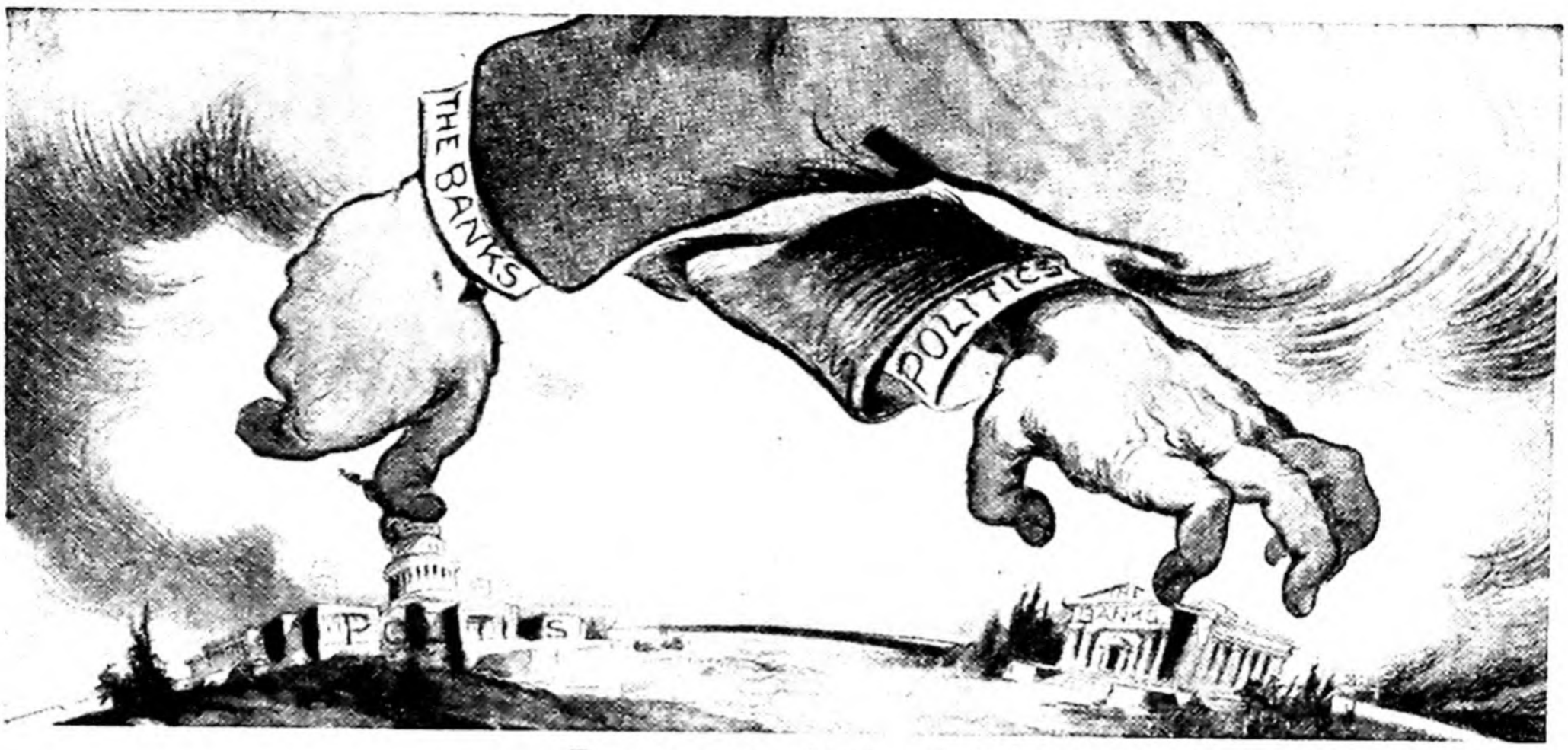
serious problems. Domestic issues were forgotten in the presidential campaign of 1916; instead, Wilson's policy toward Mexico and his attitude toward the European war were under attack.

The election of 1916. Wilson easily obtained the nomination of the Democratic party. The Republicans nominated Associate Justice Charles E. Hughes. Mr. Hughes had won a national reputation as counsel for a committee investigating the insurance business in New York. This investigation led to important legislation to regulate insurance companies; it also made Mr. Hughes governor of New York. Following a brilliant term as governor, Mr. Hughes was appointed to the Supreme Court, from which he resigned to accept the Republican nomination. In his campaign Mr. Hughes criticized Mr. Wilson's policy toward Mexico and the fighting countries of Europe. He also made much of Wilson's "abject surrender" to the Railway Brotherhoods in supporting the Adamson Act. But it was one thing to criticize and still another to outline a substitute program of action. The Democrats relied on a defense of the banking laws, the antitrust laws, and the progress that had been made against "entrenched privilege." However, the most powerful campaign argument for Wilson was the slogan, "He kept us out of war." On election night it appeared that Mr. Hughes had been elected, and newspapers published headlines to that effect, but as returns from outlying districts came in it became clear that the loss of California would prevent Mr. Hughes's election.

In California, progressivism was popular; one of its favorite sons, Governor Hiram Johnson — Theodore Roosevelt's running mate on the progressive ticket in 1912 — was campaigning for senator. Mr. Johnson, later to achieve fame as an uncompromising champion of isolationism, was elected senator by three hundred thousand votes, but Mr. Hughes lost the state of California to Mr. Wilson by less than four thousand votes. It has been suggested that this startling upset was due in part to the failure of Hughes's campaign managers to arrange for a meeting of Johnson and Hughes during the latter's campaign tour of the state. Following his defeat for the presidency, Mr. Hughes had a distinguished career, serving as Secretary of State under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, as a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and as Chief Justice of the United States, 1930–41.

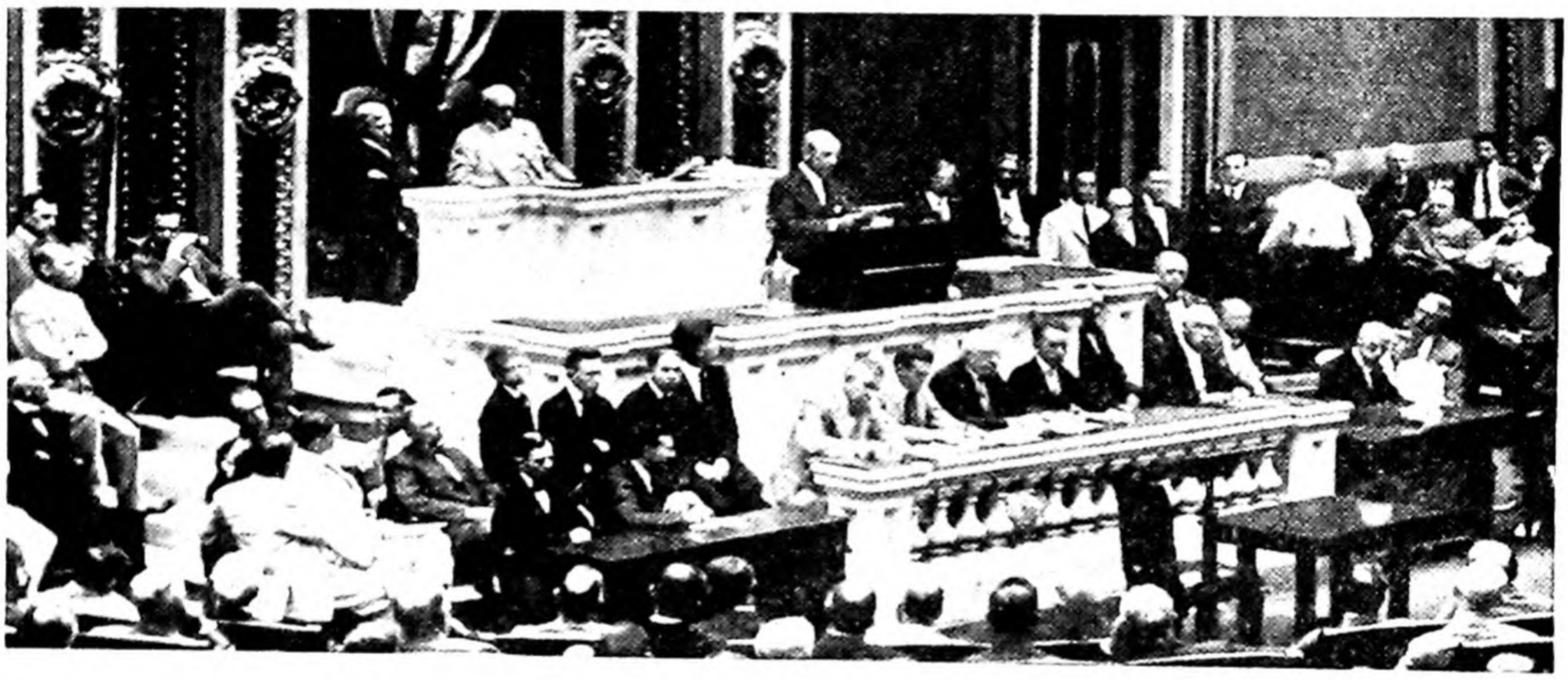
The United States enters World War I. Within a few weeks after his second inauguration Wilson asked Congress to declare war against Germany (pages 721–722). Congress did so on April 6, 1917. Politics was adjourned. The program of domestic reforms was laid aside and not taken up again until after the depression of 1929.

World War I, like its successor World War II, profoundly affected American economic and social life. Both wars brought to an abrupt end an era of domestic reform. Both demonstrated the great ingenuity and productivity of American industry. Although in World War I,



From a cartoon by Joseph Keppler, Jr., in *Puck*, August 20, 1913

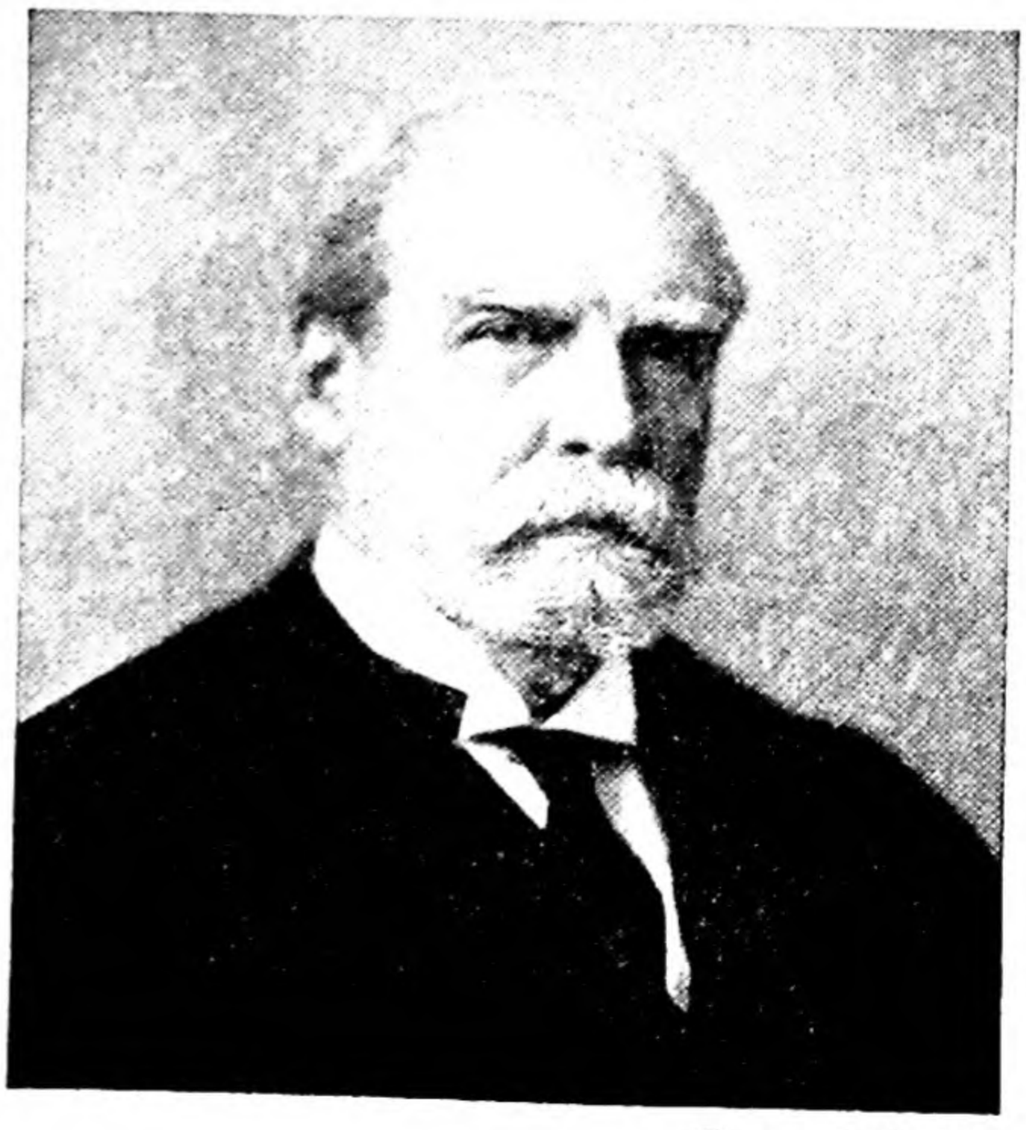
This cartoon poses the question: "Which is worse, financial control of politics or political control of finance?"



Underwood & Underwood

President Wilson addresses a joint session of Congress in an effort to avert a railroad strike in 1916.

Charles Evans Hughes (1862–1948) was one of the ablest Republican statesmen of the twentieth century. He missed the presidency in 1916, but during his long and distinguished career he was governor of New York, Secretary of State, Associate Justice, and finally Chief Justice of the United States.



Harris & Ewing

the achievements of American industry were hailed as "miraculous" and "stupendous," decisively affecting the outcome of the struggle, the record of American production in World War I was far surpassed by the speed, volume, and variety of production in World War II. Both wars saw all available labor employed at attractive wages. Labor union leaders gave a "no strike pledge," but there were many instances in which the pledge was ignored. Prices skyrocketed, and in World War I the government was unable to check inflation; in World War II the government made definite efforts to hold inflation in line and to a considerable extent succeeded. There were numerous scandals involving war profiteering which created a crop of war millionaires. The extent and size of war profits did not become known in detail until some years after the conflict; in conducting World War II, the government made strenuous efforts to avoid some of the mistakes of World War I. But as might be expected, many of the problems were similar. There was the same need to build ships, to produce food, to utilize available man and woman power, to increase taxes, to sell war bonds, to seize enemy property, to influence public opinion. Many of the agencies created in World War I reappeared under different names in World War II. In one respect the economic policy of the government in World War II differed from that adopted in World War I. This was the policy adopted toward the railroads.

WORLD WAR I LEADS TO GOVERNMENT OPERATION OF THE RAILROADS AND A MODIFICATION OF EARLIER POLICIES

Wartime railroad operation by the government. The outbreak of World War I demanded the quick movement of soldiers, war materials, and supplies. This imposed a tremendous burden upon the transportation system. In this emergency the weaknesses in the transportation system became apparent. To make easier the mobilization of troops and the economic resources of the country, President Wilson, acting under the provisions of the Adamson Act, on January 1, 1918, declared the railroads to be under the operation of the government. A little later similar action was taken in regard to telephone and telegraph lines. William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, became Director General of the Railroads.

Results of government operation. For more than two years the government operated the railroads as a unified system. Tracks, terminals, cars, locomotives, and all variety of railroad equipment were treated as though they belonged to a single individual. Orders were issued curtailing passenger traffic and shifting freight cars from one region to another. Consolidated ticket offices were established. Duplication of activities was stopped; many railroad officials who received large salaries for performing identical services were dropped. Wages of railroad em-

ployees were raised considerably; so, too, were freight and passenger rates. The emergency was so great that sufficient attention was not given to the repair and replacement of rolling stock and equipment. Government operation of the railroads during World War I is sometimes used as an argument against government ownership. But government operation during the war emergency was not a fair test of either the success or failure of the theory. It is doubtful whether the condition of the railroads at the end of the period of government control was, considering the terrific strain of emergency use, any worse than at the time the government assumed control. It is significant, however, that in World War II the government did not take this action, and the railroads remained under private management, doing a magnificent job in the handling of an unprecedented volume of traffic.

The Transportation Act of 1920. The labor unions sponsored a plan drafted by Glenn E. Plumb for the government ownership and operation of the railroads. After long and bitter debate Congress provided for the return of the railroads to private management by a law which increased the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission to eleven members and gave the commission almost dictatorial power in the regulation of the roads. The Interstate Commerce Commission, with its large staff of technical experts, became a powerful and efficient co-ordinating agency which controls in nearly every particular the activities of the railroad operators.

A general summary of the law. The broad features of the law may be outlined as follows: (1) The Interstate Commerce Commission was given power to fix *minimum* as well as *maximum rates.* (2) The Commission was given control over the issue of stocks and bonds by the railroads. (3) A special "recapture" clause, designed to prevent excessive earnings, compelled railroads to turn over half of their excess earnings to the government. (4) The law permitted pooling and charging a higher rate for a short haul than for a long one, but only with the approval of the Commission. (5) The law also contained provisions for the complete control of the railroads by the Commission in the event of an emergency. (6) Combinations and consolidations of railroads were permitted, but only with the approval of the Commission (such consolidations being exempt from the laws regulating trusts). (7) The law also specified that no new roads were to be constructed or old ones abandoned without the approval of the Commission.

Consolidations permitted and even expected. It will be noted that the Transportation Act of 1920 clearly reversed the earlier policy of the government and looked forward to the time when the railroads would be organized into a few systems. The Commission in 1921 suggested a scheme of consolidation into nineteen systems, but these plans were merely suggestive, not compulsory. Indeed, it was thought that the wiser course to pursue would be for the Commission to approve plans

of consolidation that were developed by the railroads themselves as a result of practical experience.

The chief obstacle to the carrying forward of consolidations has been the reluctance of strong railroads to merge with weak ones. The argument for consolidation is that weak railroads are of social and economic value to the communities they serve and can be kept in operation by merging them with lines that are making a profit.

The problem of "fair" return. The problem of rates is one of the thorniest problems in the whole field of transportation and public-utlity regulation. The law of 1920 prescribed that the just and reasonable rates fixed by the Commission should yield the railroads a "fair return" on the "value" of the properties. But rates which might allow a *fair* return to certain railroads would inevitably yield a *large* return to others, and a *very small* return or *no* return to still others. To meet this phase of the problem, railroads were to be divided into groups and the rates were to be such as would allow the *group as a whole* to earn a fair return, a portion of the earnings of the strong roads to be used to help out the weaker ones. This last provision — the "recapture clause," since repealed (pages 576–577) — compelled the strong railroads to return to the Commission one-half of all earnings in excess of 6 per cent of the total value of the railroad property.

A test case came before the Supreme Court in 1929 when the Interstate Commerce Commission endeavored to "recapture" some of the excess earnings of the St. Louis and O'Fallon Railroad. Lawyers for the railroad claimed that the valuation of the property of the railroad used by the Commission was too low. The Supreme Court upheld the company's argument that in determining the valuation of the railroad property the Interstate Commerce Commission had not given "due consideration" to the cost of replacing the road. The Supreme Court, however, did not formulate a hard-and-fast rule concerning valuation. The Court was unwilling to surrender its right of judicial review by setting up any definition of what constitutes a fair value or a fair rate. This situation tends to create some uncertainty; it means, virtually, that every time an application for a change in rates is made, a renewed valuation — a costly, time-consuming, and difficult process — may become necessary. The principle adopted applies not only to railroads but to street railways, gas, telephone, and electric companies (pages 580–583).

WILSON LOSES THE FIGHT FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Opposition to the League in the Senate. Government policy toward railroads was not the only issue to disturb the closing years of the second Wilson administration as demobilization progressed. Mr. Wilson was regarded everywhere as the outstanding leader of the Allied nations, and his chief interest came to be the establishment of a League

"All the News That's Fit to Print."

The New York Times.

THE WEATHER

VOL. LXVIII. NO. 22,694 NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1918. TWENTY FOUR PAGES. TWO CENTS

ARMISTICE SIGNED, END OF THE WAR! BERLIN SEIZED BY REVOLUTIONISTS; NEW CHANCELLOR BEGS FOR ORDER; OUSTED KAISER FLEES TO HOLLAND

SON FLEES WITH EX-KAISER

Hindenburg Also Believed to be Among Those

Kaiser Fought Hindenburg's Call for Abdication, Failed to Get Army's Support in Keeping Throne

BERLIN TROOPS JOIN REVOLT

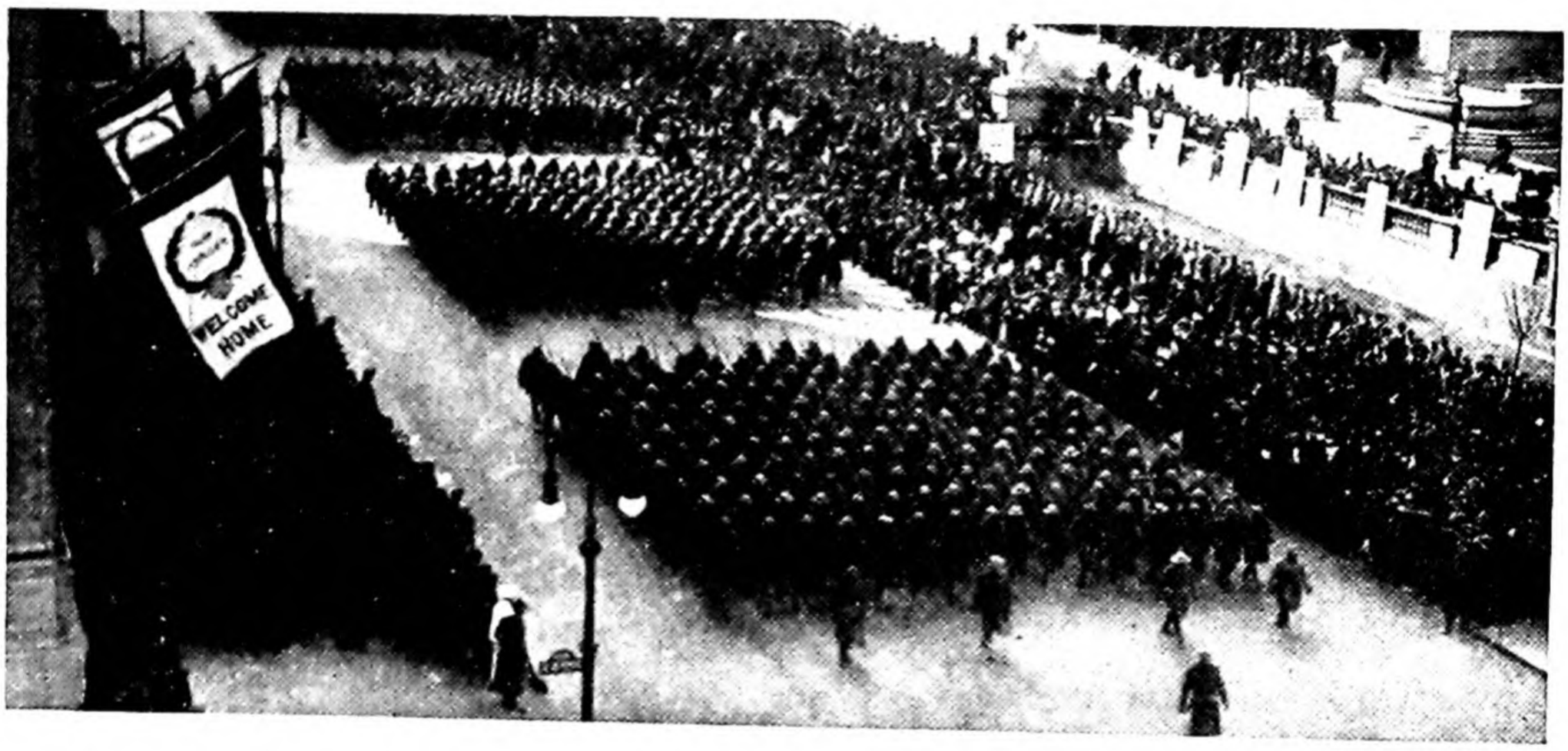
Reds Shell Building in Which Officers Vainly

Socialist Chancellor Appeals to All Germans To Help Him Save Fatherland from Anarchy

WAR ENDS AT 6 O'CLOCK THIS MORNING

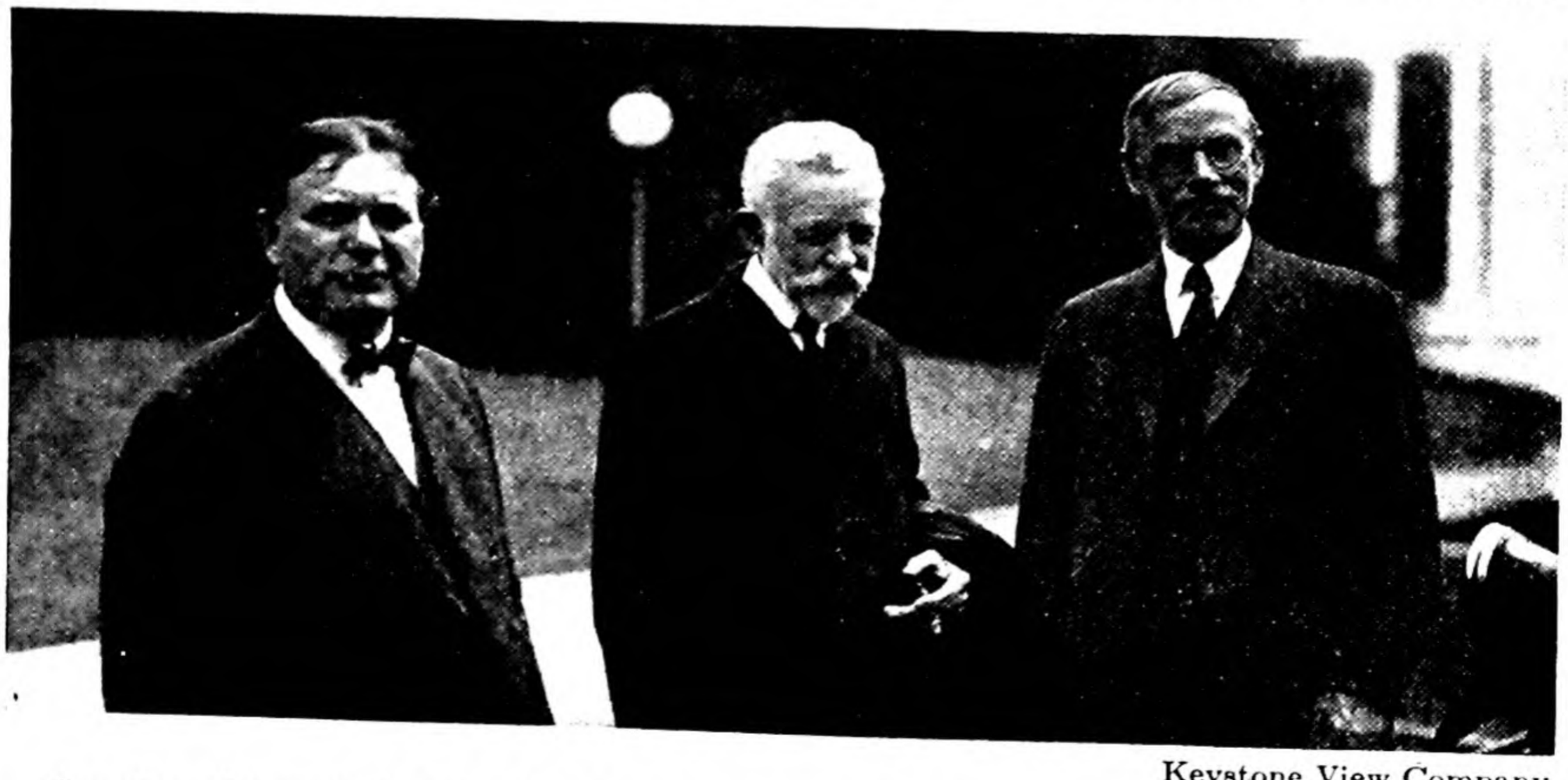
The State Department in Washington,

The headline in the New York Times of Monday, November 11, 1918, proclaimed the end of World War I. The end of the "war to end all wars" was the beginning of the peace that failed.



Acme

The enthusiasm of these home-coming World War I veterans and of the cheering spectators in 1919 changed to tragic and bitter disillusionment within a few years.



Keystone View Company

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (*center*), pictured here with his colleagues, Senator Borah and Senator Smoot, led the opposition in the Senate to the League of Nations.

of Nations. Wilson apparently made the mistake of making this issue a matter of partisan politics. He went to Europe to take part personally in the peace negotiations. Although the Republicans had increased their strength in Congress in the mid-term elections of 1918, Wilson made no effort to secure the support of influential Republicans like Mr. Hughes or Mr. Root or ex-President Taft, who had expressed themselves in sympathy with the idea of some sort of world association of nations. Wilson succeeded in incorporating the Covenant of the League of Nations into the Versailles Treaty. In order to obtain public support for the League of Nations, which required a two-thirds vote of the Senate to insure American participation, Wilson in the late summer of 1919 undertook an extensive speaking tour of the country. Worn out by the arduous task of leading the nation in wartime, and exhausted by the peace negotiations, his strength gave way. He suffered a stroke of paralysis in September, 1919. For some weeks his recovery was uncertain. There was doubt as to whether Wilson's incapacity was such as to call for Vice-President Marshall to assume the office of President. Early in 1920 Wilson began to recover, and from his sick room he took part in the debate over the adoption of the treaty and the acceptance of the League of Nations. Wilson conducted a losing fight. There were enough votes in the Senate to secure ratification *with reservations;* but Wilson stubbornly refused to accept reservations, saying that they would cut the heart out of the League. The treaty went down to defeat. Believing that the people wanted the League, Wilson urged the country to regard the presidential campaign of 1920 as "a great and solemn referendum" on joining the League.

The campaign of 1920. The chief contestants for the Republican nomination were General Leonard Wood, long a close friend of Theodore Roosevelt, Senator Johnson of California, and Governor Lowden of Illinois. As so often happens, these candidates were sufficiently strong to prevent one another's nomination, and on the tenth ballot the nomination went to Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio. Harding was a man whose political career had not been conspicuous. His chief supporter was Harry Daugherty, the head of the "Ohio gang" of Republican machine politicians. Before the convention Daugherty had foretold that the convention would be deadlocked, and that a little group would meet in a smoke-filled hotel room in the small hours of the morning and pick Harding as the nominee. Daugherty's prediction was fulfilled. Harding's running mate was Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, who had become nationally known for his intervention in a Boston police strike in 1919 and for his terse statement: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." The Democrats nominated Governor Cox of Ohio for President and Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the war, for Vice-President. The Socialists nominated

Debs for the fifth time, although he was now serving a term in the Atlanta penitentiary for opposition to World War I. A new party, the Farmer-Labor party, put forward candidates.

Instead of being a solemn referendum on the League, the campaign saw a befuddling of the issue. Harding had voted against the League in the Senate, but now asserted ambiguously that he was not opposed to an "association" of nations. Harding's victory was a landslide. He won seven million more votes than Cox. The Republican majority in Congress was equally overwhelming. Harding's victory was due apparently to a widespread reaction to the party in power, common to all countries that had taken part in the war. Resentment for the hardships that the war had brought was naturally directed against the Democratic party. Declining prices and hard times after the war added to the resentment; Wilson's exercise of extraordinary powers during the war had also aroused ill will even in his own party. For the first time since the War between the States, the Republicans carried Tennessee, one of the states sometimes grouped with the Solid South (page 364).

Normalcy postpones an issue. During the campaign Harding sensed the mood of the people when he said: "America's present need is not heroics, but healing; not nostrums, but normalcy; not revolution, but restoration — not surgery, but serenity." The disappointed Wilson warned the people, who were in no mood to heed his prophecy, that they had rejected "fruitful leadership for a barren independence. They will now have to learn by bitter experience just what they have lost. We had a chance to gain the leadership of the world. We have lost it, and soon we shall be witnessing the tragedy of it all." Twenty years later, with World War II, Wilson's prophecy came true.

Words and Phrases

Adamson Act, Clayton Antitrust Act, commercial paper, elasticity of the currency, Federal Reserve notes, Federal Trade Commission, new freedom, Pujo Committee, quasi-judicial, rediscounting, reserves, Transportation Act, 1920, Underwood Tariff, 1913

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. Compare the purposes and accomplishments of the Sherman Act of 1890 with the Clayton Act of 1914.
2. How did the Antitrust legislation of 1914 help the small businessman who might suffer as a result of the practices of Big Business?
3. Account for the fact that several types of business activity — farming, export corporations, shipping, labor, banks — are exempt from the operation of the Antitrust laws.
4. How does the rate-making power granted by the Hepburn Act differ from the rate-making power given by the Transportation Act of 1920?
5. Do you think the government should take over the ownership and management of the railroads? Reasons. Does the government operation of

railroads during World War I throw any light upon the merits of this question? Reasons.

6. How does the decision of the Supreme Court in the Northern Securities Case, 1904, compare with permission of railroad consolidations by the law of 1920?
7. How do the general legal principles pursued by the courts in deciding injunction cases compare with general principles in deciding rate and valuation cases? (Pages 427–428, 536.)
8. Do you think the government should (through the Interstate Commerce Commission) compel a railroad that is not making money to continue operations? Reasons.
9. What clauses in the Constitution indicate an interest in the maintenance of a sound and uniform currency?
10. Explain what is meant by an elastic currency. Why is it desirable to have an elastic currency? How would an elastic currency affect prices?
11. Was the issuance of notes by state banks which circulated as currency contrary to the provision of the Constitution that states could not issue bills of credit? Explain.
12. Explain what is meant by a bank's reserve. Explain the name "Federal Reserve System."
13. How do you account for the fact that the United States did not imitate the policy of France and England and create a strong central bank?
14. Explain the process of discounting and rediscounting.
15. Why are Federal Reserve notes elastic? Why are they sound?
16. How can the Federal Reserve Banks control the amount of commercial paper discounted?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. "The government seldom pursues a steady and consistent economic policy." To what extent is this true with regard to transportation legislation? (Pages 498–500, 535–536.)
2. Should the Supreme Court have the power to review the rate fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission? Reasons.
3. Explain the connection between railroad rates and railroad valuation. "The Interstate Commerce Commission, as arbiter in the struggle for markets, holds in its hands the economic fate of whole regions and industries." Illustrate and discuss fully (pages 396, 535–536).
4. Do you believe that the railroads are doomed to go the way of the stage-coach and canal packet? Reasons.
5. Contrast the work of the Federal Trade Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission. Compare also with the Tennessee Valley Authority. Why is there a tendency for Congress to create a number of administrative boards and commissions?
6. "The right of an individual to do as he will with his own property is not an absolute right but must be modified to suit changing conditions." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Give your reasons. How do the antitrust laws modify the traditional rights of private property?

Suggested Reading

THE DEMOCRATS IN POWER: Bassett, *Makers of a New Nation* (Pageant), Chap. XI; Beard and Beard, II, 602–608; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 384–389; Hart, V, 538–561; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 209–226; Schlesinger, pp. 220–227; Seymour, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War* (Y.C.S.); Commager, No. 389 – Wilson's First Inaugural Address.

CURRENCY PROBLEMS: Bassett, pp. 697–701, 746–764; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 360–370; Berle and Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, pp. 300–316; Dewey, *National Problems* (A.N.S.), pp. 220–238, 252–277, 314–329; Faulkner, pp. 550–558; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 394–397; Hallgren, *Seeds of Revolt*, pp. 264–299; Hart, V, 286–300; Moody, *Masters of Capital* (Y.C.S.), pp. 134–154; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 19–27; Commager, Nos. 381, 388, 479 – Recommendations of the Aldrich and Pujo Commissions.

FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM: Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 364–370; Faulkner, pp. 558–561; Goldenweiser, *The Federal Reserve System in Operation;* Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 391–397; Hart, V, 301–307; Kemmerer, *The A B C of the Federal Reserve System;* Laidler, *Concentration of Control in American Industry*, pp. 315–362; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 229–232; Slichter, *Modern Economic Society*, pp. 248–259, 473–490.

FEDERAL REGULATION: Dewey, *National Problems* (A.N.S.), pp. 91–112; Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 130–153; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 340–344, 482–486; Hart, V, 352–355, 369–373; Ripley, *Railroads, Rates, and Regulation*, Chaps. XIII–XVII; Commager, Nos. 318, 438 – The Interstate Commerce and the Esch-Cummins Acts.

PROBLEMS OF RATE REGULATIONS: Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 478–480; Ripley, *Railroads, Rates, and Regulations*, Chaps. II–V; Schlesinger, pp. 147–151, 207–210; Commager, Nos. 314, 319, 439, 441 – Wabash Case and cases involving conflict between the I.C.C. and state railroad commissions.

TRUST REGULATION: Beard and Beard, II, 569–573, 607–608; Faulkner, pp. 443–456; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 397–402, 517–520; Hart, V, 347–352, 356–368, 473–479; Hendrick, *Age of Big Business* (Y.C.S.), pp. 58–187; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 58–75; Commager, Nos. 320, 356, 363, 375, 402, 403 – Trust legislation; Amherst Readings, *Roosevelt, Wilson, and the Trusts.*

CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

Normalcy, Deceptive Prosperity, and Collapse, 1921–1932

THE GREAT CRUSADE IS FOLLOWED BY REACTION AND NORMALCY

Warren G. Harding, 1921–23. By the phrase "return to normalcy" President Harding meant that we should adjust our economy once again to the tasks of peace, forget our great adventure in world affairs, and set our domestic house in order — revise the tariff upward, curtail expenditures, pay our debts, and reduce taxes. Harding's administration concluded a separate peace with Germany, sponsored the Washington Conference on Naval Limitation and Far Eastern Affairs (pages 706–707), and in the domestic field initiated budget reform, a high tariff, and the restriction of immigration.

1. The national budget. Unbusinesslike methods had been followed by Congress in drawing up tax bills and in appropriating public funds. Several committees of Congress had a hand in the process and there was no co-ordination among them. The haphazard system of appropriations encouraged "logrolling" by the members of Congress, each of whom tried to secure for his own district elaborate post offices, expensive river and harbor improvements, and so on. The National Budget Act of 1921 created a Bureau of the Budget with a director at its head. It is the duty of the director to obtain estimates of future needs from the various heads of departments and to prepare the budget — an estimate of receipts and expenditures for the ensuing year. The budget is then sent by the President to Congress, which has the power to disregard or change the various items. Charles G. Dawes was the first Director of the Budget and gave the new system a good start. The fact that Congress can disregard the budget is the essential weakness of the plan; however, a vigorous President, if he so desires, can create a live public opinion which can do much to compel a "logrolling" Congress to toe the mark.

2. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff, 1922. The Harding administration also undertook to revise the tariff. The result was the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, which raised the average level of duties to the highest point yet reached in the nation's history. The Fordney-McCumber Act contained one novel feature — a "flexible" clause permitting the

President to raise or lower the import duties within 50 per cent of the figure set by Congress. In using this power, Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover tended to raise the duties rather than lower them.

Corrupt practices in Harding's administration. Harding's administration was disgraced by some of the worst scandals in our national life. The sickening details of wrongdoing in the Veterans' Bureau, the Prohibition Bureau, the Department of Justice, and the Department of the Interior (pages 616–617) make the Harding administration a close rival of Grant's administration for the dishonor of being labeled the most corrupt in American history. Harry J. Daugherty, who was chiefly responsible for Harding's nomination, was made Attorney General. He and his Ohio gang proceeded to demand their "pay-off," enriching themselves and their henchmen. As the corruption began to be noised abroad, there was a trail of mysterious deaths and suicides. The hands of the unfortunate Harding were tied, because the "gang" could blackmail him by threatening to expose details of his private life. Harding's sudden death in August, 1923, just as the news of the extent and seriousness of the corruption was being revealed, probably saved him from impeachment. He was succeeded by Vice-President Calvin Coolidge, formerly Governor of Massachusetts.

Calvin Coolidge, 1923–29. Following the depression of 1921–22, the country enjoyed seven years of remarkable prosperity. This helped to make Coolidge's administration popular. More interest was shown in Secretary of the Treasury Mellon's proposals to reduce taxes than in social or economic problems.

1. The Coolidge "era of good feeling." The continued consolidation of business into enormous corporations found the public singularly apathetic. Coolidge's popularity was achieved by a policy of economy in federal expenditures, by reductions in taxes made possible by the large revenue from mounting incomes, and by avoiding any attempt at reform. Large sections of the population were willing to forget politics and concentrate on the task of making and spending money. The discontent of the farmer, yearly growing more bitter, was the only disturbing element in the Coolidge "era of good feeling" (pages 548–551).

2. The campaign of 1924. Coolidge easily secured the Republican nomination in 1924. The Democrats, after a contest between the supporters of W. G. McAdoo and Alfred E. Smith (in the first national convention to be broadcast by radio), finally nominated John W. Davis, a conservative corporation lawyer. During Wilson's administration Davis had served for a brief period as ambassador to Great Britain. The independent Progressives nominated Robert M. La Follette, who also had the support of the Socialist party and the A. F. of L.

The domestic policies of the Progressives attracted much attention. They advocated public ownership of water power, public utilities, and railroads, a government marketing corporation for the benefit of the

farmers, the election of federal judges, a public referendum regarding war and peace. They also urged an amendment to the Constitution that would restrict the power of the Supreme Court. According to this proposal, decisions of the Court declaring laws unconstitutional would require more than a simple majority, and such decisions would merely act as a "judicial veto," since Congress would be given the power to re-enact the law by a two-thirds vote.

The campaign was a dull one. The election was an overwhelming triumph for the Republicans and a vote of confidence in President Coolidge. Davis carried only one state outside the Solid South, Oklahoma; and La Follette carried only Wisconsin.

3. Foreign policies of the Coolidge administration. The four years of Coolidge's full term as President (1925–29) continued to be uneventful. He made much of economy and tax reduction; he seemed unconcerned with the thorny problem of reparations and war debts, (pages 746–748), and endeavored to cultivate friendly relations with South America (pages 692–693). Serious trouble developed in Nicaragua and Mexico. Through the work of Henry L. Stimson in one case and Dwight W. Morrow in the second the difficulties were compromised without impairing the President's popularity. Indeed, Morrow's success in Mexico made Coolidge more popular (pages 682–684).

4. The eclipse of the presidency. The farmers' revolt continued with increasing vigor. The prosperous East was apparently unconcerned with the troubles of the West. President Coolidge, a real Hamiltonian, who derived his strength from commercial and industrial interests, made no effort to evolve a program of constructive farm relief. Indeed, Coolidge seemed to have no positive program other than tax reduction. The eclipse of the presidency by the surrender of leadership and initiative to Congress was part of the return to normalcy.

THE SEARCH FOR PROFITS ABSORBS OUR ENERGIES AND INTERESTS

Reasons for prosperity. There was a short-lived depression in 1920–21, caused in part by demobilization and the shift from the production of war material to the production of peacetime commodities. This depression was followed by one of the greatest peacetime boom periods in the nation's history. The boom years of 1922–29 were in part a continuation of war prosperity. Scientific and technical progress had been stimulated by the war and had given American industry control over new processes and new techniques. The automobile industry led the way in using mass production methods, in creating jobs, and in promoting installment buying. It enjoyed a phenomenal growth, gave employment to millions, and directly and indirectly helped a number of related industries — steel, coal, oil, road building, cement, rubber. The radio industry also enjoyed a remarkable development; so, too, did the



Underwood & Underwood

President Harding poses with his Cabinet. The President (*left*) and Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State (*right*), are in the foreground.



From a cartoon by Herb Roth in the old *Life*. Courtesy Mr. Berry Rockwell

During the boom years many Americans traveled abroad. This cartoon comments: "If thoughtful American tourists would only send their pocketbooks abroad and not inflict themselves on the sensitive Europeans."

This cartoon, *Why Not Get Together,* is a plea to lower tariff walls to foster international trade. It was partly answered by the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act of 1934.



From a cartoon by Fitzpatrick. Courtesy *St. Louis Post Dispatch*

motion-picture industry. All required warehouses, show rooms, office space, and homes for workers near the newly established centers of industry. This led to a boom in the building trades. State and city governments plunged into debt to construct thousands of miles of hard-surfaced roads, arterial highways, boulevards, and parkways. Mass production reduced the number of skilled workers needed in industry and created a demand for semiskilled or easily trained workers. Labor unions declined in importance. The "service industries" expanded.

There was improvement and change everywhere — in office practices, in the methods of marketing and selling goods, in transportation. The bus began to take the place of the trolley car, and the automobile truck lessened the volume of freight handled by the railroads; the airplane industry began to expand; the mechanical refrigerator and a variety of electrical appliances came into general use. The business of producing and selling electricity leaped forward; this, in turn, led to demands for the construction of hydroelectric plants, central power stations, transmission lines. Public utilities also provided a fruitful field for speculative investment and for huge consolidations of capital and a network of holding companies (pages 578–583).

Credit expansion. During World War I the United States had become a creditor nation; following the war, the United States invested more than fifteen billion dollars abroad. With this borrowed money foreign countries purchased American products. American export industries thrived; and they, in turn, gave business to other industries. Banking and other credit institutions — such as savings and loan associations — adopted lending policies which promoted boom conditions. Between 1922 and 1929 there was a fifteen-billion-dollar expansion in the loans and investments of commercial banks. Speculative loans were freely made to industry, to real estate operators, and to cities, counties, and states both at home and abroad. Commercial banks, departing from their customary practices, began to finance loans that were not eligible for rediscount at the Federal Reserve Banks. Some banks organized affiliated corporations to engage in financial activities not approved by the banking laws. Debts as well as credits were pyramided to dizzy heights, and when the crash came the impact was all the more devastating.

Gangsterism. During this period "the noble experiment" of prohibition was accompanied by bootlegging, gangsterism, racketeering, and a general disrespect for law and its enforcement. Crimes of violence increased. Too often there was a profitable connection between the underworld and the law-enforcing agencies. In the midst of prosperity America's crime record was the worst in the world (pages 452–453).

Warning signs. In spite of general prosperity there was unemployment. Unheeded voices pointed out that there was poverty in the midst of plenty, that the swollen national income was not well distributed,

and that the wealth produced was concentrated in a relatively small percentage of the population (pages 438–440). All through the boom years, in addition to the low income of the mass of the workers, there were important danger signs. Among them was the decline in railroad revenue. Many railroads could not pay dividends to holders of railroad stock, although this had long been regarded as a sound investment. Another warning sign was the unsound expansion of credit; still another was the decline in farm income. In the midst of industrial prosperity there was a great rural depression, but the rest of the country failed to show any serious concern about the farmers' problems.

THE RAILROADS ENTER A PERIOD OF HARD TIMES

The decline in railroad revenue. The decline in railroad traffic from 1920–29 is significant, because these were years of unusual industrial activity. We have seen that the government had operated the railroads during the war, and, because of the heavy wartime traffic, scarcity of labor and raw materials, had not kept rolling stock in good repair. During the boom years, although many railroads suffered a great falling off in revenue, some six billion dollars were spent in new railroad equipment and in the improvement of railroad service. It was hoped that the increase in electrified mileage, the introduction of the Diesel-type engine, the use of lighter yet more powerful locomotives, and the introduction of streamlined trains — all leading to greater speed and comfort in long-distance travel — would check the marked decline in "passenger miles."

The causes of the decline in railroad traffic were: (1) the constantly increasing use of the passenger automobile, motor truck, and the motorbus; (2) the construction of pipe lines for the long-distance transportation of oil, taking away from the railroads a large volume of traffic; (3) competition with the railroads by improved inland waterways and by coastal shipping. Intercoastal tonnage through the Panama Canal increased more than 600 per cent, while traffic on inland waterways, except on the Great Lakes, increased nearly 100 per cent.

The demands of the railroads. To remedy the conditions resulting from these new forms of competition, the railroads themselves, in strange contrast to their tune a quarter century before, demanded a still further enlargement of the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission. They demanded briefly: (1) that the jurisdiction of the Commission should be extended to include coastal steamship lines; (2) that railroads be given the right to "operate steamship lines coastally and on the Great Lakes on the same terms under which steamship lines operate"; (3) that the interstate passenger omnibus lines be subject to federal regulation; (4) that railroads should be granted the right to operate trucks and omnibuses; (5) that the license fees for commercial

motor vehicles should approximate the cost of maintaining highways; (6) that the oil industry give up ownership of pipe lines.

Effect of the depression on railroad revenues and securities. Although these demands arose in response to a steady decline in traffic, the railroads were unable to obtain any substantial relief from Congress until the serious depression of 1929 threatened the stability of railroad stocks and bonds. For years railroad bonds, along with government bonds, had been considered ideal investments for savings banks, insurance companies, and trust funds, but in 1931 nearly all of the weaker railroad companies and many of the strongest as well were in the hands of receivers. In January, 1932, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was authorized to lend money to needy railroads in order that their maturing bond obligations could be met, to save the railroad system from utter collapse (pages 554–556). The effort to sustain the railroads by government funds was inspired by a desire to avoid a disastrous breakdown of our entire credit structure.

A GREAT RURAL DEPRESSION PRECEDES GENERAL COLLAPSE

Agrarian discontent once more. Just as serious as the conditions of the railroad industry was the low income of the farmers of the nation. Once again in our history there was a prolonged period of agrarian unrest and discontent. Unlike the farm problem in the last third of the nineteenth century, the farm problem in the 1920's and 1930's was not primarily a problem of credit, for various laws had been passed to help the farmer get credit (page 551); it was a problem of *declining markets, surplus production*, and *overexpansion of crop acreage.*

Effects of World War I on agriculture. World War I brought temporary prosperity to the farmers. With the slogan "Food will win the war," and the lure of high prices, farmers cultivated a larger acreage, buying land at two or three times its normal value and borrowing money to purchase expensive farm machinery. When the war ended and prices dropped, thousands of farmers were bankrupt. The continued production of a surplus tended to keep farm prices down, so that the farm problem became chronic. Thousands of farms were abandoned. It is estimated that the farm population, which in 1920 amounted to thirty-one million, had dropped to about twenty-seven million in 1930.

Farm tenancy. Farm wages, the value of farm land, and the standard of living on the farm steadily declined after 1920, while farm tenancy was on the increase (that is, an increasing number of farmers rented instead of owned the farms they worked). The increase in farm tenancy was caused largely by declining prices and the inability of the farmer to pay his taxes or the interest on his mortgage. In 1910, 35 per cent of all the farms in the United States were operated by farm tenants; in 1920, 38 per cent; in 1930, 42.5 per cent; and estimates for

later years place it as high as 50 per cent. The percentage of farm tenancy differs in the different sections, being as low as 6 per cent in the New England states and as high as 63 per cent in the South Central states. This trend of the farm population *from independent landowner to propertyless tenant* is in itself a *social fact of great importance.*

Agriculture and the machine age. Despite the decline in the number of farms and farmers, America's farm production did not decline. The reason for this was the continued mechanization of agriculture and the increasing use of scientific methods of farming. The combine, the tractor, the internal-combustion stationary engine, the corn picker, the cotton sledder, the cream separator, and a hundred other kinds of machines took the place of farm laborers. As an illustration, in 1920 there were about two hundred fifty thousand tractors in use on American farms; in 1930 there were about nine hundred thousand. Because of superior mechanical equipment the American farmer produces a larger crop per man than any other farmer in the world. At the same time crop production *per acre* has been lower in the United States than in many European countries, due to the fact that we have not felt any need to economize in the use of land. However, farm machinery is costly and its benefits can be secured only on large farms, or by a group of small farmers co-operating in its purchase and use. Scientific farming and machine farming have tremendously increased output. They have not solved the farmer's problems; they have aggravated them.

As the farmer was bringing more land under cultivation, much of it poor land, and increasing his output through mechanization, he was losing his former world market. Canada, Argentina, Australia, and Russia competed increasingly with the American wheat grower; the British colonies, Japan, and China with our tobacco growers; and India and Egypt with our cotton growers. Moreover, the restriction of immigration and the decline in the rate of population growth prevented any large increase in the demand at home for agricultural products. Changes in the dietary habits of the people, as well as the substitution of tractors and automobiles for approximately ten million horses and mules, further limited the market for American farmers.

THE FARMERS AGAIN CRUSADE FOR REFORM

Farm co-operative associations. Apart from the "industrialization" of the farm, probably the most important development among American farmers is the organization of co-operative enterprises of various sorts. This movement is in itself a significant social development, because the American farmer is, by tradition, imbued with a spirit of independence, initiative, and self-reliance.

The success of the California Fruit Growers Exchange, organized in 1895 to pack, grade, and market oranges and lemons, stimulated the

formation of other co-operatives. Co-operative associations exist for the sale of grain, fruit, vegetables, milk, cheese, eggs, nuts, cotton, tobacco, and wool and many other products. By 1945 there were approximately 550 very large co-operative *marketing* associations, which did a total annual business of about $3,000,000,000. There were 17 large purchasing co-operatives which bought feed, gasoline, farm machinery, and other supplies. In addition to the "super" co-operatives, there were about 10,000 other co-operatives. There are also several federations of local or regional co-operatives. Approximately one third of all the farmers are identified with one or more co-operative organizations, the total membership being about 6,500,000. The total annual business of all co-operatives in 1950 was nearly $9,000,000,000; 80 per cent of this total was handled by the large marketing co-operatives. Co-operative marketing acts have been passed by several states. The federal government has also fostered the formation and improvement of co-operatives. Private business has objected to two important advantages that the government has given co-operatives — exemption from the antitrust laws, and exemption from corporate income taxes on patronage dividends paid by the co-operatives.

Membership in the co-operative is for the most part limited to producing farmers. The farmer contracts to sell his crop to the association either for a season or for a period of years. The association then undertakes to store, process, ship, and market the commodity. The farmer's share in the profits of the co-operative depends on the volume of goods he contributes to the total amount handled by the organization. The farmer is thus relieved of the worry and expense involved in handling his crop. The association, on the other hand, can obtain the economies of large-scale operation. Co-operatives also help the farmer by reducing his need to borrow money, because many co-operatives make part payments to the farmer while his crop is growing. The co-operative associations own warehouses, refrigerator cars, grain elevators, and machinery for handling, assembling, grading, and processing the products they handle. They also advertise, distribute, and sell the product.

The best co-operative organizations are local units controlled by the farmers themselves. When these are well federated with similar units a democratic organization of considerable strength results. The National Association of Co-operatives has been formed to promote the interests of co-operatives. Despite the tremendous development of farm co-operatives in the twentieth century, the American co-operative movement lags far behind that of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

Political action by the farmers. 1. The Nonpartisan League. A farmers' Nonpartisan League, organized in North Dakota in 1915, secured control of the state legislatures in some Western states. The Nonpartisan League established state-owned flour mills and terminal elevators and a state-owned and operated bank. It also got the state

legislature to provide for loans to home builders and purchasers. This experiment in state socialism attracted attention to the plight of the farmer.

2. Rise of the farm bloc in Congress. As the Nonpartisan League declined in influence, continued unrest among farmers led to the loose organization of a farm bloc in Congress. The *farm bloc* consists of senators and congressmen of both the Republican and Democratic parties who forget their party differences to promote laws to benefit the farmer.

Accomplishments of the farm bloc in the 1920's. In 1922 President Harding called a conference in Washington of representatives of the farmers, packers, and bankers. This conference adopted resolutions favoring the farmers' demands: easier means of securing loans, large storage facilities that they might hold their products for more favorable markets, and government aid in the development of co-operative marketing. In 1922 co-operative associations were exempted from the anti-trust laws and permitted to market their produce in interstate commerce (Capper-Volstead Act). A Grain Futures Trading Act was passed to prevent gambling in grain; a Filled Milk Act protected dairymen from competition with adulterated milk; and a Packers and Stockyards Act gave the Secretary of Agriculture power to prevent price manipulation and unfair practices by stockyards and packing houses. The farmers were also given representation on the Federal Reserve Board. At various times the tariff was adjusted to give farmers the benefit of protection.

To improve the farmers' credit facilities an Agricultural Credit Act extended the services of the Federal Farm Loan Banks. These banks, which had been created in 1916 to assist the farmer in securing long-time loans to purchase land, equipment, and livestock, had proved successful in reducing interest charges. The new act (1923) provided for the creation of Federal Intermediate Credit Banks to help farmers borrow money for short periods — six months to three years. Later, these farm credit agencies were reorganized and new ones were established (page 571).

Price fixing and the problem of the surplus. These measures, important as they were, were regarded as inadequate. As the farm depression continued, the farmers, whose brief heyday of prosperity did not compare favorably with the prosperity enjoyed by the industrial classes, demanded *economic parity with industry*. In general, the farmers wanted the government to fix the domestic price of agricultural commodities and help the farmers to dispose of surplus production abroad. This plan was embodied in the McNary-Haugen Bill, which twice passed Congress (1927, 1928) only to be vetoed by President Coolidge. In his veto messages Coolidge condemned the price-fixing features of the bill, declaring that they would stimulate overproduction and encourage wasteful distribution.

The campaign of 1928. Coolidge could probably have secured the Republican nomination in 1928 and been re-elected. But in 1927 he issued the laconic and somewhat ambiguous statement that he did not "choose to run" in 1928.

1. The candidates. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, became an active candidate for the Republican nomination. Mr. Hoover was a mining engineer who had achieved an international reputation while directing American Relief in Belgium in the early years of the war. Later he served with distinction as Food Administrator. He had been Secretary of Commerce in the cabinets of Presidents Harding and Coolidge. His abilities and services to the country had won wide popular acclaim. Except for the efforts of the farmers to secure the nomination of someone who would better represent their interests, there was not any substantial opposition to Hoover's nomination.

The logic of events pointed to Alfred E. Smith, governor of New York, as the Democratic nominee. By repeated elections to the governorship of New York, he had proved his ability to win votes in a state normally Republican. He had given the state a progressive administration and had been the champion of popular reforms, many of which he carried through despite the opposition of a Republican legislature. However, Smith was objectionable to many Democrats on three counts: he was a Catholic; he was opposed to prohibition; and he was a member of Tammany, a political organization identified the country over with the worst type of machine politics. Despite these handicaps, Smith secured the Democratic nomination.

2. The issues. Mr. Smith criticized the Republicans for inactivity during the farm depression. He tried to arouse popular enthusiasm for the development of waterpower facilities, but the great single issue of the campaign became his attack on prohibition. Even this issue was outranked in popular interest by the question of whether or not a Catholic ought to be permitted to become President. The Constitution, of course, specifies that no religious test shall be required of any candidate for the presidency, but many parts of the country are overwhelmingly Protestant. Moreover, for some years the Ku Klux Klan had been active (page 451). Smith was, therefore, the victim of an "undercover" campaign which sought to stir up religious sentiment against him. Many Southern leaders bolted the Democratic party and either refused to support Smith or actively supported Hoover.

3. The result. Hoover carried the country by a large majority. The Solid South was broken. Texas, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia, for the first time since Reconstruction, gave their electoral votes to a Republican. Hoover also carried the border states of Kentucky and Tennessee. Smith even failed to carry New York. Hoover's elec-

toral vote was 444; Smith's was 87. The total vote was the largest cast up to that time — 37,400,000, and Hoover's plurality was 6,500,000.

In the last days of the campaign Hoover promised to call a special session of Congress to carry out plans for farm relief and to undertake a limited revision of the tariff in the interests of agriculture. Shortly after his inauguration he summoned Congress in special session to keep these promises.

The Federal Farm Board, 1929–33. Congress responded by passing the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929. This law created a Federal Farm Board with control of a half-billion-dollar sinking fund to be lent to stabilization corporations and co-operative marketing associations. These agencies were to purchase, store, and process farm products in order to control the marketing and price of surplus farm products. But the plan did not work. By 1932 the agencies of the Farm Board found themselves in possession of large surpluses purchased at prices far above the existing market prices. How and where to dispose of the surplus, how to pay for the cost of storing it, and how to make up the loss due to the drop in prices became a serious problem. The sinking fund was entirely used up, yet prices were lower than when the Board began its work. Once again the farm problem was to be a major issue in a presidential campaign (pages 556–557).

The Hawley-Smoot, or "Grundy," Tariff of 1930. Having tried to "do something" for agriculture, Congress turned its attention to the tariff and did not complete its labors until after the stock market crash of 1929. The President failed to exercise leadership during the long debate. The farm bloc endeavored to put into the tariff law an "export debenture" plan to give the exporter of farm surpluses a bonus to compensate for the losses sustained by selling a portion of his crop at world prices. But this feature was finally voted down. The tariff imposed average duties approximately 20 per cent higher than those of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff of 1922. The tariff schedules were bitterly contested every step of the way. Opponents of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff refer to it as the "Grundy" Tariff, after a tariff lobbyist who bluntly stated that he had solicited campaign funds for the Republican party and expected that his friends would be rewarded with the kind of tariff they wanted. Having been appointed senator by the governor of Pennsylvania, Mr. Grundy arranged the necessary "logrolling" compromises to get the bill through Congress. The tariff controversy was especially notable: (1) because of the protests of European powers against American tariff walls and their threatened reprisals, which were carried into effect in 1931 and 1932; (2) because many manufacturers protested against increased tariff schedules on the ground that they would interfere with American exports; (3) because the economists of the country signed a statement protesting against the bill and urging Hoover to veto it; and (4) because the Hawley-Smoot Tariff kept the flexible clause of

the Fordney Act. Undoubtedly the Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930 was a very important factor in promoting the suicidal economic nationalism which characterized the policies of nations in the 1930's. A prolonged and bitter economic war between the nations of the world preceded the outbreak of armed hostilities in 1939.

HARD TIMES REACT AGAINST THE REPUBLICANS

The collapse of prosperity. Throughout his administration Mr. Hoover was sorely tried by one of the worst depressions in the nation's history. The depression began early in 1929 with a marked decline in the prices of basic raw materials, such as steel and coal. However, only a few voices crying in the wilderness called attention to the warning signs. The collapse of stock market prices in October, 1929, came to most people as a rude shock. President Hoover advocated public improvements to relieve unemployment and to stimulate business. Local public works, instead of being carried on with vigor, were drastically curtailed, largely because taxes remained unpaid. In 1930 Congress, at the urging of the President, appropriated $300,000,000 for public works. But this was not enough to "prime" the pump, and bread lines lengthened as unemployment increased. Stock prices continued to decline, foreign trade dwindled to almost nothing, banks failed in large numbers, and the treasuries of cities and states were in desperate plight. The federal treasury faced a constantly increasing deficit.

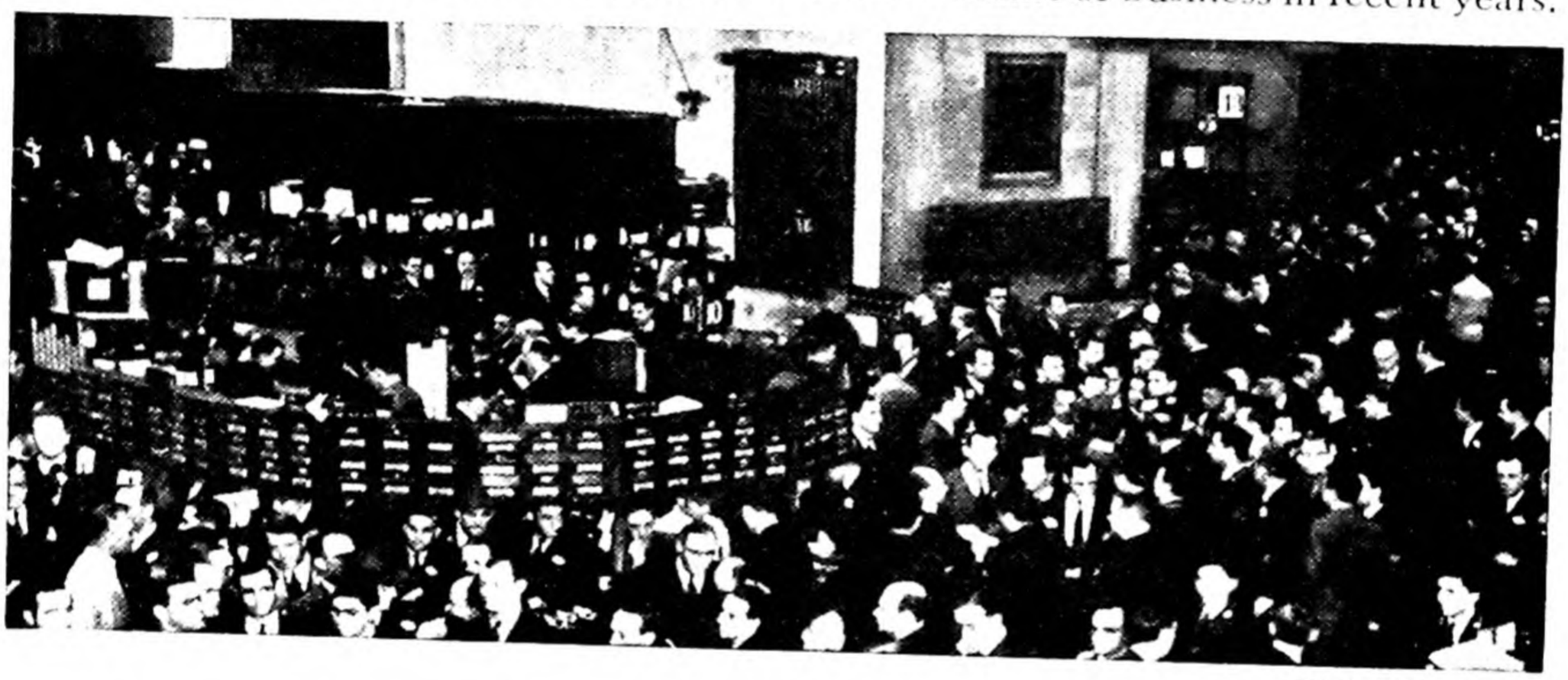
At first Mr. Hoover and many leaders in government and business endeavored to reassure the people that "prosperity was just around the corner." But as exports fell off, taxes remained unpaid, banks failed, and the government deficit mounted, the administration searched about for means to curb the ravages of the depression. The administration feebly experimented with public works. In 1931 President Hoover proposed to the European powers a moratorium on war debts and reparations. In 1932 Congress hurriedly passed the Glass-Steagall Banking Act. This was an emergency amendment to the Federal Reserve Act which permitted member banks to borrow more freely from the Federal Reserve Banks. The special purpose of this law was to help the banks to "thaw out" some of the "frozen" assets they had acquired during the speculative craze.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation. In 1932 Congress also created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This agency was given control of a two billion dollar fund which it could lend to banks, railroads, and insurance companies. The first chairman of the R.F.C. was the former Vice-President, Mr. Charles G. Dawes. The R.F.C. became the chief agency through which the government undertook to check the progress of the panic. It was continued and strengthened under the New Deal. Some of the measures later used by Mr. Roose-



Charles Phelps Cushing

This co-operative grain mill is in North Carolina. Both producers' and consumers' co-operatives have increased in number and in volume of business in recent years.



Philip Gendreau

The New York Stock Exchange, whose main trading room is shown above, is the most important securities exchange in the United States. Only members may trade in this exchange.

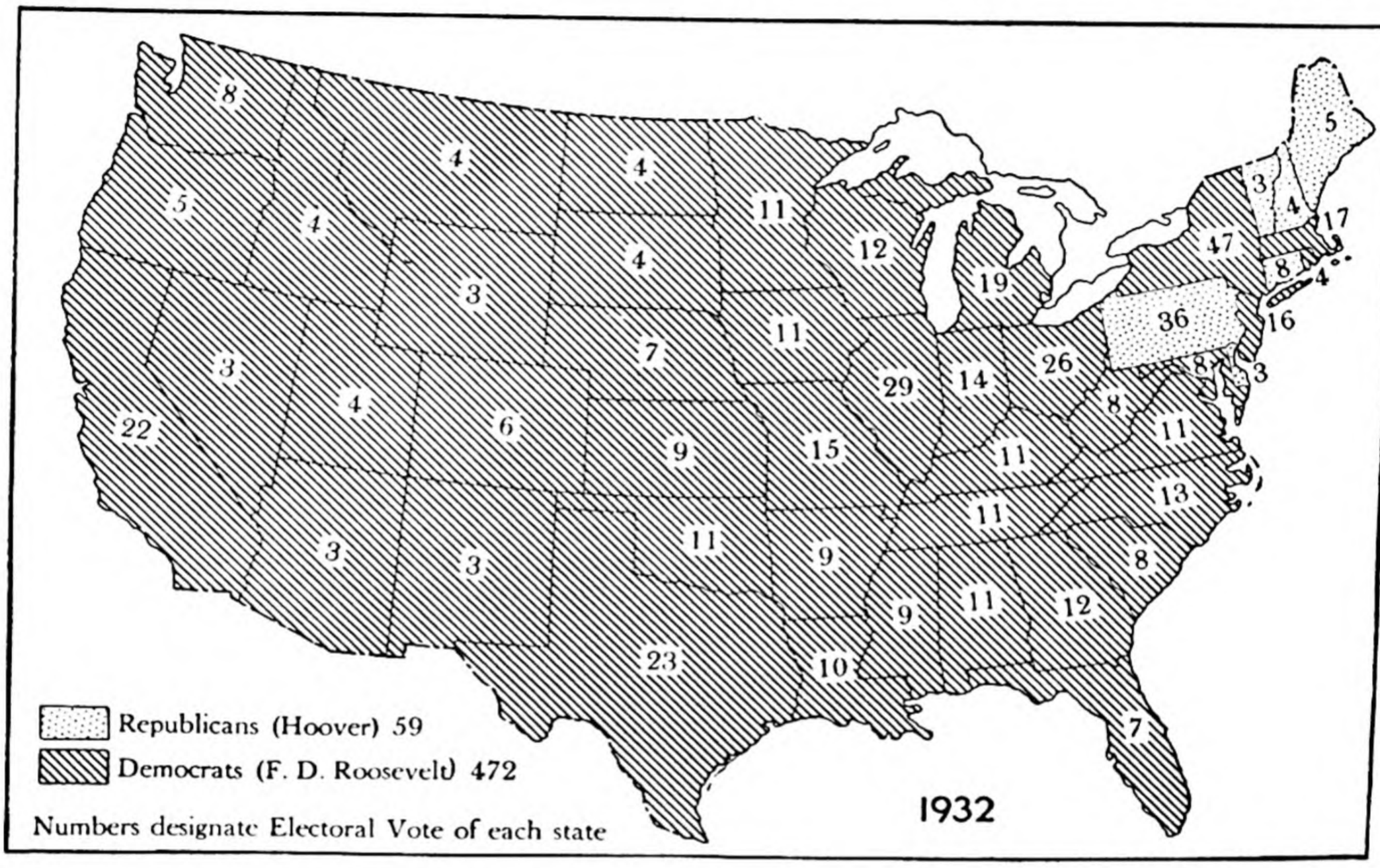


Associated Press Photo

President Hoover is photographed on the lawn of the White House in 1932 just after he was renominated by the Republican National Convention in Chicago.

velt — public works, "deficit financing," and the R.F.C. — were originally inaugurated under the Republican administration of Mr. Hoover.

Revelations of the Pecora Committee. In April, 1932, the Senate committee on banking and currency, with Mr. Ferdinand Pecora as counsel, started to investigate banking practices and the security exchanges. This committee revealed to public gaze the details of how men prominent in the business and banking world organized speculative pools, trumped up holding companies to evade taxes or to "milk" operating companies of their earnings, encouraged the inexperienced



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1932

investor to invest his entire savings on Wall Street. Worthless foreign and domestic stocks and bonds were unloaded upon the public. Banks and bankers, who should have had as their primary concerns the soundness of enterprise and the protection of the man with small savings unfamiliar with the trickery of high finance, lent the dignity and respectability of their names to these speculations, and incidentally shared in the loot. The speculative mania encouraged by banks kept capital out of productive employment and was a major factor in causing and intensifying the depression of 1929.

The election of 1932. In the Republican convention at Chicago in June, 1932, President Hoover easily secured renomination. Shortly after, at the Democratic convention, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York was chosen as the Democratic standard-bearer, with Speaker John N. Garner of Texas as his running mate. The outcome of the campaign was never in doubt. Hard times had developed in the popular imagination such a strong argument against Hoover's re-election that

his almost single-handed, yet strenuous, efforts to defend his administration were of no avail. The Democratic victory was sweeping. Roosevelt carried 42 states, had a popular plurality of 6,500,000, and an electoral vote of 472. Hoover had but 59 electoral votes. The Democrats increased their majority in the House and obtained control of the Senate. In his campaign speeches Roosevelt had urged the people to replace Republicans with Democrats as a means of securing a "new deal." The New Deal vigorously and promptly addressed itself to a series of far-reaching reforms in our social and economic structure. The old issues — banking and currency, labor and capital, transportation and public utilities, taxation and inflation, the farm problem, the relation of government to business — were the problems with which the New Deal had to come to grips. Once again the American people had to learn the important lesson that, in spite of an apparent desire to do so, the world's greatest industrial nation could not avoid foreign problems of great moment. And once again war brought an end to domestic reform, as well as an end to a protracted period of hard times. But World War II undoubtedly created more serious problems for the future of the American people than those it temporarily brushed aside.

Words and Phrases

co-operatives, farm bloc, Federal Farm Board (1929), farm tenancy, "Ohio gang," national budget, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, return to normalcy, Fordney-McCumber Tariff, 1922, Hawley-Smoot, or "Grundy," Tariff, 1930

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. Why did progressivism give way to normalcy in the 1920's?
2. What is the strength and weakness of the national budget system? What further reforms can you suggest? What would be the obstacles?
3. Explain the "flexible provision" of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff (1922) and the Hawley-Smoot, or "Grundy," Tariff of 1930. Discuss, pro and con, the value of the "flexible clause."
4. How did the condition of the railroads in the 1920's weaken the nation's credit structure and affect prosperity?
5. List the various forces, domestic and foreign, which influenced American agriculture in the period 1900–30.
6. Explain the statement that the terms "declining markets," "farm surplus," "overexpansion of crop acreage," are *relative to time, place,* and *profits.*
7. What are some of the social implications of the increase in farm tenancy?
8. What were the purposes and accomplishments of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League? The farm bloc?
9. What measures did the Republican administration of Hoover take to alleviate "hard times"?
10. Explain what is meant by "deficit financing."
11. Compare the work and findings of the Pujo Committee of 1912 (page 528) with the work and findings of the Pecora Committee of 1932 (pages 556, 564).

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Is the administration in any way responsible for good or bad times? Consider Cleveland and the Democrats in 1893, Coolidge and the Republicans in 1923–29, Hoover and the Republicans in 1929–32.
2. Make a detailed study of a co-operative farm organization, describing its origin, organization, methods, and accomplishments. Read and report on Marquis Childs' *Sweden, the Middle Way.* Why have co-operatives been more successful in some European countries than in the United States?
3. Investigate and report on the experiments with state socialism in North Dakota. To what extent have these and similar "grass roots" experiments in the states influenced federal policy in the last few decades?
4. Investigate and report on the contemporary criticism of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act. How did the Act affect the policies of European nations?
5. Investigate and report on what the Democratic and Republican platforms of 1928 and 1932 had to say on the subjects of agriculture, prohibition, and public utilities.
6. Investigate and report on the manifesto published by economists on the Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930. Suggest reasons why Congress has not undertaken to enact a general tariff law since 1930. How has Congress dealt with the problem of the tariff (page 592)?

Suggested Reading

THE RETURN TO NORMALCY: Adams, S. H., *Incredible Era;* Beard and Beard, II, pp. 663–712; Beard and Beard, *America in Midpassage,* pp. 1–113; Faulkner, *From Versailles to the New Deal* (Y.C.S.), pp. 32–92; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 460–470; Hart, V, pp. 831–836; Nevins and Hacker, eds., *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs, 1918–1943,* pp. 105–165; Schlesinger, pp. 305–317.

FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS: Beard and Beard, II, pp. 693–694, 710–712; Black, *Agricultural Reform in the United States,* pp. 337–348; Faulkner, *From Versailles to the New Deal* (Y.C.S.), pp. 266–278; Gabriel, *Toilers of Land and Sea* (Pageant), Chap. XI; Gee, *American Farm Policy,* pp. 25–65; Gee, *The Place of Agriculture in American Life,* pp. 100–153; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 526–534; Schlesinger, pp. 334–336; Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After,* pp. 190–218.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

559

Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal

MR. ROOSEVELT FEARLESSLY ATTACKS THE DEPRESSION

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933–45. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a distant cousin of Theodore Roosevelt, came from an old and well-to-do New York family. He was born at Hyde Park, Dutchess County, New York, January 30, 1882. After his graduation from Harvard he studied law. He entered politics in 1910 as a candidate for state senator on the Democratic ticket in a district which traditionally elected Republicans to office. Roosevelt's victory attracted attention. So, too, did his career in the state legislature, where he led a group of progressive Democrats in opposing the Democratic machine in New York. In 1912 he managed President Wilson's campaign in New York and was rewarded with the Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy. In 1920 he was the vice-presidential nominee of the Democratic party. Shortly thereafter he was stricken with paralysis; he waged a gallant fight for health, and in the meantime engaged in extensive correspondence with prominent political leaders throughout the country. In 1924 he went before the Democratic Convention to nominate Alfred E. Smith for the presidency as "the Happy Warrior." He nominated Smith again in 1928, and he finally yielded to Smith's plea to stand for the governorship of New York. Although Smith lost the electoral vote in New York, Roosevelt won the governorship. He was elected again in 1930. By 1932 Roosevelt's record and career, in spite of his physical handicap, had made him the outstanding Democrat in the country. He easily won the presidential nomination, and he easily defeated Hoover.

F.D.R., as he was commonly known, dominated American political life for twelve years. He became President in the midst of a great domestic crisis. His first administration was devoted to finding a solution of that crisis; in his second administration he became the leader and molder of American public opinion as war clouds gathered in Europe. The victories of Germany in 1940 forced the United States to deal with an international crisis even more threatening than the domestic crisis of 1933. In 1940 Mr. Roosevelt broke with tradition, became the Democratic presidential candidate for a third term, and was

elected. In his third administration he had to deal with the complex problems of a global war of gigantic proportions. The United States emerged as the world's greatest industrial, military, and naval power. Mr. Roosevelt became the architect of victory, and the advocate of an international organization to secure peace. He became a world leader. He ran for President for a fourth time in 1944 and was again re-elected. Less than three months after his fourth inauguration he died suddenly, April 12, 1945, just as American, Russian, and English armies were within sight of victory.

Although many people consider Mr. Roosevelt was a great leader and statesman, many others regard him merely as an able politician. He used politics as an instrument to advance causes which he believed worth while. Gifted with a speaking voice of great charm, Mr. Roosevelt used the radio effectively. F.D.R. had a remarkable sense of timing; he knew when to advance boldly, when to consolidate, and when to retreat. Even his warm supporters were sometimes annoyed at his apparent inconsistencies; his political enemies found much to criticize; but the majority of the people followed him, many with fervor and devotion. Dynamic, courageous, virile, friendly, jovial, he had the rare gift of getting along with all sorts of people; he also had the ability to spread his crusading zeal to those around him. Such was the man who led the destinies of the American people in one of the most momentous periods in its history. He died with his work unfinished, but his influence continued to be felt in the postwar period. By mid-twentieth century Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson were the only Presidents who had exercised a comparable leadership in stimulating the American people to great accomplishments.

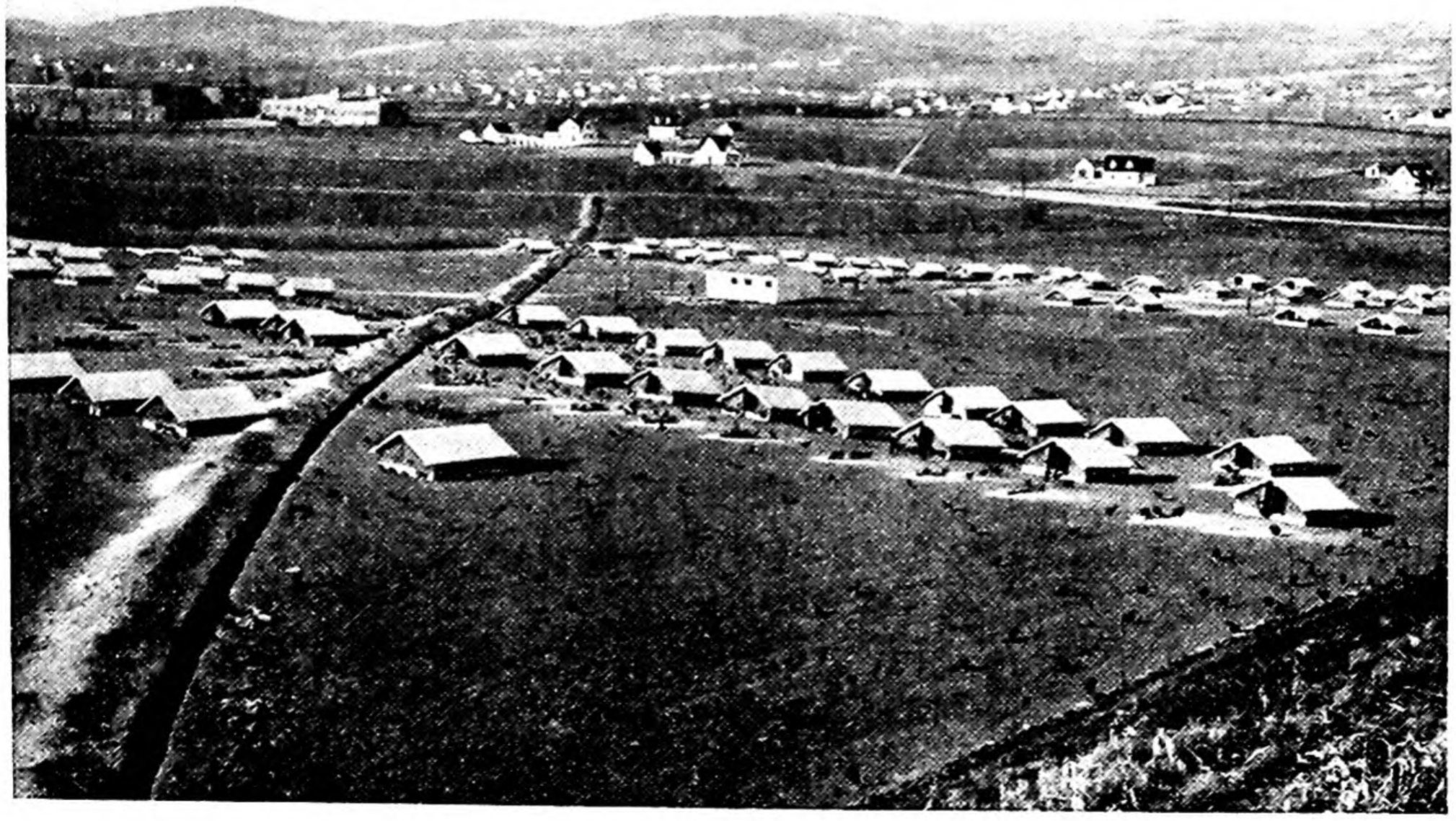
The ravages of the depression. Between Roosevelt's election in November, 1932, and his inauguration in March, 1933, conditions throughout the country seemed to grow worse. Millions of farm families were penniless; about thirteen million workers were unemployed; the national income had declined from about eighty-five billion dollars in 1929 to about forty billion dollars in 1932. In the same period about six thousand banks had failed. Taxes were unpaid, and states and cities could not give adequate relief to the destitute and needy.

A promise and its fulfillment. In his inaugural address Mr. Roosevelt gave the people hope and courage. He boldly declared: "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself — nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror. . . . This nation asks for action, and action now." Mr. Roosevelt kept his word. Congress was called into special session for March 9, and in a hundred swift-moving days, under Roosevelt's driving, hammered out a series of laws to meet the emergency. Much of the New Deal legislation was temporary and experimental, and some of it contained contradictions and inconsistencies. Mr. Roosevelt once compared himself to the quarterback of a football team who calls for



Acme

President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Admiral Clarke C. Block stand at attention on the deck of a United States cruiser. "F.D.R." had a real love for the sea.



Courtesy Library of Congress

Some of the most controversial legislation of the New Deal revolved around its efforts to aid the farmer. From 1935–37 the Resettlement Administration undertook to help the farmer through "subsistence homestead" projects. This chicken farm near Greensburg, Pennsylvania, is one such project.

the plays he thinks may have a chance for success at a given moment in the game. As the emergency disappeared some New Deal measures ceased to have any importance, but as time passed many New Deal laws were strengthened and improved. In his second inaugural Mr. Roosevelt thus summarized the major items in the New Deal program: "The recovery we sought was not to be merely temporary. It was to be a recovery protected from the causes of previous disasters. With that aim in view — to prevent a future similar crisis — you and I joined in a series of enactments: (1) safe banking and sound currency, (2) the guarantee of bank deposits, (3) protection for the investor in securities, (4) the removal of the threat of agricultural surpluses, (5) insistence on collective bargaining, (6) the outlawing of sweat shops, child labor, and unfair trade practices, and (7) the beginnings of security for the aged and the worker."

THE NEW DEAL ESTABLISHES A STRICT SUPERVISION OF BANKING, CREDIT, AND INVESTMENT

A scathing attack. The alarming number of bank failures led to this stinging indictment in President Roosevelt's first inaugural address:

> Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily, this is because the rulers of exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money-changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion. . . . We require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

The bank holiday, 1933. When Roosevelt criticized the "money-changers" in his inaugural address most of the banks in the country, including those of the great financial center, New York, had been closed. On March 5, 1933, President Roosevelt proclaimed a bank holiday for the whole country. On March 9 Congress passed an emergency Banking Act, which gave the President power to open sound banks and to place unsound banks in the hands of conservators who were to safeguard the interests of depositors. The promptness and vigor of the administration quickly restored confidence; in a short time thirteen thousand of the sixteen thousand banks were reopened; and as the months passed others were put in a sound condition and permitted to reopen.

The Banking Act of June, 1933. The Banking Act of June, 1933, attempted to remedy some of the abuses that had crept into banking during the boom years. Its chief provisions were: (1) After one year, Federal Reserve member banks had to give up their security "affiliates"

(the term used to describe subsidiary corporations organized by banks to promote investment enterprises and the sale of securities). (2) Corporations engaged in the issuance and sale of securities could not handle deposits. (3) After January, 1934, bank officials could not be officials in investment institutions. (4) Federal Reserve Banks were given the right to withhold privileges from member banks whose loans and investments were considered speculative. These provisions separated completely investment and commercial banking. The Banking Act of 1933 also created a Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to liquidate the deposits of closed banks and to insure deposits in open banks.

The Banking Act of 1935. In 1935 Congress passed a comprehensive Banking Act to replace the emergency banking acts passed since 1932. 1. Changes in the organization of the Federal Reserve System. The old Federal Reserve Board went out of existence on February 1, 1936, and a new Board, known as the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, took its place. Several safeguards were thrown around the make up of the new Board in order to insure its political independence. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency were no longer ex-officio members. The Board was reorganized to consist of seven members appointed by the President. (b) The term of office is fourteen years, and a member is not eligible for reappointment. Ordinarily only two new members will be appointed during each presidential administration.

2. Reserve requirements. The Board of Governors was given the power to double the existing reserve requirements of member banks. The law also required the twelve Federal Reserve Banks to fix their discount rate every other week; and the Board of Governors may compel a more frequent revision of discount rates.

3. Liquid assets and centralized control of flexible note issue. The law provided great liquidity for the assets of member banks, for it permitted Reserve Banks to discount assets not previously eligible for rediscount. This made it possible for the Reserve Banks to allow a much greater expansion or contraction of the currency than formerly. Government bonds, as in the past, could also be used as security for note issues. By buying or selling government securities in the open market, the Reserve Banks (through an Open-Market Committee) could also expand or contract their note issue.

4. Deposit insurance through the F.D.I.C. Finally, the new law provided permanently, through the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (F.D.I.C.), for the insurance of bank deposits up to $5000 for each depositor. Membership in the F.D.I.C. is open to all banks which meet its standards. The F.D.I.C. examines those banks whose deposits it insures; and therefore it exercises partial regulation and control of them. About 95 per cent of all the banks in the country have joined the F.D.I.C. In 1950, deposits up to $10,000 were insured.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BRINGS THE SECURITIES AND COMMODITY EXCHANGES UNDER ITS SUPERVISION

Regulating the sale of securities. This banking legislation put investment banking — the underwriting and floating of stock and bond issues — outside the control of the Federal Reserve System. A way had to be found, therefore, to protect the investor in stocks and bonds and to regulate the securities exchanges.

1. The Truth-in-Securities Act of 1933. This law, in Mr. Roosevelt's terse summary, applied the principle, "Let the seller beware," to the sale of securities. It provided that issues of stocks and bonds would have to be registered with the Federal Trade Commission (the new Securities and Exchange Commission was substituted by the law of 1934). Detailed information concerning the purpose of the issue and the persons, corporations, and directors interested in the handling of the securities had to be furnished to the Commission. The law provided heavy penalties for false statements in filing information with the Commission or in advertising.

2. The Securities and Exchange Commission. (S.E.C.) Throughout most of 1933 the Pecora Committee continued to disclose the shocking practices that had crept into the sale of securities and the operation of the stock exchanges. In 1934 Congress created a Securities and Exchange Commission (composed of five men appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate). Stock exchanges must be registered with the Commission, which can establish rules for their conduct. The law imposed restrictions on borrowing by brokers and exchange members. The S.E.C., one year later, was given the power to supervise the practices of public utility holding companies (page 583).

3. Commodity Exchange Commission. In 1936 Congress established a similar control over commodity exchanges dealing with such products as wheat, cotton, eggs, and the like. A Commodity Exchange Commission was given the power to regulate the amount of trading done by an individual in the commodity exchanges. Commission merchants and brokers were required to register with the Secretary of Agriculture. Warehouses storing goods for future delivery were made subject to inspection by the federal government.

THE PROBLEM OF INFLATION HARASSES THE NEW DEAL

The demand for inflation. In spite of past experiences, there are usually many people who demand currency inflation. The depression of the 1930's was no exception. There were some who wanted outright inflation, and they succeeded in getting laws which authorized the President to adopt such a course of action. But the President was opposed to this extreme program and did not exercise all the powers given to him.

Instead he preferred a mild inflation to check the decline in prices and restore them to levels that had prevailed before the depression.

Steps toward inflation. 1. Abandonment of the gold standard. On March 10, 1933, President Roosevelt issued an order checking the export of gold, and on April 5, 1933, an executive order directed the holders of gold coin, gold bullion, and gold certificates to turn them over to the Federal Reserve Banks and receive in exchange other forms of currency. On June 5, 1933, Congress passed a resolution repealing the gold clause in contracts which called for payment in gold, and declared that all obligations or contracts could be discharged upon payment of any currency which at the time of payment was legal tender. Doubts concerning the constitutionality of this act of Congress were settled in favor of the law by a five-to-four decision of the Supreme Court in 1935.

2. Reduction in the gold content of the dollar. On January 30, 1934, Congress passed a law which compelled the Federal Reserve Banks to surrender to the Treasury their gold in exchange for gold certificates and directed the President to fix the weight of the gold dollar between 50 and 60 per cent of its former weight. On January 31 the President, by executive order, changed the weight of the gold dollar to 59.06 per cent of its former weight.

3. The Silver Purchase Act of 1934. Certain members of Congress, especially those from the mining states, felt that something should be done to improve the monetary status of silver. Congress therefore provided (June 19, 1934) for the purchase by the Treasury of a sufficient amount of silver so that our monetary reserves would be composed of one-fourth silver and three-fourths gold. These silver purchases were to be paid for by silver certificates.

The chief purpose of this and other monetary legislation was to give the President power to establish a "managed currency," to promote foreign trade, to stimulate a rise in prices and business recovery. While prices did rise, it is difficult to determine whether the increase was due to the "reflationary" actions taken by Mr. Roosevelt or to other causes. ("Reflation" is a term used to describe a mild or moderate inflationary program.)

New Deal budgetary problems. The New Deal expenditures for relief, agriculture, and public works were enormous. Between 1930 and 1939 the federal government obtained nearly half its funds by borrowing. When the depression began in 1929 the national debt was about $16,000,000,000. It had increased to nearly $22,000,000,000 under Mr. Hoover; but in July, 1940, it had passed the $43,000,000,000 mark. Since the Federal Reserve Banks have the power to issue Federal Reserve notes on the federal bonds owned by them, the national debt was a form of inflation. Inflationists urged that the debt be paid in paper money, while conservatives wanted expenditures reduced and taxes increased. Neither group obtained what it wanted, largely because the

conflicting pressures each brought to bear upon Congress and the President tended to balance each other.

Proposed solutions for budgetary ills. There are roughly four ways out of the difficulty. Each has its own advocates, yet none of them is likely to secure the wholehearted support of the mass of the people. (1) Outright inflation through the issuance of paper money is one solution. This is dreaded by most people, for it destroys all value. (2) Repudiation of the national debt is another solution. This has the disadvantage of being a confiscatory tax, which takes away the property or savings of those who purchased government bonds; moreover, it would tend seriously to injure the government's credit in the future. (3) Economy is a third solution. This is opposed by those who are in distress and by those who benefit by government expenditures. Not infrequently the representatives of groups which have already obtained government help are the loudest in their objections to granting relief to others. The New Deal helped various groups, banks, railroads, insurance companies, savings and loan associations; it also helped the farmers and the workers in the cities in many ways. Hence some New Deal expenditures were criticized as "wanton extravagance"; or it was claimed that money was spent "to buy an election"; while other New Deal spending was not criticized at all. (4) Taxation is popular only when it falls on the other fellow, and legislative bodies seem to be ever on the search for "painless" forms of taxation which will yield revenue and at the same time not antagonize powerful groups.

The New Deal experimented with all of these measures in some degree. Inflation, or reflation, resulted from the heavy debt or by changing the gold content of the dollar. Repudiation was used in the sense that bonds bearing a low rate of interest were substituted for bonds bearing a higher rate and by permitting the payment of gold bonds in currency other than gold. The New Deal started out to practice economy, but very soon abandoned the attempt, and borrowed and spent billions; the New Deal increased taxes, but not to the extent that some demanded. Throughout the depression, the national budgets remained unbalanced, and the New Deal relied on what economists called "deficit financing." The depression was so severe, the number of unemployed so staggering, and the recovery of business so slow that in retrospect it is difficult to see how the New Deal could have managed differently. The New Deal did not remedy unemployment, nor did it find the way to business recovery. World War II did that. But the New Deal by organizing a program of action did alleviate conditions.

After World War II, the threat of inflation was even more disturbing than during the depression. The cost of living advanced sharply, and the government debt reached dizzy heights. Once again, statesmen, economists, and pressure groups debated the wisdom of proposals to check or promote an inflation.

Relief for the unemployed and the distressed. The New Deal assumed the heavy burden of helping millions without jobs, without savings, and without any source of income. At a time when tax payments to city and state declined rapidly, it became difficult for the states and cities to finance their ordinary activities and impossible for them to care for the millions in need. The federal government both directly and indirectly sought to restore employment and to give relief.

1. Public works. To "prime the pump," to get industry started, the federal government spent billions on public works. A Public Works Administration (P.W.A.) carried out a vast program of public works to provide employment and to stimulate the flow of capital to heavy industries. The P.W.A. allotted funds for schools, hospitals, roads, low-rent housing projects, and numerous other public improvements.

2. A Reforestation Unemployment Act created a Civilian Conservation Corps. At first about three hundred thousand young men and war veterans were enrolled in the C.C.C. Later, for a short time, the enrollment reached about twice this figure; they were housed, fed, and clothed by the government, were paid thirty dollars a month, and did valuable reforestation and flood control work.

3. A Federal Emergency Relief Administration (F.E.R.A.) was created in 1933 to distribute money (supplied by the R.F.C.) to states to supplement their relief work.

4. Not to be confused with the P.W.A. or Public Works Administration is the W.P.A., or Works Progress Administration, which after 1935 became the chief agency used by the federal government to provide employment for those who could not find work. It was a substitute for the "dole" (that is, direct payments to those without work). The W.P.A. was an emergency measure, giving employment to many millions. Among W.P.A. projects were statistical surveys, a federal art and theater project, remedial teaching in schools, minor repairs to roads and to public buildings. The projects were chosen to give work to a wide variety of people, varying from the wholly unskilled to highly trained professional people. Congress insisted that the projects should not compete with private business and should require the least possible amount of materials. To find useful projects under these limitations was far from easy. Some of the W.P.A. work was ridiculed by critics of the administration as "boondoggling."

5. A Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, amended in 1934, created a Home Owners' Loan Corporation with authority to refinance home mortgages at lower rates of interest and with a longer period of time in which to pay the principal. The government also lent cash for making necessary repairs or for reducing the amount of mortgages.

6. A National Housing Act (June 27, 1934) created a Federal Hous-

ing Administration. The purpose of this Act was to finance mortgages for the construction of new homes and the renovation of old ones. Mortgages could be obtained for 80 per cent of the appraised value of the property, at 5 per cent interest, for a period of twenty years. In 1937 Congress created a United States Housing Authority to provide adequate low-cost housing for low-income groups (page 622).

7. A Loans to Industry Act (June 19, 1934) provided that in special cases the Federal Reserve Banks and the R.F.C. could make loans to industrial and commercial enterprises.

8. A National Youth Administration was established in 1935 to help youths between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five to find employment, secure vocational training and guidance, find part-time employment for needy college students, and to give assistance to needy high school students (about six dollars a month).

9. One of the most significant and far-reaching measures of the New Deal to protect people against the hazards of unemployment and old age was the *Social Security Act* of 1935 (pages 622–624).

These laws and others were of great value not only in bringing relief and creating work but also in preventing further deflation and actually saving homes for people who were threatened by foreclosure and the loss of years of savings.

THE NEW DEAL HELPS AGRICULTURE

The first A.A.A., 1933. During the famous hundred days of the special session of Congress in 1933 the first Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed. Previous attempts to aid the farmer were based upon the principle of helping him to dispose of the surplus crops he produced; the law of May 12, 1933, was based upon the principle of giving the farmer a subsidy or bounty not to produce the surplus. It was hoped that if a reasonable price could be maintained for all farm produce, farmers would regain a purchasing power equivalent to that which they enjoyed from 1909 to 1914.

1. Voluntary curtailment of production. These objectives were secured by having the farmer cut down the production of certain specified crops — cotton, field corn, hogs, rice, tobacco, and others. To persuade the farmer to do this, broad powers were given to the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into contracts with farmers to withdraw part of their acreage from cultivation; in return the farmer was to receive a bounty from the government. To obtain money to make these payments the Secretary of Agriculture was empowered to levy a processing tax on the first domestic processing of a commodity (slaughtering cattle, milling wheat).

This plan required thousands of contracts with individual farmers. The farmers co-operated; production was reduced (in 1933 cotton farm-



Courtesy Public Works Administration

Relief workers build a dam, one of the many projects sponsored by the PWA.

A young man in the Civilian Conservation Corps replants a pine tree in Montana. The CCC helped greatly in the reforestation program.



Courtesy United States Forest Service



Courtesy Federal Works Agency

The WPA employed many women in its works program.

ers even plowed under a portion of the already planted crop); farm prices rose; and the farmers received several hundred million dollars in benefit payments. By 1934 more than forty million acres of farm land were withdrawn from cultivation. The income from the processing tax nearly equaled the benefits paid.

2. Compulsory curtailment of production. These provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act called for a voluntary or contractual reduction of acreage on the part of the farmer. In April, 1934, by a Cotton Crop Control Act, Congress experimented with the compulsory reduction of the cotton crop. This law placed a heavy tax for the crop year 1934–35 on all cotton ginned in excess of ten million bales. In spite of protest against this "regimentation" upon the part of industrial leaders and even some farmers, cotton growers voted in favor of continuing this method of control into 1935. The program of voluntary and compulsory reduction of farm crops was carried out by the A.A.A. (the Agricultural Adjustment Administration).

3. A.A.A. voided by the Supreme Court. On January 6, 1936, the Supreme Court (6–3) declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional on the ground that the money obtained from the processing tax was used to "coerce" farmers to curtail agricultural production, and that the control of agriculture was a power reserved to the states.

Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, 1936. A temporary substitute for the A.A.A. was quickly found in the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1936. The results of the new law were pretty much the same but the method was different. Under the new plan the farmer was paid benefits by the government if he planted on part of his land clover, alfalfa, or other legumes. These crops enrich the soil by supplying it with nitrates; they also have a soil-binding effect, because their roots hold the topsoil together and so tend to prevent erosion, gullying, and dust storms. Thus the purpose of the new law was to conserve the soil, a power which Congress has, and indirectly to control or limit the production of those crops of which the farmer was producing a surplus. The money for the benefit payments to the farmer came from the general treasury. The federal government made direct payments to farmers, ranging from one to ten dollars an acre, but after January 1, 1938, the payments were made to states which had soil-conservation programs approved by the Secretary of Agriculture.

The Second Agricultural Adjustment Act, 1938. A more comprehensive measure to help the farmer became a law in February, 1938. This act (1) continued the benefits of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act; (2) empowered the Secretary of Agriculture to establish acreage quotas (that is, the number of acres to be planted) for rice, wheat, corn, tobacco, and cotton; (3) empowered the Secretary of Agriculture to establish marketing quotas (that is, the amount that might be sent to market), if, in spite of the acreage limitations,

surplus crops were produced; (4) provided for penalties for sales in excess of the marketing quotas; (5) created a Federal Crop Insurance Corporation; (6) provided for the granting of commodity loans to farmers, and for "parity payments" if funds were available. ("Parity payments" were to be made when actual prices fell below "parity prices" – government-set prices intended to keep the farmer's purchasing power at the 1909–1914 level. Secretary Wallace declared that "never again should the consumer of meat and the producers of livestock suffer from price extremes." On the other hand, the law was criticized as "the beginning of regimentation of industry in this country – the beginning of the end of our kind of government." Mr. Wallace coined the phrase "ever-normal granary" to summarize the effects of the New Deal farm program. Until World War II, the New Deal farm legislation represented the highwater mark of governmental attempts to control the national economy.

Improvement in agricultural credit facilities. To restore the purchasing power of the farmer was only one phase of the New Deal agricultural program. The New Deal, like the Wilson and Harding administrations (pages 529, 551), also improved the farmers' opportunity to obtain credit at low rates of interest. In 1933 Congress created a Farm Credit Administration. This agency of the federal government was given the supervision of the twelve Federal Land Banks which were established in 1916 (page 529) and the twelve Intermediate Credit Banks established in 1923 (page 551). The law also authorized new lending agencies – Production Credit Corporations, a Central Bank for Co-operatives – all under the authority of the Farm Credit Administration. The purpose of all these organizations was to give to the farmer full credit and banking facilities adapted to his needs. The Federal Land Banks were authorized to issue two billion dollars' worth of bonds at 4 per cent interest. The proceeds from the sale of these bonds were used to make new loans to farmers or to buy farm mortgages. In 1934 a Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation assisted farmers with their mortgage debts. These laws were a great relief to insurance companies and banks as well as farmers, for a large portion of their funds, "frozen" in unproductive farm mortgages, became "liquid."

Resettlement Administration. One other form of relief for the farmer was carried out between 1935–37 by the Resettlement Administration. This agency undertook to "administer approved projects involving the removal of destitute or low-income families from rural and urban areas." The Resettlement Administration by means of "subsistence homesteads" and rural and suburban resettlement projects tried to eliminate "rural slums." The Resettlement Administration was abolished in 1937 and the Farm Security Administration was created. The F.S.A. assisted rural rehabilitation by making loans and money grants to refinance farm debts and to purchase farm equipment. A Farm

Tenancy Act (1937) empowered the F.S.A. to lend money to help tenants, sharecroppers, and farm laborers purchase their own land.

Summary and criticism of the Roosevelt farm program. The New Deal help to agriculture was carried on along so many fronts that it was easy for critics to find fault with it. Under the A.A.A. about forty million acres were withdrawn from cultivation; under the soil conservation plan, it is estimated that about thirty million acres were either withdrawn from cultivation or given over to the production of grasses and legumes; under the law of 1938 acreage quotas and marketing quotas for five basic crops were established. The farmer's income increased considerably, both because of the upward trend in farm prices and also because of the benefits paid by the government. These were immediate and direct gains. It was pointed out, on the other hand, that these temporary benefits were obtained by ignoring the fundamental economic truth that the total wealth can be increased only by producing more goods, not by decreasing production. (In this connection it should be observed that industrial production was reduced by 40 per cent or more, while agricultural production was curtailed by about 15 per cent.) It was also argued that increasing prices for farm products tend to cause the American farmer to lose the foreign market for his product, as well as to cut down domestic sales. Increased prices also tend to stimulate production in other parts of the world. To some extent American agriculture has become overspecialized, producing staple crops, such as cotton, corn, tobacco, wheat. Sometimes the whole world produces a surplus of these staples. It has been argued that American agriculture might benefit if farmers reduced the acreage given over to certain staples and increased the production of other agricultural products for which a large domestic market can be found, particularly if family incomes were increased.

There are many who believe that the great day of American agriculture has passed, that it can be sustained only by subsidies, which in turn mean higher taxes, higher priced foodstuffs and raw materials, and an increasing burden on manufacturing. Our basic economy was once agricultural; it is now industrial. Once agricultural products made up our great exports, enabling us to borrow European capital; once American agriculture had easy access to world markets. Now Europe borrows capital from us, and former markets are apparently lost to American farmers. It is questionable if the New Deal attempt to achieve a balance between two different economic classes is practical. Since one third of the population earns a livelihood on the farm, it is probable that efforts to maintain a balance between agriculture and industry will continue.

The outbreak of World War II in September, 1939, and America's entrance into the conflict in December, 1941, once again created an extraordinary demand for increased farm production. To prevent run-

away prices the government established rationing and various price control measures. But the farmers (through one of the best organized and most powerful lobbies in the country — the American Farm Bureau Federation) struggled with no little success to advance their special interests. They were on the alert to see that the gains achieved through the New Deal would not be lost during the war, and that these gains would be strengthened in the troublesome days of the postwar period.

THE NEW DEAL EXPERIMENTS WITH A STRICT CONTROL OF BUSINESS

The National Industrial Recovery Act and the N.R.A. If banking and agriculture were sick in 1933 and needed emergency "shots in the arm," so, too, were manufacturing, our transportation system, and our extensive public utility enterprises. One month after the Agricultural Adjustment Act had been passed, Congress (June 16, 1933) approved the National Industrial Recovery Act. This law temporarily suspended the operation of the Sherman and Clayton Antitrust acts; instead of the antitrust laws industry was to be regulated by "codes of fair competition." These codes might be drawn up by trade and industrial associations, but if this were not done, the President had the power to prescribe the code for the industry. Each code was supervised by a Code Authority, made up of representatives of the industry and a few officials to represent the public. In general these codes provided for: (1) prohibition of child labor, (2) maximum hours of work for laborers, (3) minimum wages, (4) production control, (5) price control, and (6) detailed rules concerning trade practices peculiar to the various industries. During 1933 the drafting of approximately six hundred codes was carried on with almost warlike fervor and enthusiasm. Parades were held, and the "Blue Eagle," the symbol of national recovery, was displayed in store windows and on manufactured articles.

Criticism of the N.R.A. The immediate effect was to restore hope and enthusiasm to a weary nation, but as the shouting and the tumult died, complaints began to pile up. The plan did not work out as expected. Labor complained that the wage scales were too low; businessmen complained of "regimentation" and government interference; small manufacturers complained that the codes resulted in unfair discrimination against them. The enforcement of the codes was so gigantic a task that many producers, to use Roosevelt's phrase, became "chiselers." Big Business, despite its outcry, seemed to welcome the opportunity the codes gave to control production and prices. It disliked the attempts to give labor the right to bargain collectively, to establish fair working conditions, maximum hours, and minimum rates of pay, to eliminate child labor, and to safeguard the interests of the consumer.

The National Industrial Recovery Act was declared unconstitutional

by the Supreme Court in a unanimous decision on May 27, 1935. The Court held that Congress had no right to delegate to the President, and through him to various industrial associations, the right to establish laws for the regulation of business. The Court also declared the N.I.R.A. unconstitutional because the codes undertook to control and regulate matters — such as wages, hours, and sales practices — that were not clearly interstate in character. (See pages 584–585 for a later Court decision on the National Labor Relations Act.)

Replacing the N.R.A. After the N.R.A. had been declared unconstitutional, Congress tried to use some of its principles in a series of separate acts. Thus Congress established little N.R.A.'s for the soft coal and petroleum industries, but these efforts also ran into difficulties with the courts. Through the Walsh-Healey Act all companies which sold goods (worth more than $10,000) to the federal government had to maintain certain standards concerning wages and hours of work. Government purchases were so heavy that this law indirectly forced many manufacturing concerns to comply with some of the ideals of the N.R.A. The Robinson-Patman Act, 1936, an amendment to the Clayton Act, tried to prevent manufacturers and wholesalers from discriminating as to prices of their products. The Miller-Tydings Act of 1937 permitted manufacturers of trade-marked articles to enter into contracts with retailers for the maintenance of resale prices.

In his annual message to Congress, January 6, 1937, the President thus referred to the N.R.A.:

> Sober second thought confirms most of us in the belief that the broad objectives of the National Recovery Act were sound. We know now that its difficulties arose from the fact that it tried to do too much. For example, it was unwise to expect the same agency to regulate the length of working hours, minimum wages, child labor, and collective bargaining on the one hand, and the complicated questions of unfair trade practices and business controls on the other. The statute of N.R.A. has been outlawed. The problems have not. They are still with us.

Mr. Roosevelt, however, did not press Congress for any general legislation on the subject of Big Business. But in 1938 Congress started a thorough investigation of the "trust problem." Although the committee published an important series of studies, no action was taken, partly because of World War II. The Attorney General, however, resorted in some degree to the "trust-busting" policies of the administration of Theodore Roosevelt (pages 514–517). Approximately eighty suits were started in 1943. The government policy was summarized by the Assistant Attorney General, Mr. Berge, who declared in 1944 that the size of the antitrust staff permitted the government to start suits against only a small number of the concerns that interfered with competition.

Big Business and World War II. During World War II the government actively assisted business to prepare for a gigantic production task, financing the construction of new plants and the conversion of existing plants to wartime production. The government forbade the production of certain commodities, allocated raw materials on a "priority basis," and even heavily subsidized the production of various commodities, such as synthetic rubber. Government supervision of war contracts and the direct intervention of government into business activities by means of administrative agencies, government corporations, and executive orders, was so complete that demobilization and reconversion brought with it problems of great complexity. The problem of the relation of government to business will remain, therefore, as a major issue for many years to come.

THE NEW DEAL LEGISLATES CONCERNING OUR TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION SYSTEM

The Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933. The railroads needed government help (pages 547–548). In June, 1933, Congress passed an Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, which repealed the recapture clause of the Act of 1920 (pages 535–536). According to this law the government abandoned earlier efforts to fix rates on the basis of "original cost" or "reproduction cost," or a combination of both. The Interstate Commerce Commission was to fix "just and reasonable" rates, considering (1) the need of the public for adequate service, (2) the effect of rates on the volume of traffic, and (3) the need of the railroads for sufficient revenue to make ends meet.

The law created the temporary office of Federal Co-ordinator of Transportation (till June, 1936), who was given the power to effect economies, to reorganize railroad finances, and recommend future changes. President Roosevelt appointed Joseph B. Eastman, a member of the I.C.C., as Co-ordinator. A few months after his appointment Mr. Eastman advocated as the best practical solution the operation of the railroads by the federal government. He suggested, however, that any such change should be postponed for a more favorable time because it would result in unemployment among railroad employees.

The Motor Carrier Act, 1935. One of Mr. Eastman's recommendations became a law with the Motor Carrier Act of 1935. This law gave the I.C.C. the right to regulate the interstate transportation of passengers and freight by motor vehicles, including the right to fix rates.

The Federal Communications Act, 1934. While the laissez-faire ideal was being overthrown in the field of railroad transportation, somewhat the same drift was evident in the government's attitude toward communications. By passing the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910 (page 516) Congress gave jurisdiction over telephone, telegraph, and cable com-

panies to the I.C.C., and in 1928 Congress created a Federal Radio Commission to regulate radio broadcasting. In 1934 Congress concentrated all these functions in a new Federal Communications Commission. The F.C.C., like the I.C.C., had broad powers over the rates, services, and financial operations of telephone, telegraph, and radio corporations.

Regulation of air lines. In 1938 Congress created a Civil Aeronautics Authority, with extensive powers, to encourage the establishment of new air lines and to regulate their activities.

Direct aid to steamship companies. Water transportation, like rail transportation, has been fostered by the federal government. Since the early years of the republic Congress has made lavish appropriations for river and harbor improvements, the maintenance of lighthouses, and the development of internal waterways. For a long time the government exercised control over shipping through licensing and inspection. To encourage the development of a merchant marine, the government granted subsidies to steamship companies (page 312), but except for brief periods before the War between the States and during and after World War I, only a small percentage of our foreign trade was carried in American ships. Merchant Marine Acts in 1920 and 1928 improved this situation considerably. To encourage the growth of an adequate and permanent merchant marine Congress passed a comprehensive Ship Subsidy Bill in 1936. This law gave direct government subsidies to American steamship companies and shipyards. It created a United States Maritime Commission, which absorbed the functions of the agencies established by previous laws. Through the Maritime Commission the government agreed to pay as much as 50 per cent of the cost of construction of new ships, and to lend funds to shipping companies to cover the difference between the cost of operating American and foreign vessels. This law has since been extended and improved. As a result, American shipyards were better prepared for the extraordinary emergency shipbuilding program inaugurated during World War II.

The Transportation Act of 1940. The regulatory jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission was extended by the Transportation Act of 1940 to include coastwise, inland, and intercoastal water carriers. This law repealed the provisions of the Act of 1920 (pages 535–536) requesting the I.C.C. to propose railroad consolidations, but gave the Commission power to approve those recommended by the carriers.

The law broadly declared that it was the policy of Congress "to provide for the fair and impartial regulation of all modes of transportation subject to this Act by a method which would preserve the inherent advantages of each, promote safe, adequate, economical, and efficient service, foster sound economic conditions, encourage the establishment of just and reasonable charges, promote co-operation with the states,

and encourage reasonable wages and equitable working conditions, to the end that a national transportation system by water, rail, and motor, adequate to meet the needs of commerce, the postal service, and national defense, shall be established." Abnormal conditions created by World War II postponed the opportunity to discover how effective this new railroad law would be. The volume of railroad traffic increased considerably. The railroads performed the great task of transporting huge quantities of war goods and an extraordinary number of civilian passengers and troops. A threatened railroad strike in December, 1943, caused the government to take over the operation of the railroads for a brief period, but in January, 1944, after wage adjustments had been made, the railroads were returned to private operation.

In August, 1944, the Attorney General started a suit against the American Association of Railroads, the Western Association of Railway Executives, the banking houses of J. P. Morgan and Company, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, and several individuals on the ground that they had violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. The government alleged that a "combination of private industrial and financial railroad interests have acted collusively to maintain noncompetitive rates for transportation and to prevent and retard improvements in the services and facilities of the railroads in the western part of the United States." This suit came as a surprise, for it appeared as though the Department of Justice was interfering with the policies and jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The outcome of this suit may ultimately lead to further railroad and trust legislation.

Reclassification of freight rates. In May, 1945, the Interstate Commerce Commission, in probably the most important decision in its long history, declared that railroad freight classifications and rates were unreasonable and unfair. The Commission ordered a complete overhauling of the "class rate structure." This is so complicated a procedure that it was expected that the task might take two or three years. In the meantime, however, the Commission ordered a 10 per cent reduction in "class rates" in the South, West, and Southwest, and a 10 per cent increase in "class rates" in the East. This ruling may ultimately tend to accelerate the decentralization of industry (pages 395–396) and have a marked effect on the economic activities of various sections of the country. The ruling of the I.C.C. came as an answer to long-standing complaints that rate differentials were a handicap to the economic development of the South and West.

The I.C.C., the F.T.C., the F.C.C., the U.S.M.C., and the C.A.A. illustrate how far the government has moved away from the early policy of laissez faire in the direction of complete regulation and control of our transportation and communications system. World War II served to accelerate this tendency. In spite of political campaign speeches in behalf of "free enterprise" and against "government bureaucracy," it

seems probable that future developments will be in the same direction, for in the past fifty years our traditional ideas of the functions of government have undergone a complete change.

THE NEW DEAL TACKLES THE PROBLEM OF THE PUBLIC OR PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

The age of electricity. After the development of a practical dynamo, or generator, and in 1879 of the incandescent lamp by Edison, the electrical industry made great strides. In the twentieth century electricity is bringing about changes in ways of living as important as those which followed the coming of steam power and steel.

The manufacture, distribution, and sale of electricity is a type of enterprise commonly referred to as a natural monopoly; that is, a business which is carried on most efficiently and economically by a single company. Since it is a natural monopoly, the government is concerned with the necessity of protecting the consumer against unfair prices. In addition there is the question of franchises for the construction and maintenance of transmission lines. If electricity is obtained by using the power of falling water, there also arise serious problems concerning the conservation of our natural resources.

Hydroelectric power. By far the largest portion of electricity consumed is obtained from the energy released by the burning of coal. But in the last quarter century there has been a constantly increasing amount of electricity obtained from "white coal," that is, by using the energy of falling water. This is called hydroelectric power. There are certain difficulties in the production of hydroelectric power: (1) the best water-power sites are not always located near the larger centers of population; (2) the initial cost of dams and power plants is very great; (3) the rivers and streams which feed the dams do not furnish a constant flow of water throughout the year; (4) the national and state governments have been slow in developing a permanent policy concerning the disposal of water-power rights. Whether the government should surrender this last national resource to private interests or whether it should retain ownership itself has been an issue in the politics of several states and in presidential campaigns.

The Federal Power Commission. The federal government made a beginning in the solution of this problem when it created a Federal Power Commission in 1920. According to the Federal Water Power Act, the federal government retained ownership of water-power sites on public lands and navigable rivers. The Power Commission could issue licenses for the operation of power plants to private companies or to the governments of states and cities, but preference was to be given to the latter. Under the authority of this law considerable progress has been made in the development of hydroelectric power plants.

Muscle Shoals: private vs. *public ownership.* Even before the Water Power Act of 1920 the federal government had under construction a great hydroelectric power plant. This project was started in 1917 at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, during World War I, for the purpose of generating electric power to produce nitrates. (Nitrates can be used to produce explosives and artificial fertilizers.) Neither the nitrate plant nor the power plant was completed when the war closed. For a long time there was a deadlock either in Congress or between Congress and the President over the disposal of this government property. Some advocated federal ownership and operation of the power plant; others advocated its sale or lease to private owners. President Coolidge in 1928 and President Hoover in 1931 vetoed bills championed by Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska which provided for government ownership and operation of plants at Muscle Shoals. The question of what to do about Muscle Shoals thus became an issue in the presidential campaigns of 1928 and 1932.

Other power projects. A similar issue was presented by the Hoover Dam project, a 550-foot dam in the Colorado River to provide flood control, irrigation, additional water supply for the city of Los Angeles, and a giant hydroelectric plant. It was expected that the income from the sale of electricity, in fifty years, would pay for the cost of the dam (some $165,000,000). The Grand Coulee Dam in Washington on the Columbia River, completed in 1942, provides water for the irrigation of more than a million acres; it has the largest hydroelectric power plant in the world. During World War II this power was used in the production of aluminum and other war materials. Other great projects are the Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River and the Shasta Dam in California. In all these projects the generation of hydroelectric power is intimately connected with valuable conservation policies.

The Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933. The long controversy over private versus public ownership of the power facilities at Muscle Shoals was settled in May, 1933, when the Tennessee Valley Authority Act became a law. This law provided for public ownership of the power plants in the Tennessee Valley and created the Tennessee Valley Authority, with broad powers to work out a complete regional plan for the development of the entire Tennessee Valley. The T.V.A. is a corporation having the right to construct dams, reservoirs, powerhouses, and transmission lines; to manufacture and sell fertilizer; to produce, distribute, and sell electric power; and to contract with states, municipalities, counties, corporations or individuals for the sale of electric power. The immediate purposes of the T.V.A. are to provide for the manufacture of electric power to be used in the production of nitrates for military and agricultural purposes and to provide for flood control, soil conservation, and reforestation. In the execution of these broad powers the T.V.A. may do a number of things: sell its surplus electric power,

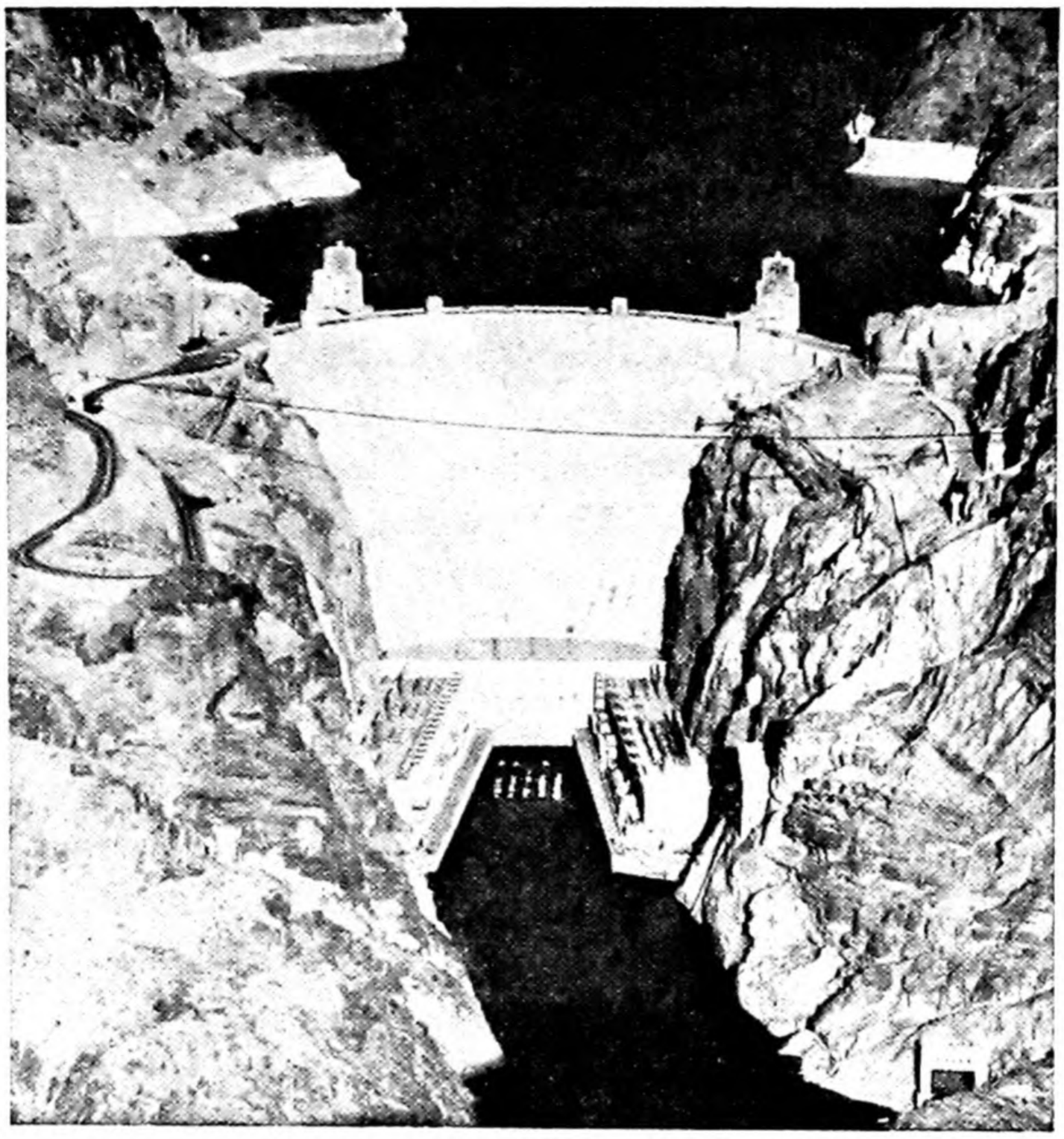
encourage the increased use of electricity by selling electrical appliances, encourage the establishment of industries in the Tennessee Valley, provide for a diversification of crops, remove marginal lands from cultivation, provide for the electrification of rural areas. Near one of the two nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, the T.V.A. has conducted experiments in the development of cheap fertilizers.

Since the creation of the T.V.A. the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals has been completed and several other dams have been built. Near the Norris Dam there has grown up the town of Norris. The T.V.A. is an experiment in social planning of great significance. The T.V.A. is a good illustration of the newer functions and activities of modern governments. It may well prove to be one of the most important acts ever passed by Congress.

T.V.A. as a "yardstick." One phase of the activity of the T.V.A. which alarmed public utility companies was the sale of surplus electricity with the avowed purpose of establishing a "yardstick" to "determine the relative cost of public and privately generated power; and as a measure of the reasonableness of existing rates." There was much controversy over the fairness of this "yardstick," for it is alleged that in its accounting the T.V.A. apportions only a small portion of its total costs to the generation of electric power; that it does not make adequate allowances for taxes, depreciation, and interest payments. Thus it has been claimed that when the T.V.A. sold electric power for 2.23 mills per kilowatt hour, the real cost of production was 4.29 mills. Privately owned public utility enterprises in the area served by the T.V.A. urged the government either to abandon its threatened competition with private industry or else to purchase the plants and equipment of the private companies. The latter has been done in many instances.

T.V.A. upheld. In selling its surplus power the T.V.A. gives preference to states, towns, and counties. In a test case before the Supreme Court to determine the right of the T.V.A. to acquire transmission lines for the distribution of surplus power, this phase of the T.V.A. Act was upheld by a vote of eight to one. The Court (February, 1936) held that the right to construct dams and power plants was within the power of Congress, since Congress may provide for the national defense, conserve the soil, prevent floods, and control navigation. From this premise the Court argued that the acquisition of transmission lines was a necessary result of the government's right to build the power and nitrate plants.

Suggested solutions of the utilities problem. There are many who believe that the federal government should not engage in this type of activity at all, but leave the development of projects of this character to the states, which by means of interstate compacts or treaties could create their own corporations or authorities. To construct tunnels and bridges and to develop the harbor of New York, the states of New Jer-



Courtesy United States Department of the Interior

Hoover Dam is one of several great reclamation and power projects constructed by the federal government. The dam — the largest in the world — created an artificial navigable lake one hundred miles long. It provides water for irrigation and power for communities hundreds of miles away.



Courtesy Tennessee Valley Authority

To house workers who were building Norris Dam, the TVA constructed the permanent town of Norris, which is now occupied by TVA personnel and others. Most of the homes in this pleasant, wooded town are completely electrified.

sey and New York several years ago created a highly successful joint Port Authority. Similar interstate authorities might be created to engage in the construction of various public works, regulate the interstate transmission of power, and fix rates. Every indication seems to point to further experimentation with either an interstate organization, such as the New York-New Jersey Port Authority, or a federal organization, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority. Thus a Missouri Valley Authority has been advocated.

Many see in these problems evidence that the whole nation has become a single economic unit. They argue, therefore, that it is a social and political unit as well, and that state boundaries and the old doctrine of states' rights are "out of date." They urge, as the only practical solution, federal regulation and supervision. Some have suggested that the country be divided into a few regional areas, with "Authorities" similar to the T.V.A. or the New York-New Jersey Port Authority in charge of each region. The activities of these regional Authorities could be co-ordinated by some central board — an extension in some respects of the principles of the Federal Reserve banking system to the varied economic activities of different geographic areas.

Propaganda obscures the issue. How these problems will be solved it is impossible to say. The interests involved are so powerful and the stakes at issue so great that there is a good deal of propaganda in favor of a solution satisfactory to special interests. This propaganda takes various forms: the preparation and the publication of articles in magazines and newspapers; the free distribution of pamphlets; heavy contributions to campaign funds; efforts to defeat and embarrass those who are known to be vigorous opponents of certain policies; efforts to secure the appointment of sympathetic friends to important government positions; the maintenance of well-financed lobbies in state and national capitals to secure the type of laws desired (pages 635–637).

Public utility holding companies. The New Deal came to grips with another serious public utilities problem. A public utility is commonly defined as a "business affected with a public interest"; this means a business which can function most efficiently as a monopoly and which supplies the public with an essential service. Some examples of such public utilities are street railways, buses, subways, gas companies, water companies, electric light and power companies, telephone companies. Cities and states regulate these public utilities by means of public utility commissions. Very often the question of how efficiently these commissions perform their duties has been a matter of political controversy. Some cities succeeded with the experiment of municipal ownership of public utilities.

As time passed, banking interests and public utility officials organized holding companies to control the corporation which actually manufactured and distributed gas or electricity. These operating com-

panies, when they came under the control of a holding company, were called subsidiaries. Not infrequently holding companies were organized to control other holding companies, which in turn managed several operating companies. Throughout the country there developed far-flung "public utility empires," especially in the gas and electric power industry. Referring to one such "empire" the Federal Trade Commission declared that it controlled 27 per cent of the electric output of the entire nation and 50 per cent of the total electric energy in fifteen eastern, southern, and midwestern states. The most notorious of these "empires" was that built up by Samuel Insull of Chicago. Insull's empire collapsed in 1931, and investors lost one hundred million dollars. Because public utility holding companies cut across state boundary lines, it became more and more difficult for states and municipal public utility commissions to regulate them.

The federal regulation of public utility holding companies, 1935. The inability of state and local commissions to regulate interstate public utility "empires," and the losses to investors resulting from the manipulation of the stocks and bonds of holding companies and their subsidiaries caused Congress in 1935 to enact the Wheeler-Rayburn Public Utility Holding Company Act. This law, hotly contested by a very powerful lobby, applies to public utilities which transmit electricity and natural gas from one state to another. The law directed the Securities and Exchange Commission to supervise and regulate the financial practices of public utility holding companies. (This phase of the Act was upheld as constitutional by the Supreme Court in 1938.) After January, 1938, the S.E.C. was directed to order the dissolution of such "second degree" holding companies as were found by it to be uneconomical, unnecessary, or undesirable. (A "second degree" holding company is one which controls a holding company which in turn controls an operating company.) The law conferred upon the Federal Power Commission (page 578) the right to regulate the rates charged for electricity and natural gas transmitted in interstate commerce.

How effective these laws will be depends upon future developments, particularly the vigor with which they are enforced by the S.E.C. and F.P.C. and the interpretations which the courts may place upon the law and the actions of the commissions. Some of the great holding-company "pyramids" have been broken up.

THE NEW DEAL REVIVES AND STRENGTHENS THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Collective bargaining is legalized. The National Industrial Recovery Act (pages 573–574) encouraged industrial associations to draw up "codes of fair competition." To prevent capital from taking an unfair advantage of labor, Congress inserted into this law Section 7A:

Every code of fair competition shall contain the following conditions: (1) That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing . . . ; (2) that no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union, or to refrain from joining, organizing or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing; and (3) that employers shall comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment, approved or prescribed by the President.

Company unionism and collective bargaining. This strong declaration of principles led to much controversy. What constitutes "collective bargaining"? Is this principle recognized when an employer permits his workers to have an association of their own with which he will deal (the "company union") but does not permit them to join some other organization of workers, such as a national union? Labor leaders long contended that company unions, which increased rapidly after 1932 were merely a device of employers to subdivide the workers into easily controlled units; that company unions were employer-controlled unions. There were also other problems. Under what conditions will the selection of the workers' representatives take place?

These controversies came before N.R.A. officials, and even the President, for decision. But the administration hesitated to decide, fearing to lose the support of either industry or labor. Many strikes, some of them violent and protracted, marked the two-year history of the N.R.A. The immediate effect of Section 7A was to increase not only the number of company unions but also the membership of labor unions.

National Labor Relations Act, 1935. During the stormy period of controversy, when the N.R.A. codes were establishing maximum hours, minimum wages, and eliminating child labor, Senator Wagner of New York advocated a law to guarantee labor the right of collective bargaining. When the Supreme Court (May, 1935) brushed aside the N.R.A. and the codes, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act (sometimes referred to as the Trades Disputes Act, or the Wagner-Connery Act). This law guaranteed labor the right to bargain collectively by creating a National Labor Relations Board charged with the task of preventing "unfair labor practices." The Board had power to prevent any interference by employers with the workers' right to organize or to bargain. It also had the right to conduct elections emong workers to determine employee representatives. In preventing unfair practices it had the power to investigate controversies, certify representatives, issue "cease and desist" orders, and apply to the courts for enforcement of its orders. (See pages 802–803.)

In April, 1937, the Supreme Court in a series of decisions upheld the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act. In these decisions the Court broadened its interpretation of the interstate com-

merce clause by declaring, "although activities may be intrastate in character when separately considered, if they have such a close and substantial relation to interstate commerce that their control is essential or appropriate to protect that commerce from burdens and obstructions, Congress cannot be denied the power to exercise control." (National Labor Relations Board *vs.* Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation.)

The National Labor Relations Board has jurisdiction over manufacturing and other industries. When the Maritime Act was amended in 1938, a Maritime Labor Board was created to supervise and regulate labor conditions in the shipping industry. A Railway Labor Board performs the same functions for railroad workers.

Craft unions vs. *industrial unions.* Under the protection of this law labor unions increased in numbers and in strength, so that today there are approximately sixteen million workers enrolled in labor unions. Company unions have tended to disappear almost completely. As labor unions enjoyed this remarkable growth there developed a bitter quarrel within the ranks of labor itself.

The great gains made by labor had been obtained, for the most part, by craft, or skilled-labor, unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. But the A. F. of L. made practically no attempt to organize the great body of unskilled laborers. Technical progress has created mass-production industries, such as automobile, cement, steel, rubber, aluminum, and others, employing a relatively small number of skilled artisans and tens of thousands of unskilled or semiskilled workers. The more conservative labor leaders wished to pursue the old policy of organizing workers according to their trade. These craft, or trade, unions are sometimes called "horizontal unions." The more radical labor leaders insisted that the time had come to organize workers into large industrial unions, ignoring the distinction between the skilled and the unskilled (pages 419–420). An "industrial" union does not pay attention to the different trades, or crafts, but organizes all the workers in an industry. It is sometimes called a "vertical union."

The C.I.O. At its convention in San Francisco in 1934 the A. F. of L. adopted a resolution favoring the "vertical or industrial union in a few industries." Little progress was made. John L. Lewis, the powerful leader of the United Mine Workers, resigned from the executive council of the American Federation of Labor in November, 1935, and formed a Committee for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.) to organize workers in the mass-production industries. Associated with him were some strong unions, such as his own United Mine Workers' Union, the United Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and several others. In the summer of 1936 the A. F. of L. suspended the unions affiliated with the C.I.O. President Green declared that "when ambitious men form a dual rival organization for the purpose of forcing the acceptance of

minority rule within the American Federation of Labor, they cannot do so within and as part of the American Federation of Labor." Lewis characterized the suspension as an "act of incredible and crass stupidity, an act dictated by personal selfishness and frantic fear."

The General Motors strike, 1937. Lewis and the C.I.O. soon put their organization to the test. The United Automobile Workers' Union started a strike in some of the plants of the General Motors Corporation, a large holding company which controlled several subsidiary corporations employing about two hundred thousand workers and operating sixty-nine plants in thirty-five different states. The strike was called to compel the General Motors Corporation to recognize the United Automobile Workers' Union as the only official representative of all General Motors workers. The strike, which started in just a few of the plants of the corporation, was a "sit-down" strike; that is, the strikers did not leave the plant but remained at their places of work and refused to work. This made it difficult to use strikebreakers or to operate the plants with the workers who did not belong to the union or who did not choose to strike. The General Motors Corporation claimed that the "sit-down" strikers were a minority of their employees and that they therefore had no right to speak for the majority. The corporation declared that it would be willing to bargain collectively with the workers in each of its sixty-nine plants. The U.A.W.U. claimed that this would put the workers at a disadvantage, because it would result in sixty-nine different union committees dealing with one policy-determining agency, the General Motors Corporation, and insisted that there should be one bargaining unit for all the workers, no matter where they were situated.

The outcome of this strike was a victory for the C.I.O., because the General Motors Corporation recognized the United Automobile Workers' Union as the collective bargaining agency for its workers. In the next few months there was an epidemic of sit-down strikes, in some of which force was used to evict the sit-downers.

The issue of the sit-down strike disappeared when the Supreme Court (N.L.R.B. *vs.* Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation) held the sit-down strike illegal, ruling that the N.L.R.B. had erred in issuing an order to the Fansteel Corporation to reinstate sit-down strikers. But the C.I.O. had won its spurs; it enjoyed a rapid growth. The Chrysler Motor Corporation and the Ford Motor Company recognized the U.A.W.U. The United States Steel Corporation also became unionized without a contest. The C.I.O. called strikes in independent steel company plants. The so-called Little Steel strike was marked with violence, but again the C.I.O. won recognition. The success of the C.I.O. from 1937 to 1939 meant that industrial unionism had become an essential and vital factor in the American labor movement.

Factional quarrels and a truce. The officials of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., realizing that disputes between the "radical" and "conserv-

ative" factions injured organized labor, made attempts to adjust the differences between the two groups. Occasional unauthorized strikes and other labor disturbances resulted, not only because of alleged grievances between employers and employees but also because of internal quarrels for control of the American labor movement. Some of these factional skirmishes were the result of changes in the "party line," or tactics, of the Communist party, which after 1935 ceased to place emphasis on the ultimate objectives of communism but sought to "bore from within" to get its members or sympathizers in positions of power, and to try to identify itself in the popular mind as the bulwark of democracy and liberalism again fascism. Several unions in the C.I.O., alarmed lest Communists use the movement for their own purposes, either expelled Communist party members or denied them the right to hold office or the right to serve as committee members or to act as union representatives.

In the fall of 1938, at a convention in Pittsburgh, the Committee for Industrial Organization changed its name to the *Congress of Industrial Organizations* and elected John L. Lewis as president. Efforts in 1939 to reconcile the two rival labor groups did not meet with success, though both organizations endeavored to keep their internal struggles from the public view. Mr. Lewis became particularly angry with Mr. Roosevelt, opposed his re-election in 1940, and kept a campaign promise to step down as C.I.O. president if Mr. Roosevelt were elected. Lewis was succeeded as C.I.O. president by Mr. Phiiip Murray; but as head of the United Mine Workers Mr. Lewis continued to be one of the most powerful labor leaders in the country.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, 1938. In 1937 and 1938 Congress debated a "wages and hours bill." The opposition to such a bill was so powerful that Congress did not succeed in enacting it into law till 1938. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 declared labor conditions which made necessary a low standard of living created "an unfair method of competition" and interfered with the free flow of goods in interstate commerce. The law set up within the Department of Labor a Wages and Hours Division with an administrator in charge. The administrator, with the help of industrial committees for each industry, had the task of establishing a maximum work week of forty hours and a minimum pay of forty cents an hour. (This minimum rate of pay was to be achieved within seven years, but could be put into effect at an earlier date.) Child labor up to the age of sixteen, with certain exceptions, was prohibited in the manufacturing of goods sold across state lines. Certain occupations (farming and fisheries) are exempt from the provisions of the law. A wage of sixteen dollars a week could scarcely be called adequate, but nonetheless this law was an important milestone in labor legislation. This law had the effect, without benefit of constitutional amendment, of practically putting an end to child labor in factories throughout the country. In a decision in 1941 the Supreme

Court upheld the constitutionality of the law, ruling that interstate traffic in goods produced under substandard labor conditions could be prohibited by Congress. The Court, reversing the decision in Hammer *vs.* Dagenhart (pages 422–424), held that the power to regulate interstate commerce "extends to those activities intrastate which so affect interstate commerce, or the exercise of the powers of Congress over it, as to make regulation of them appropriate means to the attainment of a legitimate end." Following World War II, Congress made considerable improvements in this law and in 1949 increased the minimum rate of pay to seventy-five cents an hour.

Labor and World War II. The Fair Labor Standards Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Social Security Act (pages 622–624) strengthened and improved the cause of labor considerably. When war began, organized labor enjoyed more power than at any previous period in our history. Increased war production ended unemployment and increased wages. Throughout the war organized labor sought to consolidate and to extend its gains. Both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. pledged their loyalty and their willingness to help war industries. The number of strikes diminished for a time, but as the war progressed there were frequent strikes, usually of short duration. A truce between the two organizations was established, even if unity was not achieved. There were occasions when it became necessary for Mr. Roosevelt to order the seizure and operation of factories and mines by the government. These short wartime strikes were caused by the efforts of unions to increase wages and to prevent unfair practices by employers. In spite of the government's price control measures, prices continued to rise, and organized labor demanded increased wages, while organized agriculture demanded higher farm prices. Strikes slowed down production somewhat, but not to the extent publicized by the enemies of labor unions which, at times, received severe criticism. The determination of Mr. Lewis to embarrass Mr. Roosevelt, and the persistent effort on the part of labor in general to upset the so-called "Little-Steel formula" — an attempt (July, 1942) to prevent wages from rising more than 15 per cent above the January, 1941, level — were factors in these strikes. Eventually labor got the substance of what it demanded, though not in the precise form that it desired. Labor also got something that it did not want in the form of the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act.

The War Labor Disputes Act, June, 1943. This act was passed over the President's veto, both houses of Congress acting within a few hours of the reading of the President's veto message. The provisions of this controversial law are briefly: (1) In war industries labor disputes threatening to interfere with production must be reported to the National Labor Relations Board, which after thirty days may determine by secret ballot if the workers intend to strike. (2) The President was

given authority to seize plants, mines, and production facilities where there was a stoppage of work. (3) Wages and working conditions in a seized plant continued as they were before the seizure, unless the War Labor Board authorized a change. (4) Labor organizations (and banks and corporations chartered by the federal government) were forbidden to make political contributions in federal elections. (5) The law was to be in effect for the duration of the war and six months thereafter. Labor organizations, stunned by the passage of the law, announced that they would endeavor to defeat in future elections all those who had supported the measure. In 1944 the C.I.O. sponsored a Political Action Committee to raise funds to elect its friends. This law reflects the angry mood of Congress toward the stoppage of work in war plants and toward what conservative people called the "arrogance" of organized labor.

Demobilization, the cancellation of war contracts, the discharge of millions from the Army and Navy, and the resumption of normal peacetime pursuits compelled labor organizations — A. F. of L. and C.I.O. — to face their severest test. (*See* pages 800 and 804.)

THE NEW DEAL WINS A RESOUNDING VICTORY IN 1936

Opposition to the New Deal. During the crisis of 1933 most Republicans as well as Democrats united behind the President, and "politics was adjourned." But as the banks were reopened and industry began the long up-hill climb to recovery, there was pronounced criticism of many aspects of the New Deal. The New Deal was said to be unconstitutional, autocratic, dictatorial, unmindful of sound economic principles. The Democrats were accused of giving thousands of newly created government jobs to political henchmen. As the criticism swelled in volume, Republicans looked to the campaign of 1936 with some degree of hope, especially since a large number of Democrats, among them Alfred E. Smith, expressed their disapproval of the New Deal program.

The campaign of 1936. The Democratic party renominated the President and endorsed the New Deal. The Republicans nominated Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas for President and Colonel Frank Knox of Illinois for Vice-President. Much money was spent in organizing an intensive propaganda campaign to defeat Roosevelt. In doing so, Big Business followed the frank advice of one of its spokesmen to "gang up on Roosevelt."

Norman Thomas was for the third time the candidate of the Socialist party. Earl Browder was the nominee of the Communist party. Representative William Lemke was the candidate of a "new" party — the National Union party — which received the support of the followers of Father Coughlin, who had organized a "National Union for Social

Justice," and of Dr. Townsend, advocate of a pension plan for those who had reached the age of sixty-five.

Roosevelt's defense of his administration was noteworthy. In his acceptance speech at Philadelphia he condemned certain of his enemies as "economic royalists." In a powerful speech at Madison Square Garden in New York City he declared that "we have just begun to fight."

The voting was an overwhelming triumph for Roosevelt and the Democratic party. The popular vote was twenty-seven millions for Roosevelt and sixteen millions for Landon. The Republicans carried only two states — Maine and Vermont. The minor parties received about a million votes, the bulk of these going to Lemke's National Union party. The Democrats increased their strength in both houses of Congress and also captured the governorship in most of the states.

MR. ROOSEVELT LOSES AND WINS A STRUGGLE TO "PACK" THE SUPREME COURT

Roosevelt's attempt to reorganize the Supreme Court. Roosevelt's second inauguration took place on January 20, 1937, in accordance with the change specified by the Twentieth Amendment. A few days later, in a surprise message to Congress, Mr. Roosevelt proposed, along with other federal court reforms, that one additional justice be appointed to the Supreme Court for each justice remaining on the Court beyond the age of seventy, provided that the total number of justices should not exceed fifteen. Mr. Roosevelt made this suggestion because many New Deal laws had been declared unconstitutional, at times by narrow margins. The proposal started an epoch-making debate throughout the country and in Congress, where it split the large Democratic majority.

The charge was instantly made that the President, seeking to secure his will unchecked by an independent Court, was planning to "pack" the Court. Friends of the President replied that the Court was already "packed" with conservatives and that the problem was not one of "packing," but of "unpacking" it. Not all progressives agreed with the President on this issue. Many who objected to the Court's recent rulings thought that the President's proposal, while adroit and clever, established a dangerous precedent. They said it would have been better to face the issue more squarely by urging amendments to the Constitution determining beyond question the power of Congress to deal with social and economic problems. Others argued that the powers of the federal government were adequate to meet changed conditions, provided friendly and sympathetic judges were on the bench. They claimed that the issue of constitutionality or unconstitutionality turned on the question of whose view of the Constitution prevailed at a given moment in a given case (pages 117, 427).

Mr. Roosevelt loses out. The debate over the issue occupied the attention of the country for the first half of 1937; meanwhile, the Supreme Court sustained a number of New Deal laws (notably the Wagner Labor Relations Act) and also upheld a minimum-wage law of the state of Washington, although the year before it had set aside a similar law of the state of New York. These decisions took the "wind out of Mr. Roosevelt's sails"; besides, Justice Van Devanter's resignation from the Court in May, 1937, gave Roosevelt a chance to appoint at least one friendly judge who might convert the liberal minority of the Court to a majority in future decisions. The Senate Judiciary Committee, in a masterly state paper, finally reported the bill for the reorganization of the Court unfavorably, Democrats joining with Republicans in criticizing the proposal. The long debate ended in July, 1937, when the Senate voted overwhelmingly to return the bill to committee. Congress did, however, pass a Supreme Court Retirement Act, providing full pay for judges who retired at the age of seventy, and a Procedural Reform Act, which established reforms in the method of appealing cases from the lower courts when the constitutionality of a law of Congress was the main point at issue. It was hoped the first law might encourage those who had reached the age of seventy to retire voluntarily and the second law would reduce the time ordinarily required for a case involving the constitutionality of a law to reach the Supreme Court.

Time gives Roosevelt a liberal Supreme Court. Although Mr. Roosevelt lost his campaign to reorganize the Supreme Court, within a few years resignations and deaths gave him the victory that Congress denied him. In the first four years of his presidency Mr. Roosevelt did not name any justice to the Supreme Court; but within the next four years (August, 1937, to June, 1941) he designated seven of the nine justices of the Court, and in June, 1941, he named Harlan Fiske Stone, who had been an associate justice, to the chief justiceship in place of Mr. Hughes, who had resigned.

Changes in the membership of the Court have been reflected in the trend of judicial decisions, which have become more liberal. In a series of decisions the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act, the T.V.A., and the Fair Labor Standards Act. It also broadened the definition of interstate commerce, thus reversing earlier decisions, such as that in the child labor cases (pages 422–424), the Danbury Hatters' Case (pages 426–427) and others.

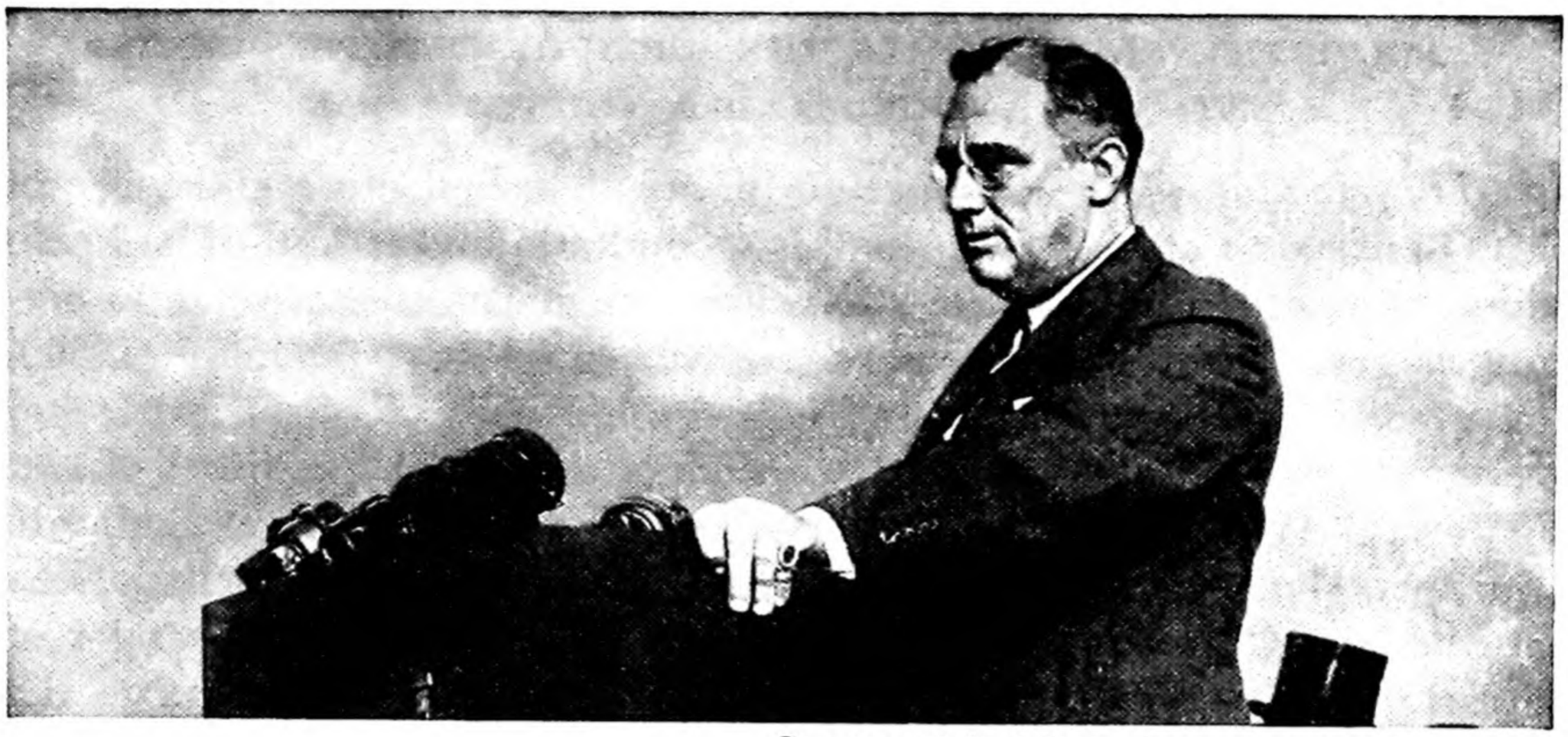
FOREIGN AFFAIRS ONCE AGAIN CROWD IN UPON AN ERA OF DOMESTIC REFORM

Economic nationalism. During the first years of the New Deal (1933–37) America, absorbed with its own problems, turned its back on Europe. During this period "isolationism" was rampant. A World

Economic Conference to stabilize international currencies was held in London in June and July, 1933; at the time high hopes were entertained that it would accomplish much. But the world was stunned and the conference doomed to failure when Mr. Roosevelt suddenly announced that the United States was not willing to conclude any currency agreements with foreign nations. Apparently Mr. Roosevelt believed that such an international agreement in the summer of 1933 might interfere with his own efforts to raise domestic prices. To some extent the President and Congress reflected the mood of the public, which was much more concerned with domestic recovery than with foreign affairs. As the war clouds gathered in Europe, Mr. Roosevelt sensed the drift of events much earlier than most others. In October, 1937, he solemnly warned his countrymen and the world of the danger of unchecked aggression (see pages 711–712); he also endeavored to strengthen the Navy and our overseas fortifications. However, except for the good neighbor policy and the reciprocal tariff acts, there were few official evidences of American interests in world politics.

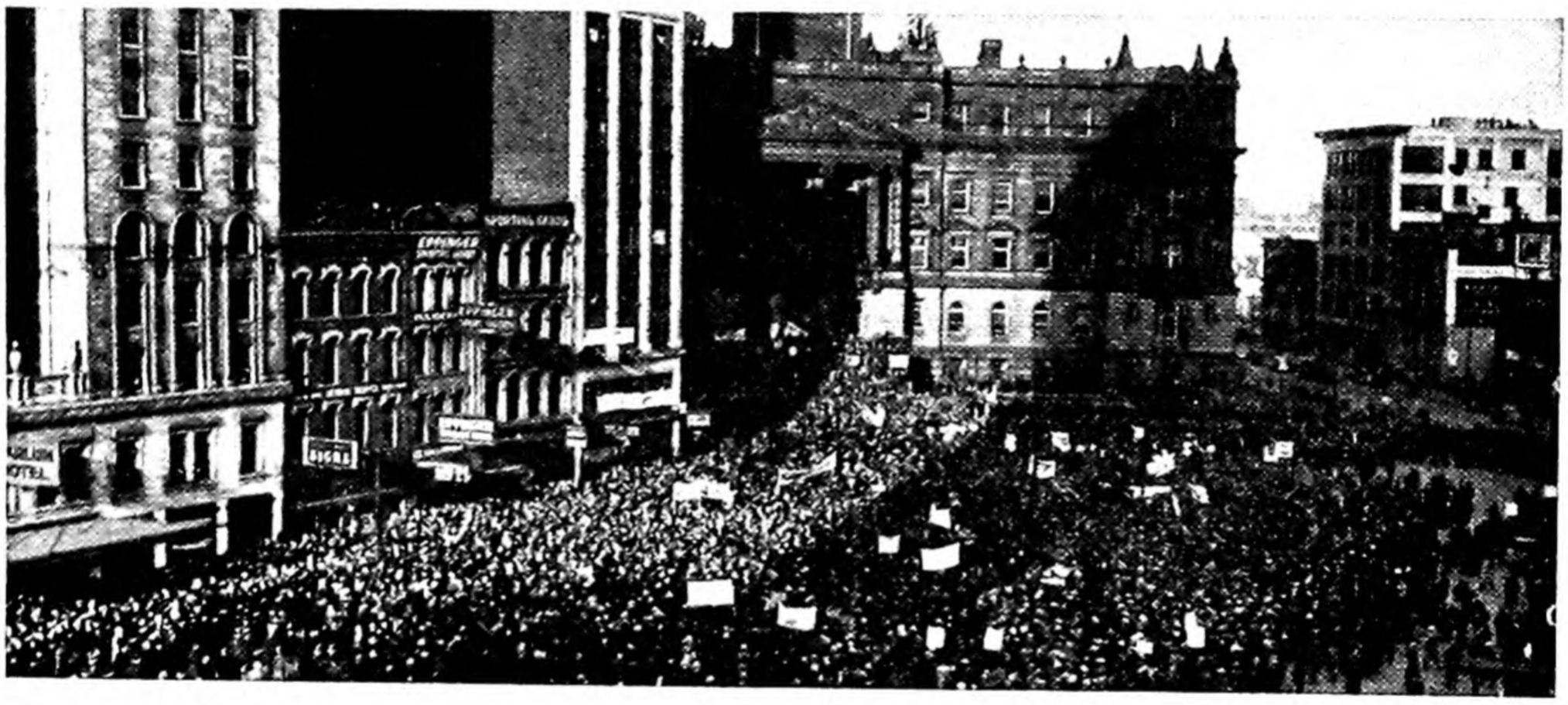
In another effort to revive foreign trade Congress chartered an Export-Import Bank, which could extend foreign credits and engage in various financial operations to stimulate the flow of goods in international trade. In 1933 the recognition of Soviet Russia was partly inspired by the hope that this reversal of a sixteen-year-old policy might foster trade with Russia and thereby help business recovery. However, the reciprocal trade treaties, the Export-Import Bank, and the recognition of Russia brought about only a slight improvement in foreign trade, because the depression was world-wide and the European nations had embarked upon a program of economic nationalism, the prelude to war.

The Reciprocal Tariff Act, 1934. There was evidence of a partial retreat from economic nationalism in the passage by Congress in June, 1934, of a Reciprocal Tariff Act. This law reflected the tariff views which Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, had long advocated in Congress. It gave the President the power to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements with foreign countries. Unlike ordinary treaties, the reciprocal trade agreements could be made without the approval of the Senate, although they could not raise or lower existing duties more than 50 per cent. More than twenty such reciprocal treaties had been completed by the outbreak of World War II. In general the Hull reciprocal trade treaties provided for a lowering of tariffs. Their purpose was to help the administration find a foreign market for surplus American farm and factory products. In 1945, just before his death, Mr. Roosevelt urged the continuation of the Reciprocal Tariff Act, with the modification that the treaties might lower the tariff duties by as much as 75 per cent. Later in the year President Truman did obtain from Congress a modification and extension of the Reciprocal Tariff Act.



Courtesy United States Department of the Interior

President Franklin D. Roosevelt effectively used the radio to win popular support for his program.



Acme

Union sympathizers, massed in Detroit in 1937, paralyzed the city's business center in a demonstration of sympathy for sit-down strikers in automobile plants.



Press Association, Inc.

Wendell L. Willkie (*left*) spoke in support of the Lend-Lease Bill before members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in Washington.

MR. ROOSEVELT BECOMES THE FIRST OF OUR PRESIDENTS TO WIN A THIRD AND A FOURTH TERM

The election of 1940. Foreign affairs absorbed more and more of Mr. Roosevelt's attention during his second administration. The President prevailed upon Congress to revise our neutrality act so as to permit England and France to purchase war supplies (November, 1939), to provide for an unprecedented peacetime expansion of the Army and Navy, and to stimulate industry to produce enormous quantities of war material. When election time rolled round, a fierce war was raging in Europe. Poland, Norway, Belgium, Holland, and France had been crushed by Germany, and Great Britain was in immediate danger of invasion. Mr. Roosevelt accepted the third-term nomination on the ground that the problems growing out of the European war made his continuance in office advisable. Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, was nominated for the vice-presidency.

The Republican Convention nominated Wendell Willkie for President and Senator Charles McNary of Oregon for Vice-President. Mr. Willkie was new to politics but, as president of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, a public utility corporation, he had achieved prominence as an outspoken critic of the T.V.A. and in general of government competition with private industry. Mr. Willkie had become an active candidate for the nomination only a few months before the convention. He attracted such a popular following that he defeated the Republican bosses, who opposed his nomination. Mr. Willkie proved to be a vigorous campaigner. He refused, however, to make Roosevelt's foreign policies an issue, for he declared that he agreed with Roosevelt's desire to render all possible aid "short of war" to Great Britain and her allies. The 1940 campaign, therefore, was unique in that it was confined to domestic issues at a time when foreign affairs were extremely critical. Mr. Willkie seemed to be in sympathy with many of the basic purposes of the New Deal and directed his criticism to the "inefficiency" of the New Deal and to the "excessive interference with business." When the ballots were counted, Mr. Roosevelt had 449 electoral votes from 38 states, as against 82 electoral votes from 10 states for Mr. Willkie. However, Mr. Willkie made a remarkable showing, as reflected by the popular vote, for of a total of 49,500,000 ballots cast, 22,300,000 were for Willkie.

It is interesting to note that throughout 1941 Mr. Willkie stoutly championed Roosevelt's foreign policy, and, temporarily at least, Republicans and Democrats joined in an enormous program of defense and "all-out" aid to the nations fighting Germany (pages 763–766).

During the 1940 campaign the country adopted peacetime conscription; in March, 1941, Congress approved Lend-Lease (pages 763–764); and in December, 1941, the United States entered the war. Conse-

quently Mr. Roosevelt's third term, like Mr. Wilson's second term, was concerned with the problems of war.

The Presidential election of 1944. In 1944, for the third time in its history, the United States went through the democratic process of electing a President in wartime. Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York was the Republican nominee for President and Governor Bricker of Ohio the vice-presidential nominee. Mr. Roosevelt accepted a fourth-term nomination; but because of opposition from conservative Democrats, Mr. Henry A. Wallace was denied the second place on the ticket. The Political Action Committee of the C.I.O. wanted the liberal Mr. Wallace as vice-presidential candidate. The Democratic convention would probably have nominated him had Mr. Roosevelt urged it. But as a political strategist Mr. Roosevelt thought that Mr. Wallace would hurt his own chances for re-election, and consequently he did not actively support Mr. Wallace for renomination. Instead, Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri became the vice-presidential nominee of the Democrats. Mr. Dewey put up a vigorous campaign, pledging Republican support for American participation in a world security organization, and confining most of his criticism to Mr. Roosevelt's handling of domestic problems. Roosevelt and Truman won the election, receiving 432 electoral votes to Dewey's 99, and 25,600,000 popular votes to Mr. Dewey's 22,000,000.

Probably the most important phase of this election was the activity of labor. The C.I.O., months before the election, organized a Political Action Committee pledged to support Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wallace for renomination, and also to support candidates favorable to labor. The P.A.C. was very effectively organized; in many instances the support or opposition of the P.A.C. was the decisive factor in the election or defeat of candidates. The Communists had ceased to function as a political party and supported Mr. Roosevelt. It was charged during the campaign that the P.A.C. was communist in its sympathies. Mr. Sidney Hillman, the leader and organizer of P.A.C., stoutly denied this charge. The P.A.C. was not able to secure the vice-presidential nomination for Mr. Wallace, but Wallace loyally supported the Roosevelt-Truman ticket. His reward came shortly after Mr. Roosevelt's fourth inauguration, when Roosevelt asked Jesse Jones to step aside as Secretary of Commerce so that he could name Mr. Wallace to the post. This precipitated a revolt in the Senate, because conservative members did not wish Mr. Wallace to have control of the Commerce Department and the powerful Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The P.A.C. rushed to the defense of Mr. Wallace, but the Senate separated the Reconstruction Finance Corporation from the Commerce Department, and a little later confirmed Mr. Wallace as Secretary of Commerce.

On April 12, 1945, President Roosevelt died, and for the seventh time in our history a Vice-President took the oath of office as President.

President Harry S. Truman promised to carry forward Mr. Roosevelt's policies. Mr. Truman faced a difficult task. The people of the country, while mourning the loss of their president in a critical period, faced the uncertain future with confidence. Within a few months the war came to an end. In 1948 Mr. Truman was elected President in his own right (see pages 804–805).

Words and Phrases

Agricultural Adjustment Acts, 1933 and 1938, "Bank holiday," Banking Act of 1935, codes of fair competition, collective bargaining, company union, Congress of Industrial Organizations, deficit financing, devaluation of the dollar, gold clause repeal, Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 1933, 1935, industrial union, investment banking, Motor Carrier Act, 1935, Muscle Shoals, National Industrial Recovery Act, 1933, 1935, National Labor Relations Act, 1935, "priming the pump," Public Works Administration (P.W.A.), Public Utility Holding Company Act, 1935, Reciprocal Tariff Act, 1935, Regional Authorities, reflation, Securities and Exchange Commission, 1934, Ship Subsidy Act, 1936, Silver Purchase Act, 1934, sit-down strike, Supreme Court Retirement Act, 1937, Transportation Act, 1940, Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933 (T.V.A.), unbalanced budget, United States Housing Authority, 1937, United States Maritime Commission, 1936, War Labor Disputes Act, 1943, Works Progress Administration, 1935 (W.P.A.), "yardstick"

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What defects in the banking system became apparent as a result of the boom and the depression? How were they corrected by the Banking Acts of 1933 and 1935?
2. How does the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation tend to centralize control over banking practices?
3. Compare the work of the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission.
4. What steps toward inflation (or reflation) were taken by the Roosevelt administration?
5. Why is an unbalanced budget a form of inflation?
6. What are the obstacles faced by a political administration in balancing the budget and avoiding inflation?
7. What were the provisions of the Reciprocal Tariff Act? Why is it referred to as a partial retreat from economic nationalism?
8. State the principles underlying the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, the Domestic Allotment and Soil Conservation Act of 1936, and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938. As a long-time program, which of these measures provides the best approach to a solution of the farm problem?
9. On what basis did the Supreme Court declare the A.A.A. of 1933 unconstitutional; that of 1938 constitutional?
10. How did the Roosevelt farm program benefit others than farmers?

11. What did the National Industrial Recovery Act seek to accomplish? Why was it declared unconstitutional?
12. How has the federal government tried to provide for railroad workers?
13. What were the reasons for the Motor Carrier Act of 1935?
14. How is the work of the Federal Communications Commission and the United States Maritime Commission related to that of the Interstate Commerce Commission?
15. What is a public utility? Why have state and local governments "regulated" public utility companies?
16. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the public utility holding company?
17. Why did the federal government attempt to regulate public utility holding companies?
18. What are the provisions of the Wheeler-Rayburn Act? State the arguments for and against the policy outlined in this Act.
19. What are the obstacles to the greater development of hydroelectricity?
20. What are the various purposes of the T.V.A.? Why is it frequently referred to as a profoundly important "social experiment"? (Investigate and report also on the social and economic effects of the Bonneville and Grand Coulee projects on the Columbia River.)
21. Outline the advantages and disadvantages of organizing the country under the control of several Regional Authorities.
22. What were the provisions of the War Labor Disputes Act, 1943? If you had been a member of Congress would you have voted to override the President's veto of this measure? Give your reasons.

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Report on the work of the Resettlement Administration, 1935–37.
2. How is the farm problem related to the subject of flood control, power development, and conservation?
3. Debate the merits of Mr. Roosevelt's Supreme Court proposals.
4. Compare Mr. Roosevelt's suggestions concerning the Supreme Court with those of the Progressives.
5. After wider reading on the subject, endeavor to resolve the conflict between those who argue that crop curtailment is economically unsound, stimulates imports of agricultural products, and imposes an extra burden on the factory worker, and those who contend that the economic distress of American farmers justifies a program of agricultural "planning." Should American farming be "subsidized"? Relate your discussion of this topic to the tariff and to subsidies for a merchant marine.
6. Investigate the claims of public utility companies and the T.V.A. concerning the value of T.V.A. as a "yardstick" to measure the reasonableness of the price charged consumers by privately managed utilities.
7. Scan the daily newspapers for evidences of propaganda on the subject of private or public ownership of public utilities.
8. Do you think that the Supreme Court should have the right to reverse the actions of public utility commissions?
9. Debate the question that the government should not engage in competition with private business.

10. Investigate and report on the operation of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.
11. The problems resulting from the T.V.A. experiment are likely to be a major issue in American economic and political life for some time. Prepare an outline of subsequent developments, including decisions of the Supreme Court on aspects of the T.V.A. and the reaction of the public utility companies and public utility investors to "government competition" with private industry.
12. Tell what led to each of the following measures, and show in general how the provisions of each measure were designed to remedy existing evils: The Independent Treasury Act of 1840, the National Banking Act, 1863, the Federal Reserve Act, 1913, and the Banking Act of 1935.
13. President Roosevelt has been criticized for not utilizing the crisis of 1933 to establish government-owned-and-operated banks. Would this have been preferable to the reforms actually effected? What are the objections to the government ownership and management of banks? To what extent was the Banking Act of 1935 a satisfactory and workable compromise? (Investigate the English and Canadian banking systems.)
14. After studying the subject in texts in economics, explain how the devaluation of the dollar was expected to stimulate foreign trade. Prepare special reports on the actual effects of dollar devaluation as compared with arguments that were advanced for and against it at the time.
15. Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement with the statement that the future will probably see "more rather than fewer social controls."
16. The declared purpose of the New Deal was to create jobs, add to the farmer's income, increase the purchasing power of the masses, help those in debt and out of work, protect sound investments, formulate a program of security against old age, sickness, and unemployment, and in foreign affairs to pursue the policy of the "good neighbor." Explain what was done to accomplish these purposes.
17. The New Deal borrowed heavily from populism, progressivism, and the New Freedom; but it advanced far beyond them, involving the direct intervention of the federal government to control the actual workings of our economic system. Indicate the reasons for your agreement or disagreement with this statement.

Suggested Reading

THE NEW DEAL: Beard and Beard, II, 738–749; Brogan, *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Y.C.S.), pp. 19–42, 356–363; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 551–558; Lindley, *The Roosevelt Revolution*, pp. 3–68; Nevins and Hacker, eds., *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs, 1918–1943*, pp. 347–375; Peel and Donnelly, *The 1932 Campaign: An Analysis;* Perkins, Frances, *The Roosevelt I Knew;* Roosevelt, Franklin D., *Looking Forward;* Schlesinger, pp. 343–358; Wecter, Dixon, *The Age of the Great Depression, 1929–1941* (A.L.S.); Commager, Nos. 475, 476 – Democratic Platform of 1932, and Roosevelt's first inaugural; also Nos. 477, 479, 484, 490, 500, 503 for important legislation; Amherst Readings, *The New Deal – Revolution or Evolution? Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Supreme Court.*

AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION: Beard and Smith, *The Future Comes,* pp. 75–91; Black, *Agricultural Reform in the United States,* pp. 232–301; Brogan, *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Y.C.S.), pp. 142–166; Gee, *Place of Agriculture in American Life,* pp. 154–185; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 561–562; Seligman, *The Economics of Farm Relief;* Slichter, *Modern Economic Society,* pp. 428–448; Commager, Nos. 411, 461, 462, 477 – Agricultural legislation.

PUBLIC UTILITIES: Beard and Beard, II, 715–716; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan,* pp. 568–573; Beard and Smith, *The Future Comes,* pp. 118–142; Brogan, *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Y.C.S.), pp. 240–258; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 569–570; Hart, V, 332–335; Keir, *March of Commerce* (Pageant), Chaps. XI–XIII; Laidler, *The Concentration of Control in American Industry,* pp. 149–173; Lilienthal, D. E., *TVA, Democracy on the March;* Malin, *The United States after the World War,* pp. 258–265; Norris, George W., *Fighting Liberal;* Commager, Nos. 470, 479 – Hoover's Veto of Muscle Shoals Act; the T.V.A.

PRESENT DAY RAILROAD PROBLEMS: Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan,* pp. 408–413; Faulkner, pp. 674–676; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 568–569; Lindley, *The Roosevelt Revolution,* pp. 130–134; Locklin, *Railroad Regulation since 1920;* Commager, No. 483 – Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933.

THE NEW DEAL AND BANKING: Beard and Smith, *The Future Comes,* pp. 92–117; Brogan, *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Y.C.S.), pp. 60–70; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 567–568, 578–579; Hacker, L. M., *American Problems of Today,* pp. 234–244; Lindley, *The Roosevelt Revolution,* pp. 70–126, 135–147; Schlesinger, pp. 358–359.

LABOR AND THE NEW DEAL: Brogan, *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Y.C.S.), pp. 167–196; Faulkner, H. U., and Starr, M., *Labor in America,* 152–221; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 564–567, 649–652; Hacker, L. M., *American Problems of Today,* pp. 217–229, 305–315; Commager, No. 484 – National Industrial Recovery Act (labor provisions); Amherst Readings, *Industry-wide Collective Bargaining – Promise or Menace?*

CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

Immigration

THE UNITED STATES IS A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS

The present civilization of the Western Hemisphere is dominated by peoples of Old World origin. Ever since the days of Columbus, successive waves of immigration have poured into the New World. According to the first census (1790) the population of the country was a little less than four million. The census of 1950 gave the continental population of the United States as close to one hundred fifty million. Immigration contributed no small part to this stupendous growth.

Causes of immigration. The causes of immigration have been many; but outstanding at all times has been the economic motive — the desire for land ownership. Even when religious, political, and racial persecutions played their part in causing people to seek another place to live, the desire for economic improvement was usually present also.

Colonial immigration. In the colonial period a number of different peoples of Europe settled on the Atlantic seaboard. There were, for example, French, Dutch, Swedish, German, Irish, and Scotch, although most of the settlers in what is now the United States were English. Since the English predominated, they determined the language, laws, and forms of government that became the basis of American life.

The periods of immigration. There are about five great periods in the history of immigration to the United States: the first, from the close of the Revolution to about 1825; the second, from 1825 to the War between the States; the third, from the close of the War between the States to about 1890; the fourth, from 1890 to World War I; and the fifth, from World War I to the present.

Immigration before the War between the States. In the first period a total of about three hundred thousand people came to this country, chiefly from the nations of northern and western Europe. In the second period there arrived about five million immigrants from the same countries. This migration included large groups of German and Irish immigrants, especially in the period between 1845 and 1855. The Irish potato famine of 1846 and 1847 and dissatisfaction with England's economic and political policies toward Ireland sent hundreds of thousands of Irish to our shores. Within a period of about seven years more than a million and a half Irish came to the United States. Political troubles

in Germany in 1848 led hundreds of thousands of Germans to seek refuge in the United States.

The beginnings of opposition to the immigrant. During this period the older settlers began to show signs of opposition toward the newer ones. The immigrant has always been content — at least for a few years after his coming — to accept a lower standard of living than those already here. The immigrants who furnished the bulk of the unskilled labor of the country crowded the earlier inhabitants out of the lowly and poorly paid jobs, and were later crowded out themselves by succeeding waves of immigrants. Labor began to oppose unrestricted immigration on the ground that immigrants tended to keep wages down and to lower the American standard of living. Prejudice toward the new immigrant also began to appear at this time. This prejudice was based on differences in religions and on differences in nationality. Very frequently, however, it was really caused by fear that the immigrant was taking jobs and economic opportunities away from the earlier immigrants. As early as the 1830's secret societies were formed to protest against the foreigner, and "native" Americans organized political movements to discriminate against him. One evidence of this feeling was the Know-Nothing movement of the 1850's; a more recent manifestation of it was the Ku Klux Klan movement of the 1920's; more frequently local groups have organized to propagandize their pet prejudices against particular foreign groups. Despite these "nativist" movements the general policy of the government toward the immigrant was one of welcome. Americans took pride in America as the land of opportunity, the haven for the oppressed.

Immigration from 1860–90. The economic revolution after the War between the States required large numbers of workers. Manufacturers and the builders of railroads welcomed immigrants. The Western states also encouraged immigration. Larger numbers than ever before began to come to the land of opportunity. The chief source of immigrants during this period continued to be Germany and the British Isles; large numbers also came from the Scandinavian countries.

The "new" immigration, 1890–1914. As the decades of the 1880's closed, it was noticeable that the origin of the immigrant stream shifted from northern and western to southern and southeastern Europe. For example, in the early 1880's about three fourths of the immigrants were from northwestern Europe. Some twenty years later, nearly three fourths came from Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy. Taking the census year of 1890 as an arbitrary date, it has become customary to refer to the immigration before that year as the "old" immigration and that since 1890 as the "new" immigration.

The new immigration came when the industrial revolution was in full swing and the frontier had disappeared. These new immigrants found an America very different from that found by their predecessors.

There was no longer good land to be had for little or nothing. Two thirds of the new immigrants were men of working age, almost a fourth of whom came to America intending to return to their families in the Old World after they had accumulated a little fortune.

Encouragement of immigration by business interests. The large corporations sent their agents to Europe to spread stories about great opportunities that awaited the immigrant in America. They lured many would-be immigrants to the new world by offering them jobs. Steamship lines promoted immigration by means of alluring advertisements and salesmen who told such tales of American wealth that many immigrants came to believe that American streets were paved with gold.

The hard lot of the new immigrant. Many of the new immigrants were poor, unskilled, and illiterate. Leaving overcrowded, backward countries, they went directly to our industrial centers and accepted work at the bottom of the wage scale. They huddled together in hovels and tenements under living conditions often worse than they had left.

New immigrants in the factory and mining towns. The story of Lawrence, Massachusetts, is that of many a mill town of the East. In 1848 the textile mills of Lawrence were doing a thriving business. The population was six thousand, and of this number two thirds were native Americans. The other third were Irish immigrants. In 1910 the population was eighty-five thousand. Of this number six sevenths were of foreign birth or of foreign parentage. Nearly one third of this group were new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. The majority of the laborers in the textile mills were foreign-born. The same tendency was noticeable in other cities and other industries. In 1870 the coal miners of eastern Pennsylvania were either native Americans or immigrants from the British Isles and Germany; by 1910 most were Slavs or Italians. The development of a policy of selective immigration coincides with labor's opposition and the coming of the "newer" immigration.

THE UNITED STATES DECIDES TO RESTRICT IMMIGRATION

Differences between the old and new immigration. (1) The old immigration had come at a time when the country was growing and could absorb many new settlers. (2) The old immigration came in smaller numbers than the new. (3) Politicians more easily exploited the new immigrants to obtain their votes. (4) The old immigrants had come from nations with institutions, customs, and ideas similar to those of the settlers already here; the new immigrants had customs that were different from American ways. Thus it was claimed the "new" immigrant could not be so easily assimilated, that is, molded to American ways of living.



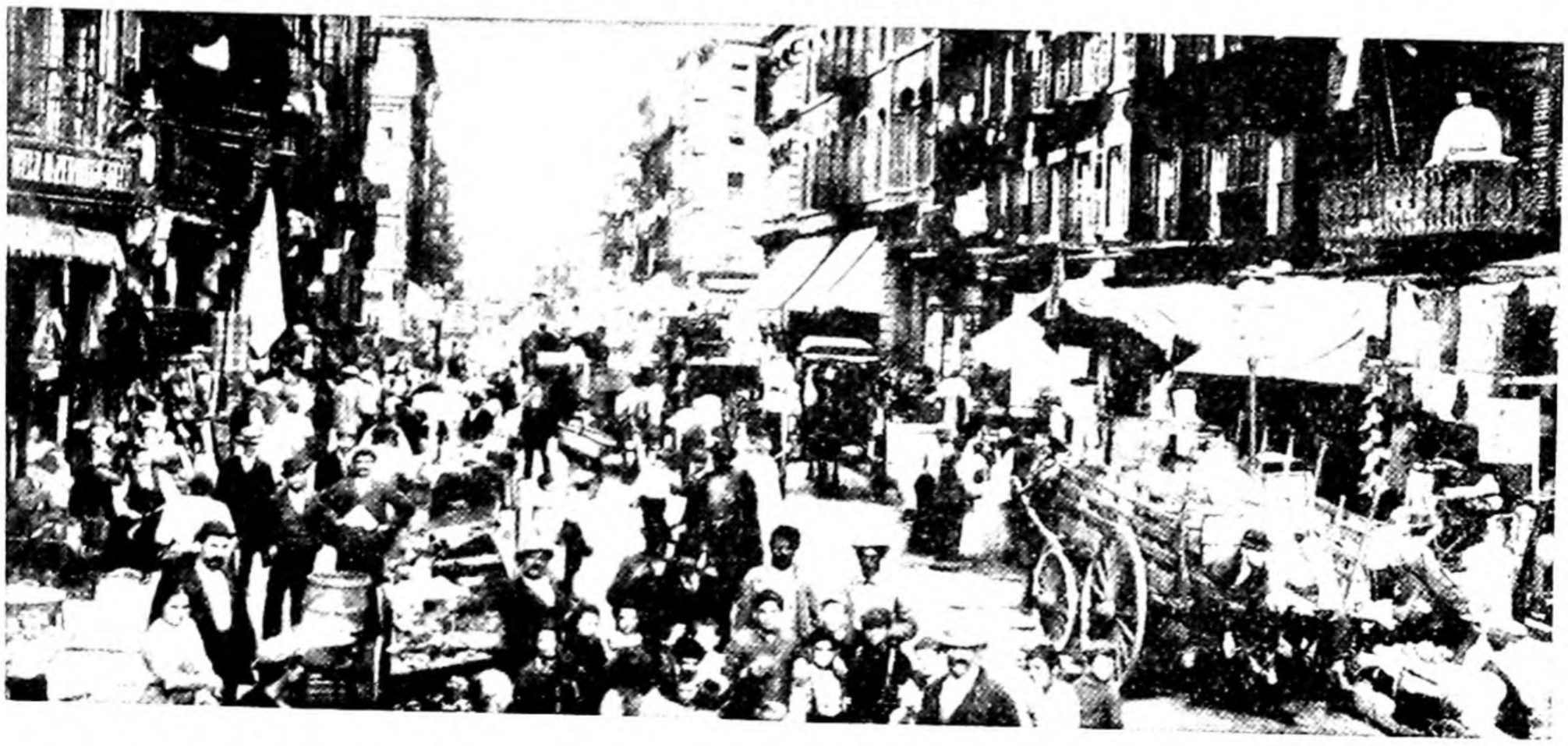
Culver Service

These immigrants land on the wharf at Castle Garden, Battery Park, at the extreme tip of Manhattan in the late 1870's.



From a drawing by Frenzeny in *Harper's Weekly*, February 3, 1877

Chinese immigrants arrive at the San Francisco customhouse. Most of the immigrants from the Far East landed on the Pacific Coast.



Brown Brothers

By 1900, Mulberry Street was the heart of "Little Italy" in New York City. Many of the poorest Italian immigrants from southern Italy settled in this district.

The problem of Americanization. The new immigrants crowded together with others of their own kind. Most of our great cities soon had areas known, for instance, as "Little Italy," "Little Greece," "Little Bohemia." Bewildered by their inability to speak our language, the immigrants read foreign-language newspapers and went to foreign-language churches and theaters. The older people found it almost impossible to become Americanized. The public schools, however, did invaluable work, and the second generation of foreigners quickly adapted themselves to the ideals and conditions of American life. Various organizations attempted to carry the work of Americanization to the adult foreigners, but the task was extremely difficult. The necessity for Americanization was obvious when war broke out in 1914. The problem that resulted while America was a neutral was embarrassing enough; it became a serious matter when the United States entered the war. Although most of the "hyphenated" Americans, as they were called, supported the country of their adoption, some did so reluctantly and some were outspoken in their sympathy with America's enemies. This wartime experience was a factor which strengthened the movement for Americanization and the demands of labor for the restriction of immigration.

Selective immigration. With the general immigration act of 1882 Congress began the practice of selective immigration. This law suspended Chinese immigration, the only definitely restrictive law that Congress passed until 1921. But between 1882 and 1921 Congress passed a series of laws which excluded certain classes of immigrants. In general these laws excluded: (1) criminals, (2) the mentally disabled, (3) those afflicted with certain diseases, (4) those likely to become public charges, (5) anarchists and other radicals who advocated the overthrow of government by force, (6) contract laborers, that is, those who were contracted for by steamship companies or industrial corporations, (7) polygamists, (8) aliens not eligible for citizenship (this referred chiefly to all Asiatics), and (9) those "who cannot read the English language or some other language or dialect." This literacy test was vetoed by Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson, but was finally passed over Wilson's veto in 1917.

Restrictive immigration. After World War I there was a rush of immigrants to the New World. Fearing that the problem of Americanization would get beyond control, and that serious disturbances might attend the addition of large numbers to our labor supply during a period of adjustment, Congress passed an immigration bill.

1. The law of 1921. This law — the first to restrict immigration by numbers, or quotas — specified that each nation would be allowed to send to the United States each year no more than 3 per cent of the number of persons of that nation in the United States as shown by the census of 1910. The number expected to enter was about three hundred

fifty thousand; but the law permitted so many exceptions that in 1924 twice that number entered the country.

2. Discrimination in favor of the old immigration. In 1924 Congress reduced the number of immigrants allowed to enter. Two per cent of the foreign "nationals" in the country, according to the census of 1890, were permitted to enter. On this basis the annual quota was about one hundred sixty-seven thousand. The 1890 census was used as a basis for the determination of quotas in order to cut down the proportion of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. One of the chief reasons for discriminating in favor of the peoples of northern and western Europe was the popular, although false, notion, that the people of northern and western Europe are superior mentally and physically to the peoples of southern Europe. This theory of "Nordic supremacy," although no reputable scientist sustains it, flatters the "Nordic." Hitler and the Nazis gave some popularity to this idea.

The National Origins Plan, July, 1929. The 2 per cent feature of the law of 1924 was temporary. The permanent feature of the law is known as the "national origins plan."

1. Determination of quotas. The national origins plan of quota restriction, which finally went into effect July 1, 1929, provides that the total immigration from "quota" countries in one year shall be limited to 150,000. "The annual quota for any one nationality shall be the number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 having that national origin bears to the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 of European origin." The great difficulty in applying the principle was to determine the number of inhabitants in 1920 of the national origin of the group to be admitted. A special Quota Board was set up to determine this figure and the annual quota for each country. In filing its report, the Quota Board observed that "the information available raises grave doubts as to the value of these computations as the basis for the purpose intended."

2. Other features of the Quota Law. There are three other features of the law which need mention. First, the law specified that every country should be allowed to send a minimum of one hundred immigrants per year, even though its quota figure fell below that amount. Secondly, the law definitely excluded Asiatic immigrants. In the third place, the Quota Law did not apply to the Western Hemisphere.

3. Nonquota immigration from the Western Hemisphere. Since 1929 nonquota immigration to the United States from countries of the Western Hemisphere has been as heavy in some years as the quota immigration from Europe. Thousands of laborers from Mexico have crossed the border into our Southwest. There they are welcomed by fruit and beet-sugar growers and other employers of unskilled labor. Some have proposed that quotas be assigned to the countries of Latin

America, but nothing has been done, partly because the depression acted as a bar to immigration and partly because employers objected to cutting off the supply of low-paid laborers.

The immigration of Asiatics. The way in which our immigration policy may influence our international friendships is best illustrated by the story of the exclusion of Asiatics. 1. Opposition to the Chinese. After the settlement of California in the middle of the last century large numbers of Chinese migrated to the Pacific coast, where they worked as unskilled laborers. Many were imported to work on railroad construction. Gradually opposition to Chinese immigration developed, and in 1880 China, by treaty, recognized the right of the United States to "regulate, limit or suspend" the immigration of Chinese laborers. In 1882 Congress suspended Chinese immigration for a ten-year period. This restriction was later renewed. In 1894, by another treaty, the entry of Chinese laborers was prohibited for ten years, and in 1904 Congress continued the exclusion of the Chinese without any time limit. During World War II (1943) this law was repealed and the Chinese placed under the provisions of the Quota Law.

2. The "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan. Meanwhile, Japanese immigration began to grow in numbers. The Japanese, instead of engaging in manual tasks, obtained land and began to compete with American farmers. The presence of the Japanese became an issue in the politics of the Pacific states, particularly in California. Japanese children were for a short time excluded from the public schools. Japanese were not allowed to become landowners. The Pacific states even proposed to check immigration by state action. The Japanese government protested to the federal government, which could do nothing but inform the Japanese officials that it had no control over the school or land laws of states. The situation was tense. The whole problem was quietly solved by the famous "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907, by which Japan promised to refuse passports to Japanese laborers seeking admittance to the United States. The United States was content to let Japan control the migration of her own people.

3. Abrogation of the gentlemen's agreement. Although Japan lived up to her promise, congressmen from the Pacific coast, in the debate on the law of 1924, urged that the United States abrogate the gentlemen's agreement of 1907 and assume direct control over her own immigration policy. The protest of the Japanese ambassador and his statement that "grave consequences" might follow such an act stirred the nationalistic ardor of Congress, and the threat was answered by the insertion of a clause stating that "aliens ineligible to citizenship" could not be admitted. In approving the law of 1924 Coolidge expressed regret that Congress had seen fit to abrogate the gentlemen's agreement. This feature of the law of 1924 was a factor in weakening the friendly relations that Japan and the United States had maintained for some time.

Refugees and displaced persons. Conditions in Europe in the 1930's brought up the question of modifying our quota laws to admit a large number of political and religious refugees. Nothing was done, however, until after World War II, when the problem of finding a haven for hundreds of thousands of displaced persons was particularly acute. In 1948 a law permitted the entry of 205,000 displaced persons over a two-year period. Many leaders in both the Democratic and Republican parties were dissatisfied because the law clearly discriminated against a large percentage of displaced persons. In 1950 the restrictions were removed and the number of displaced persons permitted entry was increased to 345,000.

The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952. Congress enacted a new comprehensive immigration law in June 1952. Many had hoped that this law would do away with the peculiar provisions of the 1924 law. But the law in substance retained the provisions of the earlier law on maximum immigration and the quota system. It thus continued the discriminatory restrictions on immigration from eastern and southern Europe. The new law removed the outright ban against Asiatic and Pacific immigration but limited the immigration from this area to 2000. The law established a screening process in an effort to keep out "subversives and other undesirables." Special powers were given to the Attorney General to deport immigrants who were members of the Communist party or Communist front organizations, even after they acquired United States citizenship. President Truman wrote a vigorous message vetoing the bill, claiming that it was discriminatory, unenlightened, and that it would "intensify the repressive and inhumane aspects of our immigration procedure." But by a narrow margin Congress overrode the President's veto and the McCarran-Walter Act became law.

Words and Phrases

Americanization, assimilation, contract labor, gentlemen's agreement, literacy test, national origins plan, "new" immigration, "Nordic supremacy," "old" immigration, restrictive immigration, selective immigration

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What are the chief causes of the movement of peoples?
2. What economic interests have opposed and what interests have supported unrestricted immigration?
3. What is meant by the theory of "Nordic supremacy"?
4. What has been the attitude of the United States toward Asiatic immigration? Assuming that you had been a member of Congress in 1924, prepare a brief speech explaining your vote on the question of abrogating the gentlemen's agreement with Japan. (If library facilities permit, compare with speeches actually delivered by members of Congress.)
5. Account for the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943. What

changes in our policy toward Asiatic immigrants were included in the McCarran-Walter Act? State the arguments for and against the proposals to revise the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. What have been the outstanding contributions of the immigrant to American life and culture? (Consult several special accounts. Class work on the question might take the form of the development of an assembly program or the outline of material for a pageant.)
2. Should the present quota law be repealed? If so what would you substitute – some form of selective immigration or a different type of restriction? Should the present quota principle be extended to the countries of the Western Hemisphere?
3. After reading and discussion formulate and defend the policy that the United States should pursue with regard to the deportation of aliens illegally within the country.
4. Consulting several encyclopedias and special works, prepare a brief report on the findings of reputable authorities on the subject of "races," "racial origins," and "racial supremacy." Why have certain words and phrases been placed in quotation marks?
5. Investigate and report on emigration from and immigration to the United States in the past few years.
6. Investigate and report on the problems involved in the admission of political refugees in the 1930's and 1940's.

Suggested Reading

IMMIGRATION: Beard and Beard, II, 242–246, 766–768; Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict* (A.L.S.), pp. 120–147; Faulkner, pp. 300–302, 482–485; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 117–123, 523–526; Hart, V, 64–71, 74–83; Latané, *America as a World Power* (A.N.S.), pp. 285–303; Orth, *Our Foreigners* (Y.C.S.); Schlesinger, pp. 116–120, 166–171, 330–332; Riis, Jacob A., *The Making of an American;* Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, pp. 1–21; Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After*, pp. 296–302; Stephenson, *History of American Immigration;* Commager, Nos. 307, 367, 404, 422, 453 – Immigration Laws. (Consult "Headline Books" of the Foreign Policy Association and pamphlets sponsored by the National Education Association and the National Council for the Social Studies. In this latter series, see especially *Race and Cultural Relations* by Ruth Benedict and Mildred Ellis.)

CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN

The Conservation of Our Natural and Human Resources

THE UNITED STATES HAS WASTED ITS NATURAL RESOURCES

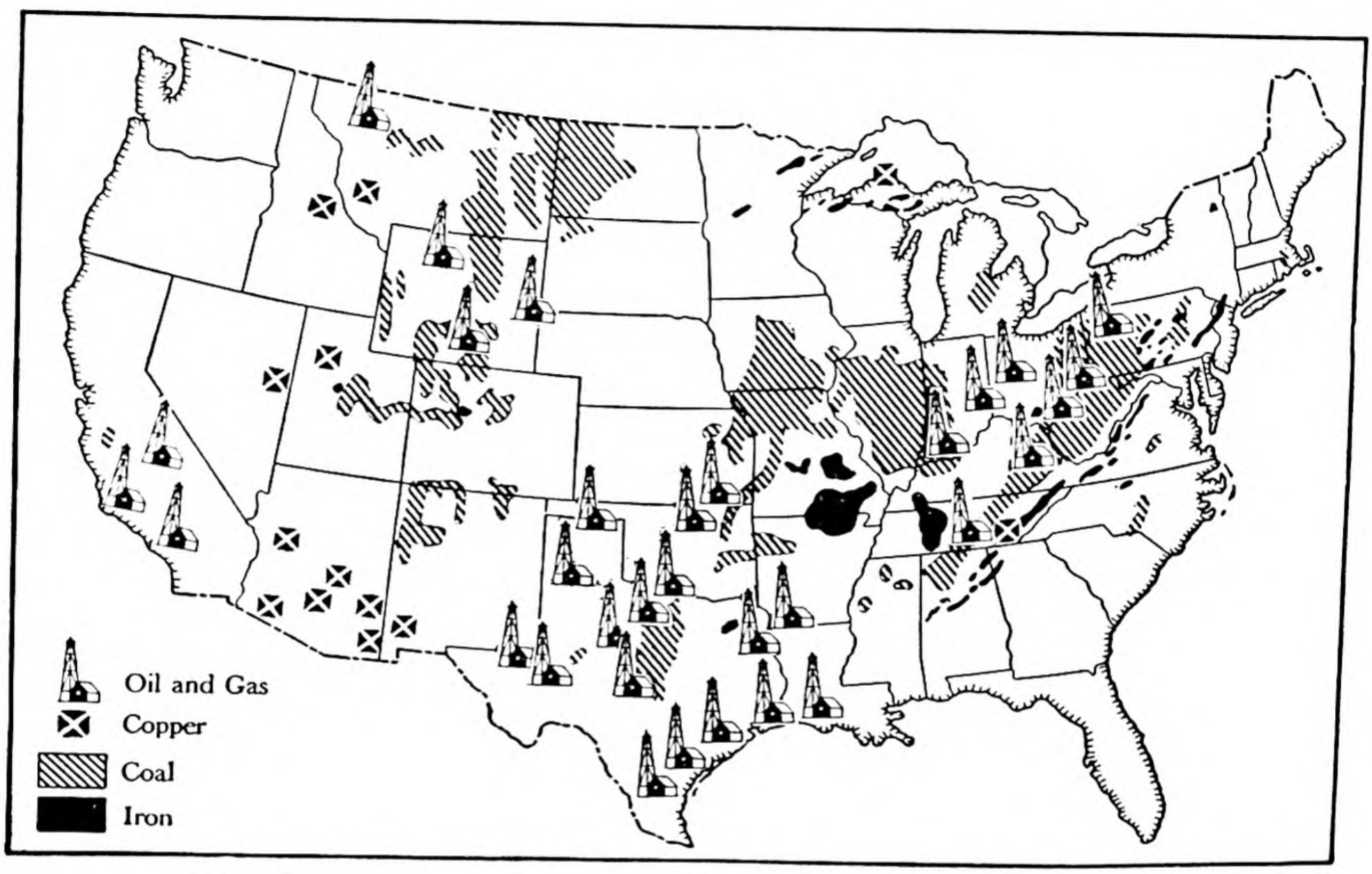
Spending from an inexhaustible supply." When H. G. Wells visited the United States in Theodore Roosevelt's time and saw New York City, he thought it "lavish of light, . . . lavish of everything, . . . full of the sense of spending from an inexhaustible supply." What he said of New York could be applied to American life everywhere; indeed, it characterized the attitude of the whole country.

Extravagant exploitation of natural resources. From the days of the earliest settlements people acted as though American resources in soil, minerals, and forests were unlimited; and so they seemed. Through ignorance or carelessness or greed, a great portion of these resources have been destroyed. Forests were regarded as a common nuisance and burned as rapidly as possible in order to clear the land. The grasses, leaves, and surface mold were likewise burned. The fires did threefold injury: (1) valuable timber was destroyed; (2) the killing of the surface roots allowed rains to wash away the richest earth, only to clog the navigable rivers; (3) the burning of the decaying vegetable matter seriously reduced the fertility of the soil.

A similar waste characterized the development of our mineral resources. Since it was both difficult and expensive to cap the outlet pipes of oil and gas wells on account of high pressure, in many cases these were allowed to flow unchecked, as though the oil or gas would flow forever. Carelessness in mining coal, taking out only the richer part of the coal seam and abandoning the mine with two or three times as much of the less easily mined coal left behind, meant the total loss of much of the material, for it would probably never pay to reopen such an abandoned mine. The search for quick profits, as well as the absence of improved equipment and methods, was responsible for much of the waste in mining.

Waste in use. There were also wastes in use. Much coal has been wasted by imperfect combustion in furnaces, either because of improperly built furnaces or of ignorance in stoking. Formerly, lighting plants converted less than one per cent of the heat value of the coal into electric light. Heat, gases, and other by-products went to waste.

At the same time that fuels were being wasted in use, water power which might have been utilized to check the waste of coal was little used. Not only was the water power not used, but the water was allowed to do much damage in floods. The control of floods depends in part on reforestation and in part on building basins or lakes to contain the surplus water. The damage done by the Ohio floods of 1937 alone has been estimated as high as $500,000,000.



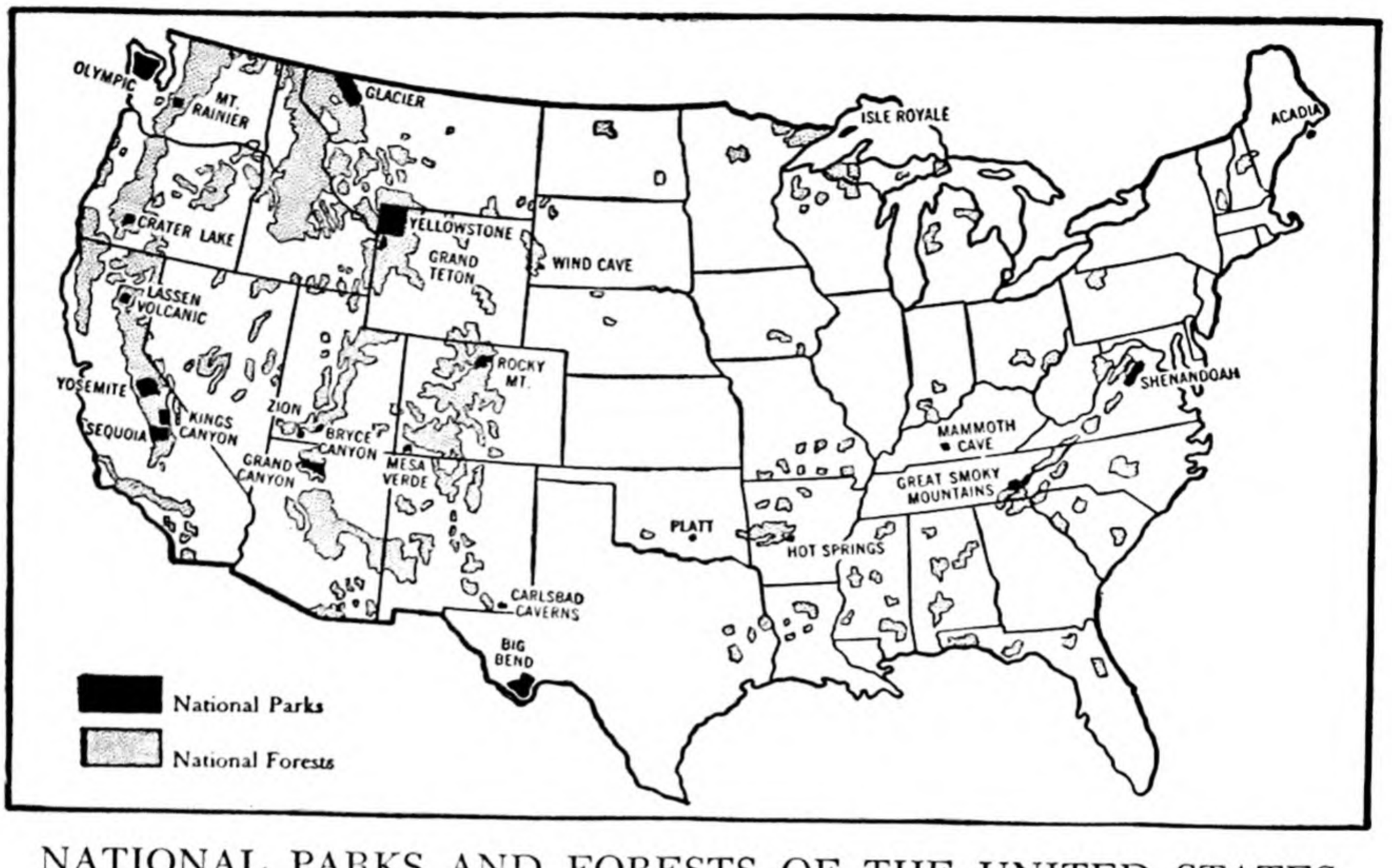
MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES

Limits to American resources. The increase in the use of natural resources became alarming to thoughtful students. In 1870 thirty million tons of coal were mined; in 1900, three hundred million tons. Similar increases in the consumption of iron ore, petroleum, and other mineral resources raised the question of the future of an industrial nation without natural resources. A government commission estimated that our coal supply would be exhausted in one hundred fifty years, our supply of iron ore in less than fifty years. Alarming guesses of this character stimulate the exploitation and discovery of new sources of iron ore, oil, and other raw materials, the search for substitutes and a more economical and efficient use of raw materials in order to postpone the approach of shortage or exhaustion (pages 377–378, 616).

THE UNITED STATES BEGINS TO CONSERVE ITS NATURAL RESOURCES

A changed attitude toward natural resources. The waste of natural resources which characterized American economic development is a

condition of frontier life. What is more natural than for a country to be lavish with its apparently limitless natural resources, especially when it lacked two other important factors in production — capital and an adequate supply of labor? It was no mere accident, then, that the American people did not awake to the necessity of conserving their resources until the frontier had disappeared, the industrial revolution had developed, and immigration had overcome the labor shortage.



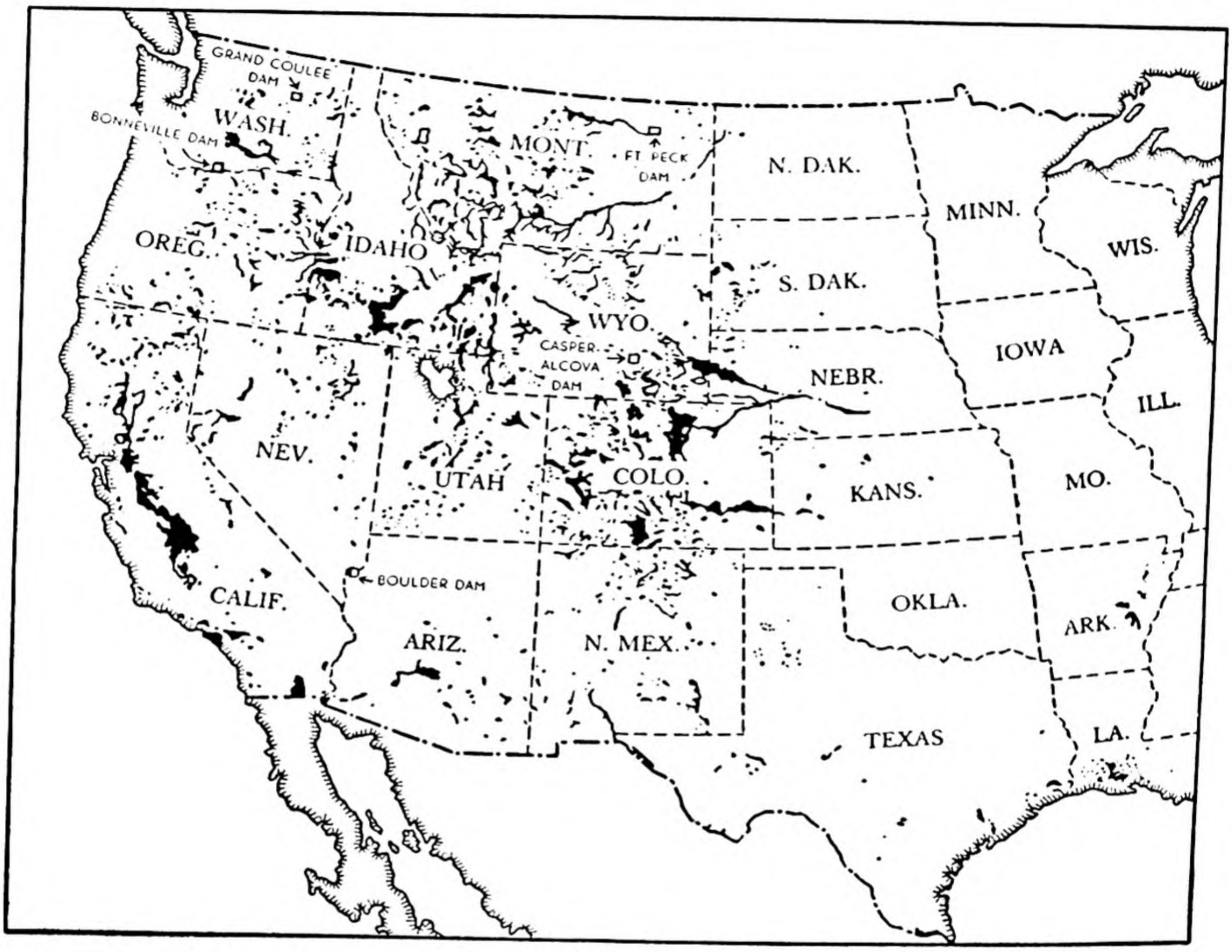
NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS OF THE UNITED STATES

The conservation movement. The movement to stop waste and to conserve natural resources had its origin in the new group of scientific men that the agricultural colleges, the technical schools, and the universities had been training since the War between the States. As a result of their investigations and reports, Congress in 1891 authorized the President to withdraw forest lands from sale and to establish national forest reserves to slow up the rapid destruction of the nation's forests. Presidents Harrison and Cleveland established several forest reserves.

Gifford Pinchot. In 1898 Gifford Pinchot became the chief of a new federal forestry service. He had studied forestry in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, where careful cultivation of forests had been a dire necessity for some time. He went into the national service with a full understanding of the problem of the nation's forests.

Major Powell and Frederick H. Newell. While the attention of Congress was being directed to legislation for the conservation of the forests, other scientists were urging the more effective use of water resources for inland navigation, water power, and the irrigation of arid lands. The director of the Geological Survey of the United States from

1881 to 1894, Major John Wesley Powell, urged the federal government to take a direct part in the irrigation of arid lands. In 1888 Congress authorized the Geological Survey to study and report on the practicability of his plans. Authority was given to withdraw from sale those public lands suitable as sites for irrigation works. Under the direction of Frederick H. Newell, the Geological Survey prepared for the day when the government would give it an opportunity to carry out its plans.

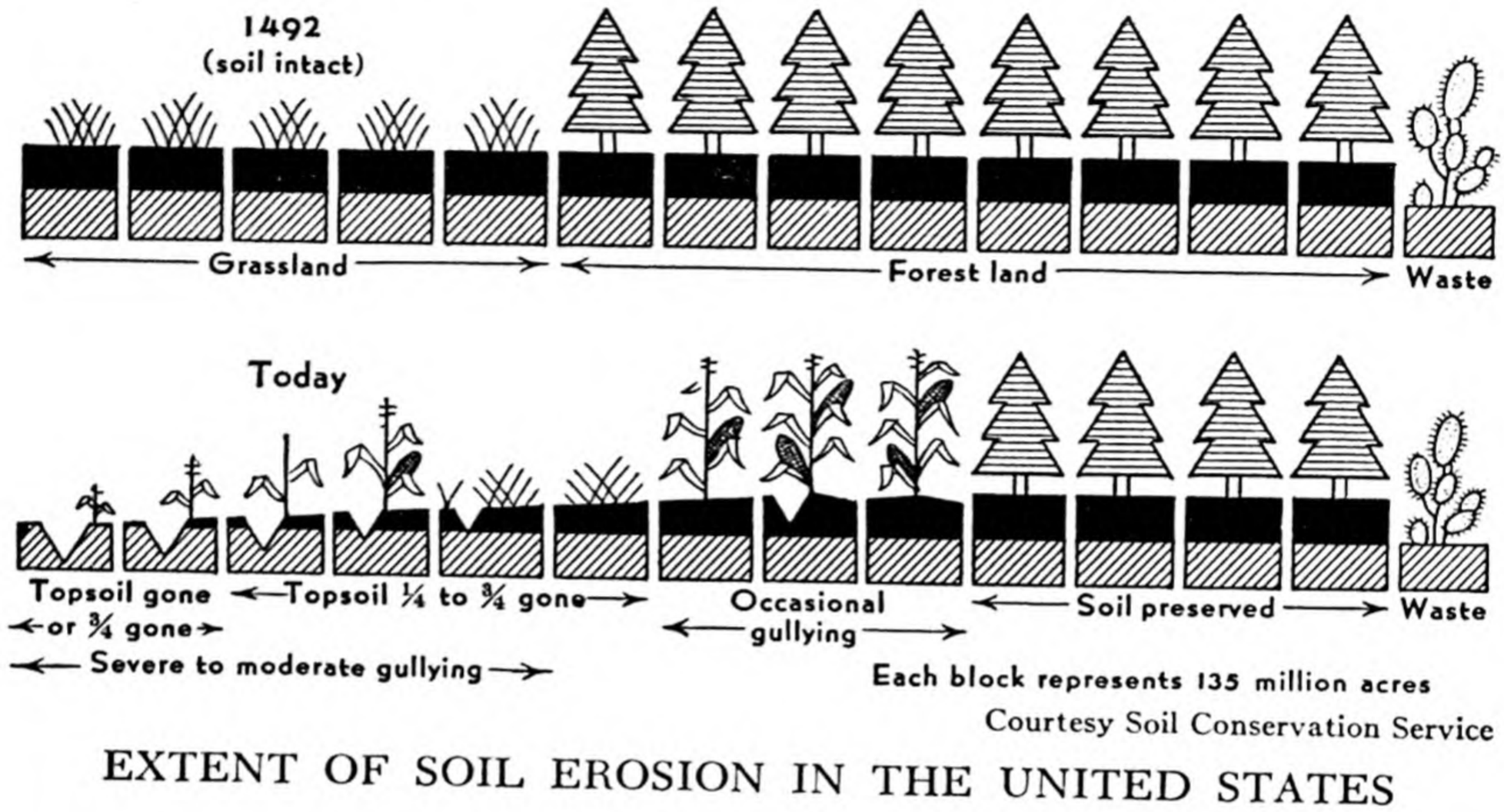


FEDERAL IRRIGATION PROJECTS

President Roosevelt, leader of conservationists. President Theodore Roosevelt did more than any other one man to awaken the people to the necessity for conservation. His interest in the conservation movement was quite natural. All his life he had spent much of his time out of doors. Many hunting trips in the Maine forests, in the Adirondacks, and in the Rockies, and two years as a ranchman in the West gave him an understanding of our resources in game, forest, and water, and what their abuse would mean. In his first message to Congress (1901), Roosevelt declared that "*Forest* and *water* problems are perhaps the most vital questions of the United States." The message called upon Congress to carry out plans that men in public service had prepared.

The Newlands Act. In June, 1902, the Newlands Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to use the proceeds of the sale of public

lands to build irrigation works in sixteen Western states and territories. The reclaimed lands were to be given to homesteaders, provided they paid for the cost of the water rights. The money paid by the settlers was in turn to go into further irrigation works. Within a year six large irrigation projects were authorized, and before Roosevelt retired from the presidency, twenty-five projects were under way. Much more, of course, has been accomplished in recent years. (Note in map, page 612, location and extent of federal irrigation projects.)



Courtesy Soil Conservation Service

EXTENT OF SOIL EROSION IN THE UNITED STATES

The Forest Service. Spending public money to carry water to those who would use the arid lands was popular. The case was different with the national forests. Forest conservation would keep lumber companies out of valuable land and would cut grazing damage by compelling ranchmen to pay for pasturing their cattle and sheep in the forests. Such a policy would tread on the toes of a great many Western people. Four presidential messages had to bring the problem of the national forests to the attention of Congress before Pinchot and his men were given adequate authority to organize the care and protection of our forests (1905). Roosevelt added to the forest reserves until much forest land in the Pacific and the Rocky Mountain states was under public regulation. Trained foresters in the United States Forest Service attacked the problems of fire prevention and reforesting.

The general conference on conservation. In each of Roosevelt's annual messages to Congress he called attention to some phase of the conservation movement. During 1907 he appointed an Inland Waterways Commission to "consider the relations of the streams to the use of all the great permanent natural resources and their conservation." The success of the venture encouraged more ambitious schemes. Roosevelt called the state governors to the White House to confer on conservation. "It seems to me time," said President Roosevelt, "for the country

to take account of its natural resources, and to inquire how long they are likely to last. We are prosperous now; we should not forget that it will be just as important to our descendants to be prosperous in their time." The purpose of the conference was to enlist the support of the several states in the conservation movement. The sphere of activity of the federal government was of necessity limited, and the co-operation of the states was vital if any effective program was to be worked out.

1. A program of conservation. The conference drafted a declaration of principles, a plan of legislation, and a proposal for further investigation by states and nation. As a result, forty-one state conservation commissions and a National Conservation Commission were soon at work. The National Commission, with Gifford Pinchot as chairman, prepared an inventory of national resources in minerals, forests, waters, and soils, with estimates of their duration. Since 1944 the duties of this commission have been carried on by other government agencies. The future land policy recommended by the National Conservation Commission included:

(a) Each part of the public lands should be devoted to the use which will best serve the interests of the whole people. (b) The classification of all public lands is necessary for their administration in the interests of the people. (c) The timber, the minerals, and the surface of public lands should be disposed of *separately*. (d) Public land more valuable for conserving water supply, timber, and natural beauties than for agriculture should be withheld from all except mineral entry. (e) Title to the surface of the remaining nonmineral public lands should be granted only to actual homesteaders. (f) Pending the transfer of title to the remaining public lands, they should be administered by the government and their use should be allowed in a way to prevent waste and to control monopoly. Laws passed during the Taft administration carried out portions of this program.

2. The ultimate success of the program. In general, the main outlines of this program of action have been carried out, although not without opposition. The conservationists were opposed by those who saw opportunities for quick profits in the exploitation of the rich timber and mineral reserves of the government. Many Westerners were cool toward conservation projects. They argued that the Easterners had grown wealthy in using up Western resources. Should the West deny itself access to quick profits? But the conservation movement could not be stopped. Succeeding Presidents have carried on the great work that Theodore Roosevelt began. Various government agencies have served the conservation movement, including the National Resources Committee, the Forest Service, the Reclamation Service, the Geological Survey, the Soil Conservation Service, the Biological Service, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and a variety of other agencies of the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture.



Courtesy United States Forest Service

This burned timber in the Clearwater National Forest, Idaho, shows the havoc that is wrought by forest fires.



Dust moving in a windstorm from cultivated fields near Rapid City, South Dakota, at times virtually hid this group of farm buildings.



Courtesy United States Soil Conservation Service

Contour cultivation and strip cropping help in the conservation of soil.

Co-operation of the states and private industry. State conservation commissions were soon at work, and there followed an annual harvest of acts to conserve fish and game and to create forest reservations and game preserves. This work has gone on steadily. The conservation movement also has penetrated into industry; research workers are constantly seeking ways to eliminate the astonishing wastes of modern industry. The accomplishments have been startling. A few years ago five pounds of coal had to be used to generate one kilowatt hour of electricity; today less than a pound of coal is necessary. Science has found ways to utilize the scrap heap and waste pile. Constant improvements in the Diesel engine add immeasurably to our future oil supply. During World War II necessity compelled the introduction of many resource-saving devices. The profit motive has stimulated private industry to accomplish much in the way of conservation, but at the same time the desire for profits has been a stumbling block to the successful carrying out of some features of the government's conservation program. Land, forests, and minerals are sources of wealth and power; thus some Americans, imbued with traditions of private property and private initiative, still clamor for unrestrained access to these resources.

Conservation scandals. Although politicians constantly pay lip service to conservation, they have not always acted in a way to promote it. Thus, there have been scandals in connection with the execution of the government's conservation policy. Two of them are of importance.

1. The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy. During Taft's administration, the Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger, was accused of favoring private interests in the administration of public lands. Pinchot, the government forester, and others connected with the Department of the Interior protested that Ballinger was reopening for exploitation by capitalists certain coal lands and water-power sites of the forest reserves of the Northwest and Alaska. A heated controversy ensued, in which Taft supported Ballinger and dismissed Pinchot, who was regarded by the public as the great champion of conservation. Public criticism of Pinchot's dismissal was so intense that Ballinger resigned to save the Taft administration any further embarrassment.

2. The oil lease scandals. A much more flagrant scandal occurred in Harding's administration. Under Albert B. Fall, Secretary of the Interior, the Teapot Dome Reserve in Wyoming was leased to oil interests controlled by H. F. Sinclair, and the Elk Hills Reserve in California was leased to Edward L. Doheny, an old friend of Fall. The terms of the leases were extremely liberal, and fraud, or at least favoritism, was suspected, even though Fall claimed that the leases had been made because the oil was gradually being drained away from these lands and it was wise policy to exploit it before it was all gone.

An investigating committee, ably led by Senator Thomas Walsh of Montana, revealed, among other things, that Doheny had given Fall

$100,000 shortly before he obtained the lease. It was also charged that a large portion of the profits had found their way into the campaign funds of the Republican party. Secretary Fall and two other Cabinet members resigned. Civil suits were started to invalidate the leases. The Supreme Court, in ordering the return of the reserves to the government, did so on the ground that the transaction was fraudulent. Criminal suits were brought against Doheny, Fall, and Sinclair. Fall was the only one convicted. He was fined and imprisoned, the only example in our history of the punishment of a Cabinet officer.

President Hoover's contribution to conservation. This scandal undoubtedly influenced one of the first acts of Herbert Hoover after his inauguration as President in 1929. He announced that no leases of government oil lands would be approved unless Congress ordered it. A few days later Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, announced that all existing oil permits would be re-examined.

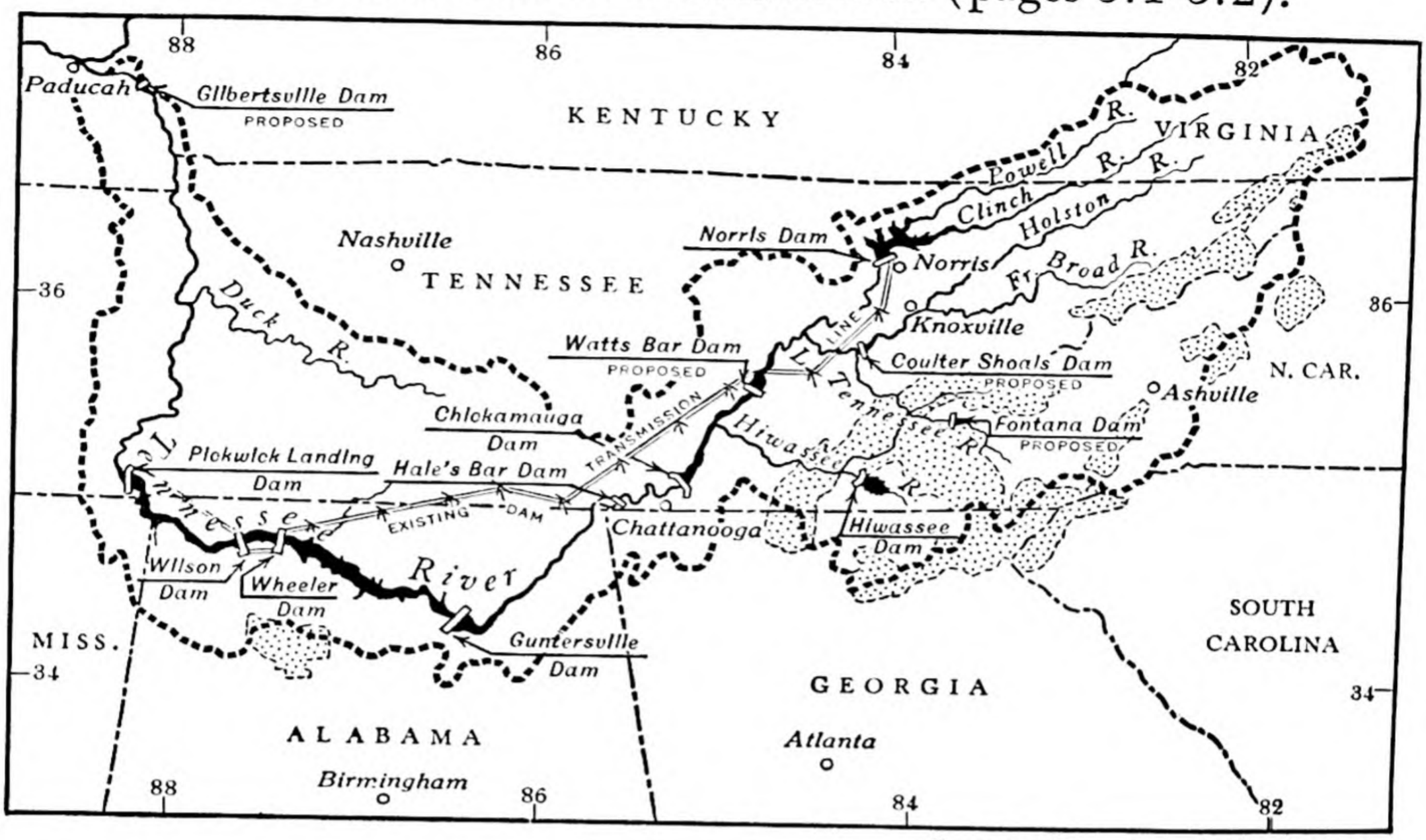
President Hoover, influenced no doubt by his experience in organizing flood relief, pointed out serious aspects of the conservation problem which had heretofore been neglected. He stated that "we are confronted with a major problem in conservation due to the overgrazing on public lands. The effect of overgrazing (which has now become general) is not only to destroy the ranges, but by impairing the ground coverage seriously to menace the water supply in many parts of the West through quick run-off, spring floods, and autumn drought. . . . There still remains the necessity for extensive storage of water."

UNDER THE NEW DEAL AN ELABORATE CONSERVATION PROGRAM IS DEVELOPED

A drought in 1934, dust storms in 1935, and disastrous floods in 1936 and again in 1937 made the country acutely aware of these problems. To prevent dust storms and floods and to stimulate recovery by spending federal funds for public works, conservation projects of a wide variety were undertaken. One enthusiast stated that more was done in three years than in the previous thirty.

The T.V.A. Among the most important conservation laws were the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, which provided for the inauguration of a wide range of conservation activities (pages 579–582); the Agricultural Adjustment Acts of 1933 and 1938; and the Soil Erosion Act of 1935. The last named Act created the Soil Conservation Service within the Department of Agriculture and authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase or condemn land necessary to prevent erosion, to conduct surveys, to use preventive measures, and to cooperate with or give financial help to any private agency undertaking the work of preventing soil erosion. Elsewhere we have learned (page 570) how features of this law were extended in 1936 to provide

benefit payments to farmers who produced soil-binding and nitrogen-gathering crops. Another temporary New Deal agency which attracted attention to the problem of conserving both natural and human resources was the Resettlement Administration (pages 571–572).



Courtesy Tennessee Valley Authority

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY

The C.C.C. and other relief agencies. One of the most effective New Deal laws was the Reforestation Unemployment Act of 1933. This law provided for a Civilian Conservation Corps (the C.C.C.) which employed young men at thirty dollars a month in the work of reforestation and flood control. The purpose of this law was twofold: to provide a measure of relief (and at the same time rescue youth from idleness) and to promote conservation. Young men enlisted in this civilian army for short periods of time and agreed to allot a little more than two-thirds of their monthly pay to their families. The C.C.C. constructed several hundred thousand erosion dams, planted more than one hundred fifty million trees, and built thousands of miles of forest roads. Although the C.C.C. was discontinued during World War II, its success indicates that something like it might be established as part of a permanent conservation and youth-training program.

Still other relief agencies accomplishing much conservation work were the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) and the Public Works Administration (the P.W.A.).

Conservation possibilities in the future. Much of the conservation work since 1933 was a result of government efforts to "prime the pump" and start industry on its way to recovery. The National Resources Board reported that an adequate conservation program for the next quarter century would involve the expenditure of four billion dollars

annually and the employment of four or five million workers. This gigantic sum gives some idea of the amount of work that needs to be done in order to prevent floods, dust storms, and human misery and suffering.

OUR HUMAN RESOURCES, AS WELL AS OUR NATURAL RESOURCES, COME WITHIN THE CONSERVATION PROGRAM

The need for the conservation of human resources. If land, mines, forests, rivers, and lakes constitute important resources that need conservation, our one hundred fifty million people are another resource of equal or greater importance. In the last analysis a country's wealth consists of its people. If they are healthy, self-reliant, law-abiding, and well prepared for doing the work needed in our economy, the nation will prosper. If some of them are poorly brought up, poorly educated, crippled, diseased, or unemployed, they are a burden to the nation. The problems are numerous — the prevention of unemployment, crime, mental disorders, accidents, disease, and other conditions that impair people's usefulness to society; and the provision of whatever is necessary to make people healthy and efficient, including adequate medical and dental care, wholesome recreation, and cultural and vocational education. Here we have a host of problems to tax the ingenuity of our leaders and to challenge the enthusiasm of youth. Beginnings have been made, but, as in the case of conservation of natural resources, inadequate ones. The stumbling blocks are the same — inertia, the complexity of the task, and the apparent cost. Taxpayers seem unable to realize that money spent on recreation facilities, slum clearance, health, and education will save much of the expense otherwise required for prisons, reformatories, insane asylums, hospitals, and relief, while at the same time increasing the productiveness of the people.

In keeping with our dual form of government the attack on these problems has been undertaken for the most part by state and local governments. As a result, uneven progress has been made. Some states are far in advance in their social legislation; others lag far behind.

Public health. Astonishing progress has been made in improving the health of the people. Infant mortality has been reduced and the average life span of both men and women has been increased. Yet the medical profession, the insurance companies, and the military authorities, on the basis of their findings in examining millions of individuals, tell us that the good that is done in preventing and curing disease is relatively small compared to what can be done. As a way to bring about better public health some Americans advocate "socialized medicine," that is, the provision by society of medical care to everyone needing it, without cost to any who cannot pay. They argue that the benefits of the advances made by curative and preventive medicine are not easily available to the mass of the people. Therefore, malnutrition

and sickness continue to reduce the efficiency of many million citizens.

The opponents of federal health plans point out that hospitals, clinics, and school health services are available in many states and localities. In addition they cite that many doctors, dentists, and nurses with a high degree of social and professional responsibility give free service to the needy and to public and private charities. These opponents argue that socialized medicine is costly, contrary to American ideals, would lead to bureaucracy, and would destroy the relationship between doctor and patient. (See also page 624.)

Control over harmful food and drugs. That harmful products continued to be advertised and sold was known not only to scientists but to the public at large; yet in spite of this it took more than thirty years of agitation before Congress improved the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. Once again society's slowness to act was due to the influence of those who profit by the existing conditions and to the use of the standard arguments of freedom, individual initiative, and private enterprise. After many compromises to satisfy interested groups, the Copeland Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Bill became a law in June, 1938. The new law, which repeals the old law of 1906, carefully defines adulteration and misbranding. Relying upon the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, the Act forbids the sale of adulterated and misbranded foods, drugs, devices, and cosmetics. The Act also forbids the use of deceptive containers and labels, and provides for factory inspection of concerns which produce foods, drugs, and cosmetics. Wording of the law needs clarification to ensure more effective enforcement.

Social legislation. Crime, juvenile delinquency, mental disorders, ill health, and related problems are, of course, closely identified with poverty and bad living conditions such as are found in many rural and urban areas. This fact determines the approach that society must make in dealing with the problem of conserving human resources. Among the steps that have been taken to prevent poverty and the stunting of children's growth are workmen's compensation laws, minimum wage laws, and child labor laws. Many New Deal laws which had the immediate purpose of providing relief either to individuals or to debtors and creditors, or of providing jobs and business recovery, had far-reaching social implications. Thus, in 1935 a National Youth Administration (N.Y.A.) was established to help young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five to find employment, to secure vocational training and guidance, to find part-time employment for needy college students, and to give assistance to needy high school students. The N.Y.A. has been discontinued, but it was of great value to thousands of boys and girls. Another such law was the National Housing Act, 1934, which created a Federal Housing Administration. This act aimed to finance mortgages for the construction of new homes and the renovation of old ones, but it also improved the living conditions of many people.

Efforts such as these, if continued and improved, along with a farm



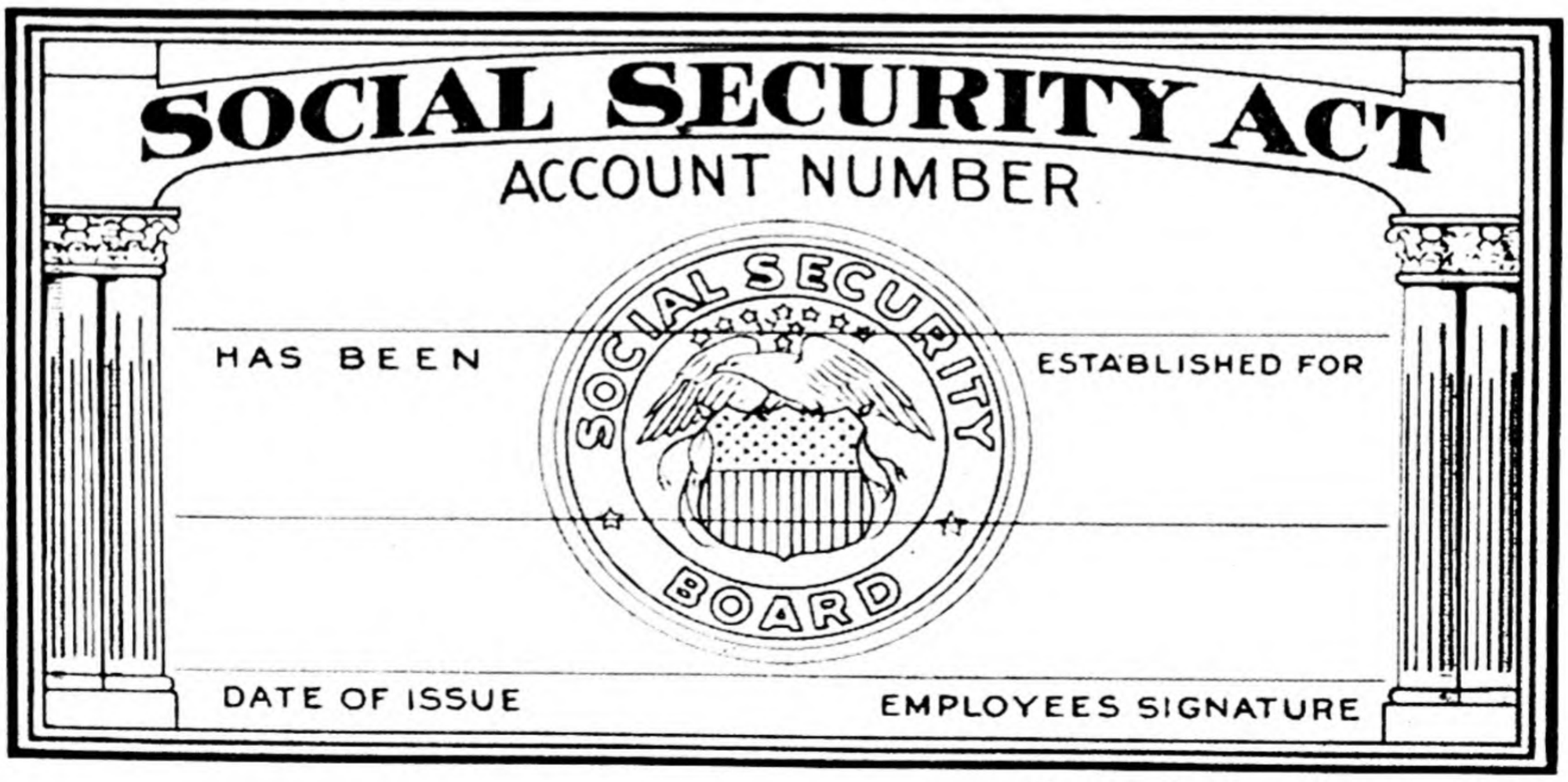
Courtesy Visiting Nurse Association, Waterbury, Connecticut

Well-baby clinics give valuable advice on correct baby care — one of the newer functions and activities of modern government.



Courtesy Children's Bureau

A Children's Court judge listens to a boy offender and his mother. Courts of this type try to prevent juvenile delinquents from following a criminal life.



Courtesy Federal Security Agency

More than one hundred million Social Security cards have been issued to American workers.

tenancy program, the T.V.A., and agricultural rehabilitation, will have a profound effect upon the social problem of human conservation. That they may become permanent features of governmental activity is indicated by the passage in 1937 of the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act, which was intended to promote the elimination of disease- and crime-breeding slums, and to provide adequate low-cost housing for the low-income groups among the population. This law provided for the creation of a United States Housing Authority with authority under certain conditions to extend loans up to 90 per cent of the cost to public housing agencies for the erection of low-rental houses. The law further provided for annual contributions by the Housing Authority to states and cities to finance new housing, provided that the construction of new housing involves the destruction of slum dwellings equal in number to the new houses to be erected. World War II interrupted these efforts, but it also brought new experiences and developments. The lessons learned in depression and in war influenced the nature and extent of social welfare legislation in the postwar period.

The Social Security Act. One of the most important steps ever taken in the United States toward the conservation of human resources was the passage by Congress of the Social Security Act of 1935. This law endeavored to establish safeguards against some of the hazards of old age, unemployment, blindness, and the death of the father of young children. It should be noted that this *federal* law, in seeking to achieve a uniform national policy, avoided the risk of unconstitutionality by a clever use of the taxing power, and by grants-in-aid to the states if they co-operate with the plans of the federal government. There are essentially four parts to the law:

1. General welfare measures. The federal government agreed to match the funds set aside by states to help needy dependent children, to provide for the care and treatment of crippled children, to assist the needy blind, and to help establish a system of mothers' pensions. It also provided outright grants of money to the states for public health and child welfare. These federal grants-in-aid, as they are called, involving the expenditure of several millions of dollars annually, brought about effective state action for human conservation. The states materially extended their health work, their child service work, and their assistance to the crippled and blind as a result of this law.

2. Old-age pensions. Federal aid was extended to states which established a pension system for needy persons sixty-five years of age or over. The federal government promised to give one-half of the benefits paid, but the law limits the federal contribution to fifteen dollars per person per month. To obtain a pension the aged person must prove he is in need and has no relatives who can be required to support him.

3. Old-age and survivors insurance. The law also set up a *compulsory contributory* system of old-age *insurance*, which is the only part of the law administered exclusively by the federal government.

(This insurance system should not be confused with the old-age *pension* grants mentioned above.) The purpose of the old-age and survivors insurance was to lessen the need for *outright pensions in the future*. It did not do away with pensions altogether, for it did not apply to the self-employed, to domestic servants, agricultural laborers, or government employees. The details of the original law have been modified by subsequent legislation. As a result of laws passed in 1950 and 1952 benefits were nearly doubled; the right to qualify for old-age and survivors insurance was extended to include approximately eleven million workers not previously covered — domestic servants, agricultural workers, and the self-employed.

The revenues for old-age insurance are obtained by a pay-roll tax, which began at 1 per cent in January, 1937. Recent amendments require employers to pay a tax of 1½ per cent on wages up to $3600; the worker must contribute a similar amount. The law provides for an increase in the tax to 2 per cent by 1954, and by gradual steps to 3½ per cent by 1970. The amount of the ultimate benefit depends on the individual's annual salary and the number of years he has worked. Persons entitled to old-age insurance may retire at sixty-five. Although the tax went into effect in January, 1937, no annuities were paid till January, 1942. *This annuity belongs to the worker as a matter of right and is not a benefit or gratuity given him by the government.* (In 1937 the federal government also took over the management and responsibility for railroad pension plans that had been established by railroads for their employees.)

4. Unemployment insurance. Finally, the Social Security law tried to persuade the individual states to set up programs of unemployment insurance. As soon as any state passed a compulsory insurance law which conformed to the standards prescribed by the federal act, the federal government undertook the collection from employers of a special pay-roll tax. Ninety per cent of the amount collected in the state is credited to that state. *The employee is not taxed for unemployment insurance.* Funds collected for *unemployment* benefits are held by the federal government and may be invested only in federal obligations.

Every state and territory promptly set up unemployment insurance systems as a result of this feature of the law. The number and the amount of weekly unemployment payments depend upon the length of previous employment and the salary earned. In general payments are made for a period of sixteen to twenty weeks and the maximum rate range is from twenty to thirty dollars per week. Unemployment benefit payments are made by the states, each of which has created its own unemployment insurance agency to administer the law.

Social Security upheld by the Supreme Court. The law accomplished its purpose — to start a nationwide attack upon the problem of insecurity. Doubts concerning the constitutionality of the law were ended on May 24, 1937, when the Supreme Court upheld the old-age

pension sections of the law by a vote of 7 to 2; the unemployment insurance tax by a vote of 5 to 4; and state unemployment insurance laws co-operating with the federal law by a vote of 5 to 4. The majority opinion was based upon the power of the federal government to tax and its right to specify the conditions under which the money so collected shall be spent. This decision, modifying and clarifying the decision concerning the Agricultural Adjustment Act (pages 568–570), opens a wide field of social legislation whereby the federal government can use its taxing power to achieve a uniform national program.

With the Social Security Act of 1935 (and its later improvements), the federal government and the individual states began serious efforts to attack the problem of conserving human resources. It is significant that the criticism originally directed against the law has practically disappeared. Republicans have joined with Democrats in advocating the improvement and extension of the law.

Public housing and socialized medicine. In the postwar period the federal and state governments also extended the efforts begun during the New Deal (pages 620–622) to improve legislation to finance various housing projects. The stoppage of home building construction during the war led to an acute housing shortage. Several cities and states encouraged construction by tax exemption devices, loans, guaranteed mortgages, and by creating state and city housing authorities. The federal government retained rent controls longer than any other wartime price controls. In 1949, the National Housing Act authorized a billion dollars in loans over a five-year period for slum clearance, and a half billion dollars to cover the losses incurred in slum clearance programs.

In messages to Congress in 1949 President Truman urged a nationwide program of health insurance. Bills were introduced in Congress, but not passed, providing payments to students in the fields of medicine, dentistry, nursing, and hospital administration, and funds for national research institutes and prepaid health services. These bills provoked a storm of criticism. The American Medical Association carried on an extensive campaign against socialized medicine (pages 619–620) and in favor of *voluntary* health insurance programs such as the Blue Cross Hospitalization Plan. The association supported proposals to appropriate funds for research and the extension of public health facilities. Congress authorized the expenditure of a hundred and fifty million dollars a year for five years for the construction of public and nonprofit hospitals. (The increasing cost of health service lends importance to the efforts of labor unions to insert health and hospitalization clauses in their contracts with employers (page 804).)

Words and Phrases

arid land, C.C.C., erosion, forest reserve, Housing Authority, human resources, irrigation, National Conservation Commission, Newlands Act,

N.Y.A., oil lease scandals, Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, old-age pensions, overgrazing, P.W.A., reclamation, socialized medicine, Social Security Act, unemployment insurance, W.P.A.

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What connection is there between the disappearance of the frontier and the adoption of a conservation program?
2. What are the chief difficulties in carrying out a conservation program?
3. Why is state co-operation necessary for an adequate conservation program?
4. Distinguish between the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy and the oil lease scandals.
5. How did Pinchot, Newell, and Theodore Roosevelt contribute to the development of a "public conscience" concerning conservation?
6. How does the Social Security Act help the aged, the unemployed?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. What evidence of waste have you observed in your home, in a store, in your city, state, or in a private industry? What evidences are there of a satisfactory conservation program in your state?
2. Should the government undertake to reclaim arid lands and at the same time endeavor to curtail farm production?
3. Is the comparison between state-supported schools and a state health program a valid one?
4. Why are estimates of the limits of resources in the United States subject to frequent correction?
5. How does the T.V.A. tend to promote the conservation of both natural and human resources? (Pages 579–582.)
6. What are the arguments for and against socialized medicine?
7. The social security program is of immediate and practical importance to each pupil and his parents. As a special project, therefore, each student should undertake a thorough study of the privileges he enjoys under the federal law and the laws of his state. Pupils should be encouraged to explain the whole social security program to their parents to make sure that they have taken the necessary steps to secure the benefits of the various laws.

Suggested Reading

CONSERVATION: Beard and Beard, II, 574–577; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan,* pp. 546–578; Brinser, Ayers, and Shepard, *Our Use of the Land;* Chase, Stuart, *Rich Land, Poor Land;* Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 1–4; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 349–351; Hart, V, 307–316; Howland, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times* (Y.C.S.); Keir, *Epic of Industry* (Pageant), Chaps. V, VI, X; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 96–116; Nevins and Hacker, eds., *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs,* pp. 130–148, 347–375, 549–583; Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation;* Schlesinger, pp. 210–218; Van Hise, *Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States;* Vogt, William, *The Road to Survival;* Commager, Nos. 369, 370, 452, 503 – Roosevelt on Conservation, the Teapot Dome, and the Social Security Acts.

CHAPTER THIRTY-EIGHT

Searching for Ways to Improve Democracy

PUBLIC OPINION, UNCERTAIN AND INDEFINITE, FINDS DIFFICULTY IN SECURING EFFECTIVE ACTION

Making up the public mind. In a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," it is necessary (1) that the people know what they want and (2) that they have an opportunity to get what they want. Each of these problems presents serious difficulties. The first raises the question of the influences which help the public to make up its mind, and the second raises the question of the influences which prevent the people from carrying out their desires. The technique of salesmanship, of making people want something, has become a highly developed art. Consequently, on many public questions the mind of the people is made up by those who have some special interest at stake.

Frustrating the public will. The right of the people to vote for elected representatives does not always mean that the will of the majority will be satisfied. Many fail to exercise the right to vote; others, susceptible to all sorts of influences, are easily persuaded to vote as special interests want them to do. Groups organize and propagandize for a variety of causes: some are temporary; others are permanent and well-financed and directed. One of the most effective propaganda organizations which tries to influence the public is the political party.

1. The political machine. The organization of party workers is commonly referred to as a "machine." The title fits nicely, because the party organization is composed of many small parts all moving toward the same goal — party success, which means reward in the form of an infinite variety of favors. Sometimes the inner group of party managers is called the "ring," but the "ring" is usually dominated by some outstanding person whose will is law, who decides who shall run for office, who shall be appointed to judgeships, janitorships, clerkships, and whether or not the party will approve a certain legislative proposal. The man who controls the "machine" is referred to as the "boss." The "boss" and the political "machine" are very effective and most powerful in the cities. Sometimes a boss is able to get control of the

state organization of his party, although seldom can one man keep the reins long, for several strong local bosses often compete with each other for power. Very seldom does a party leader emerge with sufficient power to be regarded as the national boss. Mark Hanna occupied such a position briefly in 1896.

2. Invisible government. The boss of a local political machine is sometimes an elected official; sometimes the boss is never a candidate for office and may not hold any political job. The boss is not necessarily crooked; sometimes he is clever enough to insist that the city is reasonably well managed, but he always insists that elected and appointive officials take their orders from him. Individuals who desire political advancement soon find themselves retired to private life if they do not obey the boss. Not infrequently two or three men fight within the party ranks for control of the machine, and occasionally a powerful and popular vote-getter may act independently of the boss.

One important function of the political machine is to get out the vote and see to it that all the votes cast are honestly and accurately counted. Each hostile political organization works to this end; and each political organization is somewhat of a check upon the honesty and efficiency of the other. However, deals between leaders of rival parties to divide the spoils have been and still are common.

Behind the scenes in American political life, therefore, there frequently exists in our large cities and sometimes in the states, an individual or a small group of three or four men who control both the elected officials and the voters, sometimes directly, sometimes by methods that are not easy to perceive. This control has aptly been called "invisible government." Elihu Root, one of the ablest leaders of the Republican party in the first part of the twentieth century, gave (1915) the classic description of "invisible" government as it functioned in his own state of New York:

> What is the government of this state? What has it been during the forty years of my acquaintance with it? . . . The government of the state has presented two different lines of activity, one of the constitutional and statutory officers of the state, and the other of the party leaders — they call them party bosses. They call the system — I do not coin the phrase, I adopt it because it carries its own meaning — "invisible" government. For I do not remember how many years Mr. Conkling was the supreme ruler in this state; the governor did not count; the legislatures did not count; comptrollers and secretaries of state did not count. It was what Mr. Conkling said, and in a great outburst of rage he was pulled down. Then Mr. Platt ruled the state; for nigh upon twenty years he ruled it. . . . The capital was not here [Albany]; it was at 49 Broadway with Mr. Platt and his lieutenants. . . . The ruler of the state during the greater part of the forty years of my acquaintance with the state government has not been any man authorized by the constitution or the law.

VARIOUS REFORMS HAVE SOUGHT TO IMPROVE THE WORKING OF DEMOCRACY

Efforts to improve the election machinery. How can people exercise effective control over the government, visible and invisible? The twentieth century has been productive of a variety of experiments in this direction. For the most part these experiments originated in city, county, and state. The state controls the suffrage, subject to the limitations imposed by the Fifteenth and Nineteenth amendments, and is also responsible for the machinery of elections. Some of the experiments adopted to improve the election machinery are described below.

1. The Australian ballot. Early in our history, voting was *viva voce*, that is, the voter announced his choice so that election officials and bystanders could hear. Under this system the voter was often led to cast his ballot as directed by his employer or creditor or someone else in a position to bring pressure upon him. Later, various types of ballots were used; often the voter wrote down his choice and handed the slip of paper to the officials; still later, the political parties printed their own ballots and not infrequently marked them for the voters before they handed them in. Each party used a different colored ballot, so it was easy to determine for what party the voter cast his ballot. This system was quite common until sixty years ago.

In the 1880's the ballot system developed in Australia was urged as a cure for the obvious defects of the old system of voting. Massachusetts adopted the Australian ballot in 1888, and since then it has found its way into general use throughout the United States. The essentials of the Australian ballot are as follows: (1) The state pays for printing the ballots, which bear the names of the candidates of all the parties recognized in that state. (2) The ballot is obtainable only on the day and at the place of voting. (Some states print differently colored sample ballots and mail them to the voters, but this sample ballot cannot be used.) (3) The ballot is marked by the voter in a booth, where he enjoys secrecy. (4) The voter folds the ballot so that his marking cannot be determined and hands it to an election official who deposits it, still folded, in the ballot box. (Recently voting machines which keep the main features of the Australian ballot have come into use.)

2. Corrupt Practices Acts. Most of the states have Corrupt Practices Acts intended to insure an honest election. These laws provide for the registration of voters to prevent ineligibles from voting, permit party watchers at the polls to prevent repeaters, prohibit campaigning near the polling place, punish tampering with the ballots and stuffing the ballot boxes with illegal ballots. Many states limit campaign expenditures to a reasonable amount, and prevent corporations from contributing to campaign funds. However, the laws generally contain

loopholes which permit the friends of candidates to evade some of the restrictions on campaign expenditures.

3. The short ballot. There is a widespread demand for what is known as the "short ballot," that is, a ballot which will contain but a few names. This proposal involves a change in American traditions, for it means that a large number of officials who are now elected would be appointed instead. It is argued that since the voter cannot possibly know the merits of all the candidates it would be better if he elected a few policy-determining officials and entrusted them with the selection of other officials. The voter would then be free to give his attention to a few really important officials whom he could hold responsible for the conduct of affairs. It is also argued that the term of office of *policy-shaping* officials should be lengthened (pages 258–260).

4. Methods of eliminating the minority election. When several candidates are seeking the same office, it sometimes happens that the one who is elected has only a minority of the votes cast. To prevent this two devices are sometimes used: (1) a "run-off" election between the highest two men on a ticket if no one of the several candidates succeeds in getting a *majority* of the votes cast; (2) preferential voting, according to which a voter indicates his first, second, and third choice among the candidates; then, if no one has a majority of first choices, the second choices are added to the first, and so on, until someone has a majority.

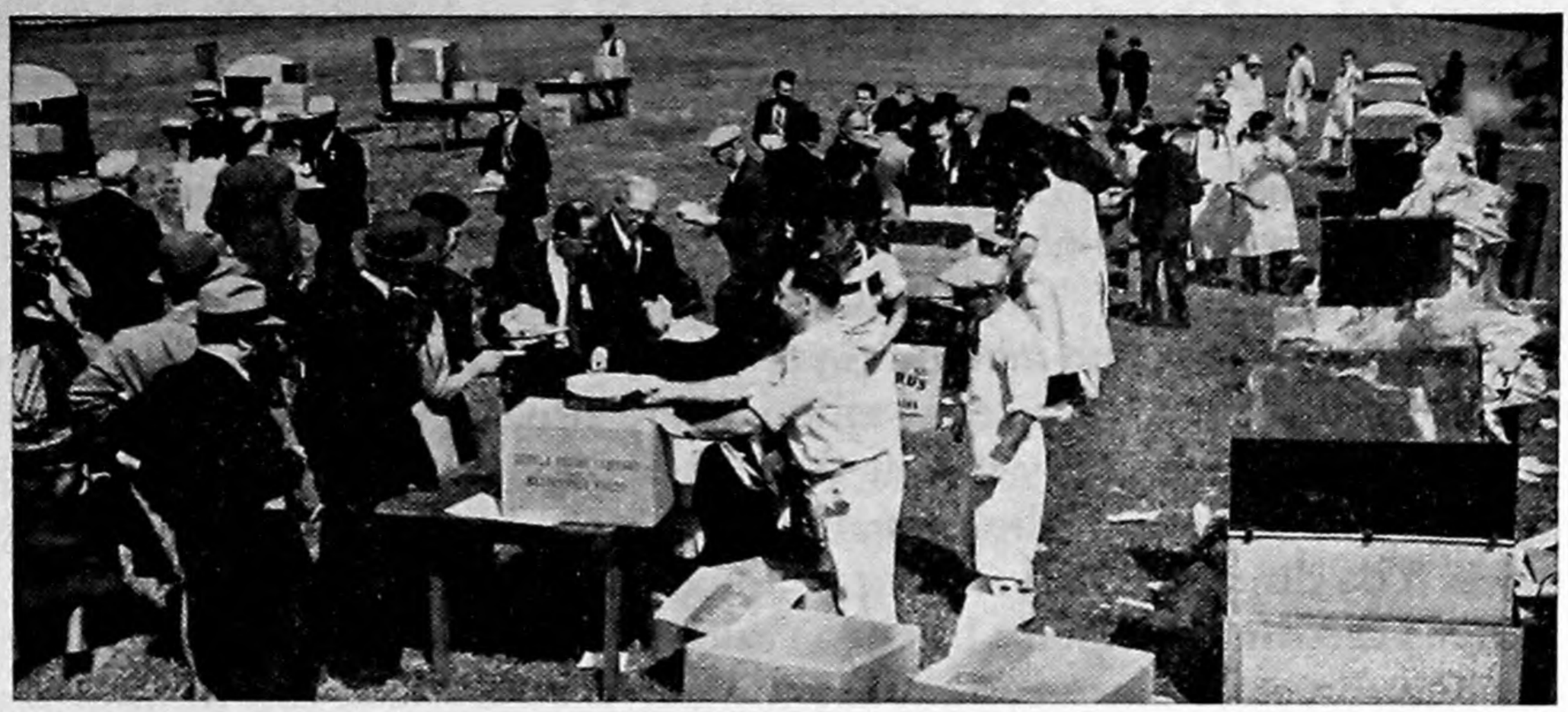
5. Proportional representation. Closely related to the preferential ballot, and frequently used with it, is the system of proportional representation. Its purpose is to give representation to minority groups in legislatures or councils. This plan is held to be an improvement on the usual practice by which a city is divided into districts, each of which elects one member to the city council or board of aldermen. Under the proportional system of voting the candidates are elected not by districts but by the voters of the whole city. Parties secure representation in proportion to their voting strength, and the men elected represent more truly the wishes of the majority of the voters. The chief objections to the proportional system of voting are that it is more difficult to tally, that it may lead to the election of radical minority groups who will obstruct the deliberations of the council, and that it may destroy party responsibility by reducing the strength of the majority party in the council or legislature. Against these objections it is urged that the very purpose of the system is to eliminate the evils of the party system, to encourage able and independent citizens to seek public office, and to obtain effective minority criticism. Proportional representation has been used in Belgium, Sweden, and Switzerland, and in a few small American cities. In 1937 New York City began to use a system of proportional and preferential voting for the election of members to the city council. However, the plan was criticized because it was costly, the

voters were confused by the large number of candidates, and some communists were elected. It was discontinued in 1947.

Qualifications for voting. The usual qualifications for voting are briefly as follows: (1) age (twenty-one is the usual voting age, though some states have debated reducing the voting age to eighteen and Georgia has actually done so); (2) citizenship (formerly some states permitted aliens to vote who declared their intention of becoming citizens); (3) residence within the state and district (in general, not more than a year's residence is required). A few states insist upon the payment of a poll tax, and some limit the suffrage to those who pay property taxes. Recently, several states have adopted a literacy test, requiring the voter to demonstrate his ability to read and write English.

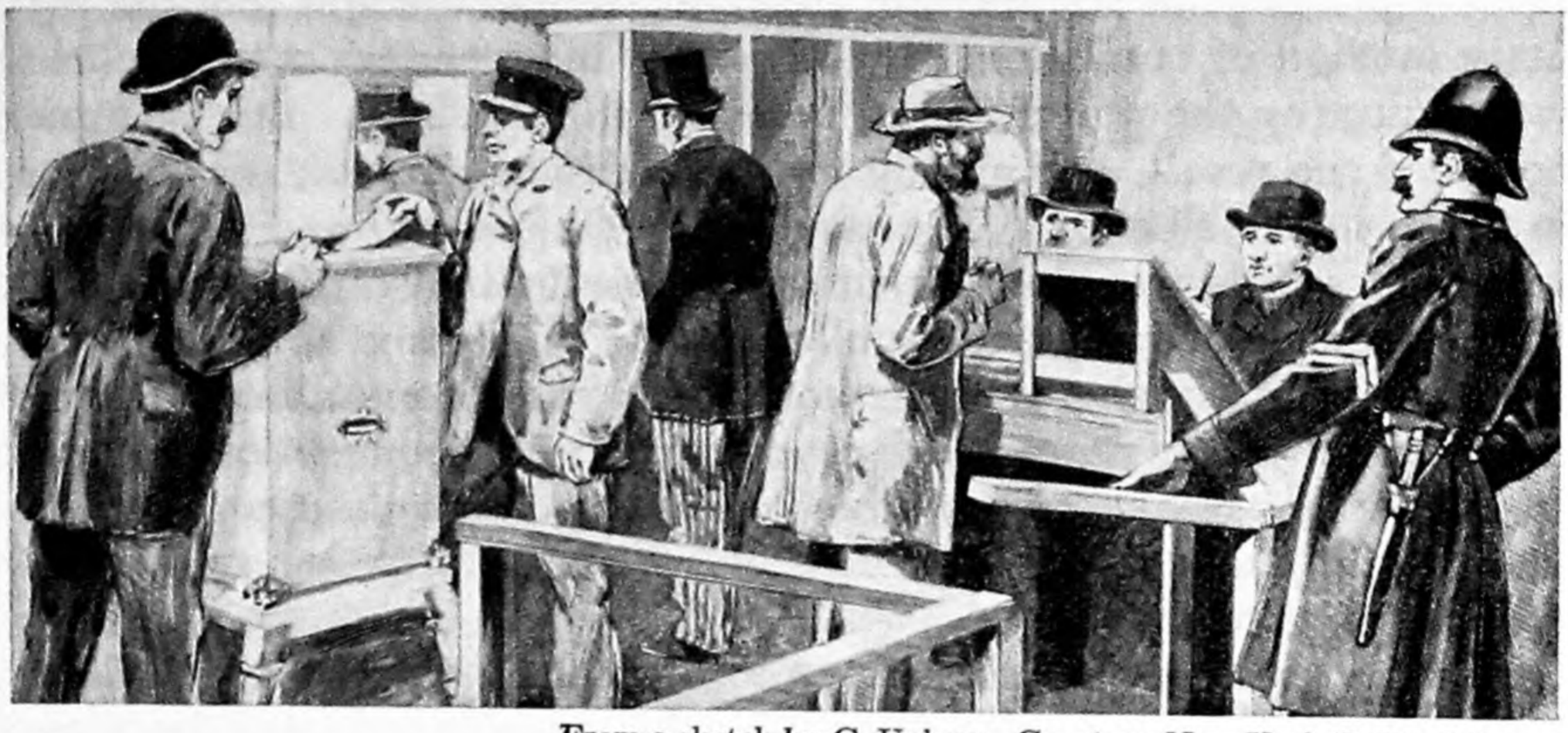
Failure of the people to vote. Students of political institutions are seriously concerned over the indifference of the public to voting. It is estimated that from 30 to 50 per cent of the people eligible to vote do not take the trouble to do so. There is usually a large vote when some important and interesting question is presented to the public in clear-cut form or when some outstanding personality draws attention. Non-voting is due to many causes: the inconvenience of registering and voting; the lack of interesting issues; the inability of the public to understand the issues; the inability of the public to understand the duties and functions of the many candidates they are called upon to elect. Another cause is the fairly widespread disgust with politics and politicians. Unfortunately, too many people take the wrong attitude that it makes little difference who is elected to office. The apathy of the voter presents a serious challenge to democracy.

The "lame duck" amendment. In 1933 the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution made an important change in the functioning of the national government. This amendment abolished what had popularly come to be known as the "lame duck," or short, session of Congress. The original Constitution provided that Congress should convene annually in December of each year. Since members of Congress formerly held office from March 4 of one odd-numbered year to March 4 of the next odd-numbered year, this meant that the first, or regular, long session of a newly elected Congress did not begin until thirteen months after the election, and that the second regular, or short, session began one month after many of its members had been defeated for re-election. This second session had to be a short session, December to March 4. Since it contained congressmen who had been defeated — "lame ducks" — it became known as the "lame duck" session. The Twentieth Amendment changed this odd arrangement by simply providing that the Congress shall convene on January 3 of each year. Consequently, each Congress may now have two long sessions, and neither session will contain members whom the people have recently rejected. This same amendment also provided that the President shall be in-



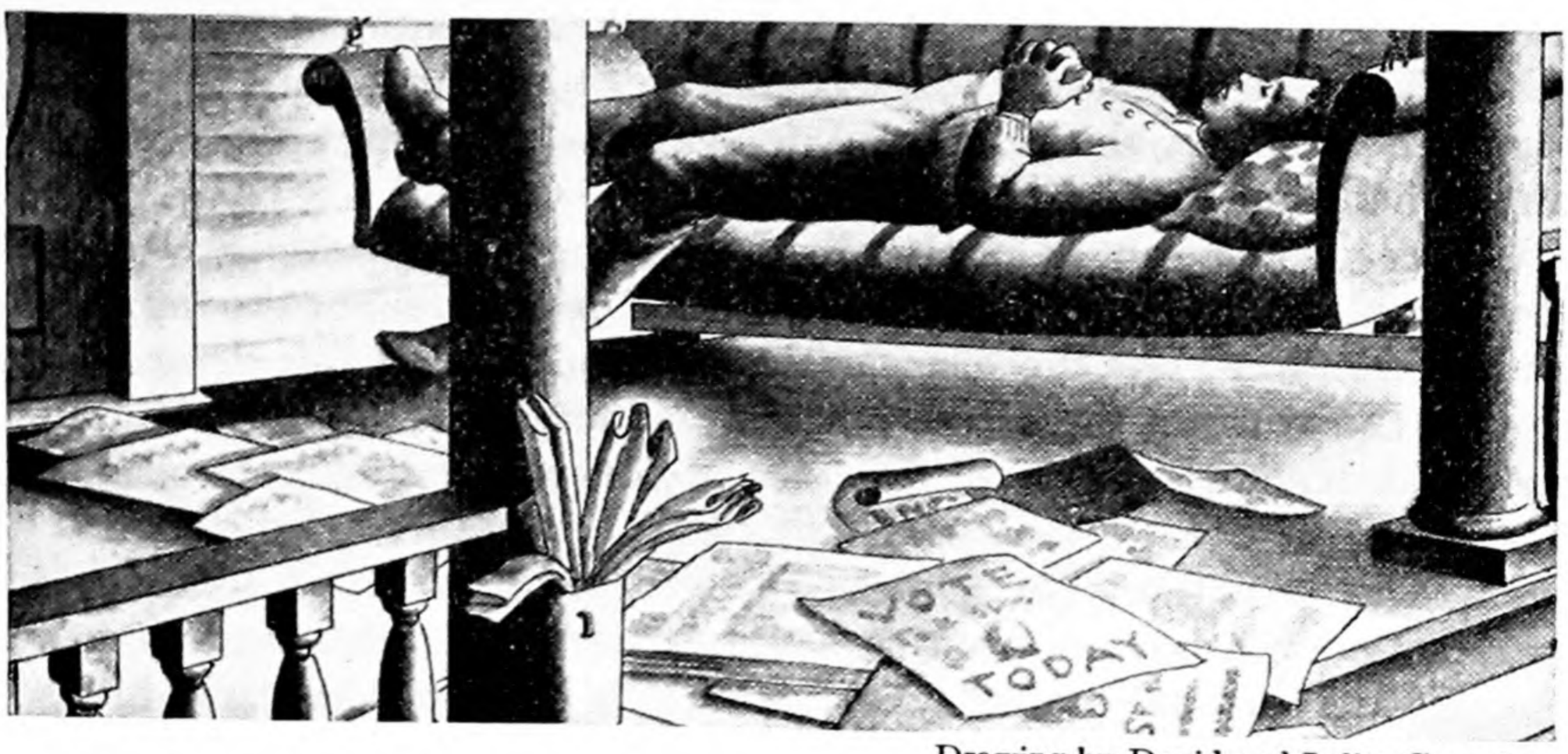
Acme

By combining politics and fun politicians get acquainted with the voters and "hold them in line." Here Philadelphia Republicans stage a clambake rally in 1938.



From a sketch by C. Upham. Courtesy New York Public Library

The Australian ballot system was first used in Massachusetts. Today in many large cities the voting machine has replaced the paper ballot and the ballot box.



Drawing by David and Lolita Granahan

The apathy of the voter presents a challenge to democracy. Many of the loudest critics of government policies often do not take the trouble to vote.

augurated on January 20 instead of March 4, and it also for the first time made provision for the possible death or incapacity of the President-elect and Vice-President-elect. (See Appendix.)

The primary system of nominations. In many places nomination to office is equivalent to election; it therefore follows that control of nomination is important. The usual method of nomination used to be the convention system, the method that is still used to nominate candidates for the presidency. The conventions were usually more or less "boss-controlled," which really meant that all the voters did on election day was to "rubber-stamp" the choice of the boss.

1. The direct primary. To give the people more control over nominations the direct primary has been adopted in most of the states. Under the direct primary system anyone eligible for office can become a candidate for the nomination of his party by getting a certain number of voters to sign his petition. The state then prints the ballots and holds a *primary*, or *nominating*, election. It was thought that the primary method of nomination, by attracting independent men to office, would destroy the power of the boss and the machine. But such has not been the result, due mainly to the failure of most citizens to vote in the primary election. The machine, well-financed and organized, usually has little trouble in securing the nomination of its candidates. In the absence of sufficient popular interest the boss is able to control the primary, although it is much more trouble than controlling the party convention. A few states and cities returned to the convention method. In spite of its weakness the direct primary permits the people to influence the nomination of candidates whenever they are sufficiently aroused to go to the polls.

2. The presidential primary. About the only way in which these changes affected national politics was the practice adopted by some states of permitting the members of a given party to express their choice for presidential nominees. In several states the members of each party elect the delegates to the national party conventions. Since those who wish to be delegates pledge themselves to support some candidate for the nomination, the election of delegates is sometimes referred to as a modified presidential primary.

Direct legislation. Closely allied with the direct primary was the movement for what has been called "direct" legislation, or the initiative and referendum. As the term implies, the purpose of this device was to give the voters a direct voice in the making of laws. About half of the states have some form of the initiative or referendum. Oregon was one of the first states to experiment (1902) with direct legislation.

1. The initiative. In general the initiative works as follows: A group of people may believe that a certain law is desirable, and by ordinary means they are unable to induce the legislature to consider or approve the proposed law. A certain percentage of the voters (it varies

from 7 to about 13 per cent in the different states) by signing a petition can "initiate" the law; that is, compel the legislature to consider and vote upon it, or else refer it to the voters for approval.

2. The referendum. The referendum works substantially in the same way, but instead of a certain percentage of the voters proposing a law, they may compel the legislature to submit a bill to popular vote before it becomes effective. There are different types of referenda. The constitutions of some states require that certain types of laws must be submitted to the people for approval. This type of referendum (sometimes called *mandatory*) works automatically.

The recall of elected officials. The recall is a device intended to give the people control over elected officials, especially mayors, governors, and judges. Ordinarily an official is elected for a fixed term of years. Despite the fact that the elected official may in the course of six months or a year show inefficiency, the voters have to put up with the maladministration for the term of his office. For flagrant offenses the official could be impeached, of course, but there was no other method by which the people could control the actions of an unpopular executive. The recall is a device which permits a certain percentage of voters (usually 25 or 30 per cent) to petition for the recall of an elected official. The filing of this petition declares, in effect, that the office is vacant and is to be filled by the voters at a special election. However, the official may be a candidate to succeed himself. The recall was first adopted in Los Angeles in 1903. Under the impetus of the progressive movement it is now in use in eleven states for state officials and in a thousand towns or cities for local officials.

The recall of judicial decisions. In the heyday of the progressive movement it was suggested that the recall should be applied to the judiciary as well as to administrative officials. But the proposal to apply the recall to judges never attained wide popularity, because it was thought that the judiciary should not be subject to popular whims. As a substitute for the recall of judges some advocated the recall of judicial decisions, in order to give the people the power to nullify the decision of a court. This proposal was urged because of popular criticism of such decisions as the "rule of reason" interpretation of the Supreme Court in the antitrust cases (page 517). Theodore Roosevelt sponsored this reform in the campaign of 1912; but it was considered to smack too much of radicalism, and nothing was done about it.

The control of expenditures in federal election campaigns. The first law passed by Congress dealing with the subject of campaign expenditures (1907) prohibited campaign contributions from national banks and corporations chartered by Congress. In 1925 Congress passed a Corrupt Practices Act to take the place of previous laws. It requires the publication of the names of those who contribute more than one hundred dollars to campaign committees, and the publication of the

names of those to whom ten dollars or more is paid for services. Candidates for the Senate and House must file itemized statements of all contributions and expenditures; the maximum amount that a candidate for the Senate may spend is fixed at $25,000, and a candidate for the House at $10,000. Candidates are forbidden to solicit funds by promising appointment to office.

This law contains many loopholes. First, it does not apply to primaries and conventions; second, the law does not apply to traveling expenses, postage, and stationery — items which can be made to cover a multitude of activities; and third, the law *limits expenditures by candidates,* but *not by political committees or the friends of candidates.* It does, however, require political committees to file a statement of receipts and expenditures. The law has done considerable good by turning the white light of publicity on campaign expenditures.

The Hatch Political Activity Act. In 1939 Congress prohibited political activity on the part of all federal employees and all those receiving relief from the federal government. In July, 1940, this Act was amended to apply to state employees whose salary is paid in whole or in part by loans or grants from the federal government. Individuals are forbidden to contribute in any calendar year more than $5000 for any campaign for nomination or election to a federal office. The law also provides that no political committee should receive or expend more than $3,000,000 in any calendar year.

Work of special congressional committees. Congress has a cumbersome but at times effective method of controlling improper election practices. The Constitution states that each branch of Congress shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members. Acting under this clause the Senate and House sometimes create committees to investigate political campaigns. These committees have unearthed some startling facts concerning primary and election expenses. Thus, in 1926 a Senate committee found that $2,770,000 had been spent in the Republican senatorial *primary* in Pennsylvania, one-third being spent in behalf of Mr. Vare, the successful candidate, whose right to a seat in the Senate was under scrutiny. In the same year, in Illinois, about $500,000 was spent by each of two senatorial contestants, McKinley and Smith. About half of Smith's campaign fund came from men who were interested in rate cases then pending before the state's Public Utility Commission, of which Smith was chairman. Because of these disclosures the Senate refused to seat both Mr. Vare and Mr. Smith.

Proposed remedies. Various proposals have been made to deal with problems of heavy campaign expenditures. It is generally agreed that legitimate campaign expenses — postage, printing, radio broadcasting — are high. It has been suggested that the national or state governments contribute a certain sum to the political parties to finance cam-

paigns. Oregon has experimented since 1918 with a bulletin or pamphlet, printed and distributed to all voters in the state, in which all candidates for office are required to purchase space to advertise themselves and their programs. It has been proposed that the amount of money that may be spent by campaign committees should be limited. Some advocate more vigorous enforcement of laws already on the statute books. Continued publicity concerning campaign funds is, of course, necessary, for the fear of public indignation has a tendency to prevent excesses in this field as in many others.

Probably more fundamental and far-reaching than the ways for improving democracy described in this chapter are some of the movements that have been described elsewhere — the campaign for civil service reform (pages 485–487), the grant of the suffrage to women, and especially the great advances that have been made in public education (pages 454–458). Granted an intelligent and informed citizen interested in his government and fortified against the demagogic pleading of interested groups, the efforts to improve the *forms* of democracy will produce better all-around results. Too often the indifference and ignorance of the citizen have been the basic cause of corruption and inefficiency in the administration of city, state, and nation.

LAWMAKING IS SUBJECT TO INFLUENCES BOTH GOOD AND BAD

Lobbying. The purpose of campaign funds is to influence public opinion. All the tricks of "high pressure salesmanship" are brought to bear to force the voter to think and act a certain way. If propaganda of all sorts surrounds the voter, it also surrounds the legislator. The effort to influence the decision of a legislature is called "lobbying." Formerly lobbying was a crude attempt to influence legislation by threats, promises of promotion, money, or gifts. Although some of these practices are still used, the art of the lobbyist has improved; and respectability, it seems, has increased his effectiveness. The lobby is sometimes called "The Third House" or the "Assistant Government."

1. The extent of lobbying. Senator McKellar, in a speech in the Senate in 1924, mentioned the following lobby organizations:

> There are the farm lobby, the labor lobby, lobbyists for steel industries, wool interests, . . . cotton manufacturing, prohibition, and antiprohibition, postal employees, . . . shipping interests, . . . water power trusts, oil interests, disabled ex-service men, manufacturers, . . . and other special interests. Washington is honeycombed with lobbyists; the hotels are full of them.

A recent estimate placed the number of organizations which maintain representatives in Washington at four hundred forty-three. Lobbies also attempt to influence state legislatures.

2. Genuine services of the lobbyists. It is generally admitted that the lobbyist performs some useful services. He keeps before the legislature and, to some extent, before the whole country, the economic interests of the group he represents. The lobby keeps the members of its organization informed of pending legislation and in that way helps to increase the number of people who take an interest in legislation. All important bills that become law have, in some way or other, been affected by the propaganda of some lobbying organization.

3. Objections to the lobby. The chief objection to the lobby system is that some lobbies work under cover; that it frequently spends money improperly to secure its ends; that in attempting to influence the legislator it also attempts to mold public opinion by improper means. It was revealed in an investigation into the public utility lobby that it had tried to influence the content of textbooks; that it caused textbooks which favored public ownership or stricter regulation of electric power companies to be removed from the schools; that without the public being aware of the source of the propaganda, it sent to newspapers "boiler-plate" material which could be used as editorials or feature articles, and sent out speakers to address all kinds of meetings. It may be argued that in a democracy any individual or group has the right to seek to persuade others to accept his viewpoint. However, objection is raised on the score that the source of the propaganda, and indeed the propaganda itself, is so concealed that the unsuspecting public is, as it were, caught unawares. In this way it is possible for a well-organized and well-financed minority to frustrate the will of the majority. On the other hand, the work of one lobby tends to offset the work of another. Thus the antiprohibition lobby and the Antisaloon League lobby competed with each other, and the lobby of the National Association of Manufacturers competes with the lobby maintained by organized labor. Probably more dangerous than the lobbies which agitate for or against a specific measure are skillfully directed and well-financed long-range propaganda campaigns designed to develop a public "mind-set" toward certain fundamental issues, such as opposition to governmental intervention of any kind with business, or the contrary demand for increasing government control of nearly all of man's activities.

4. Lobby representation of group interest. It is generally believed that one effect of lobbying is to weaken political parties as the formulators of public policy and opinion. The task of formulating public opinion has become more and more the special function of the lobby, which cuts across party lines and endeavors to secure support for its ideas from members of all parties. Legislators, instead of representing the interests of individuals or the people at large, have become representatives of group interests.

5. Publicity as a remedy. The chief method that has been used to regulate lobbies is to compel publicity of their activities. Several

states require lobbyists to register, and many states require them to publish their expenditures. In 1946 Congress enacted a law to require lobbyists to register and to reveal details concerning their income and expenditures. These devices are of only partial value. The most effective weapon is an alert and educated citizenry assisted by a free press devoted to the promotion of the general welfare.

COMMUNISM AND FASCISM CHALLENGE DEMOCRACY

Communism and fascism. In the twentieth century, democracy has been seriously challenged by the increasing popularity of the totalitarian state, communist or fascist. Both of these "isms" have many *fundamental* differences, but they both trample upon the idea of democracy and its fundamental bases — freedom of speech, press, and religion, the right of peaceful assembly and petition, and freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. Both communism and fascism "know all the answers" to the intricate problems of modern life. They assert that democracy is painfully slow and futile, that it has failed to "solve" the problem of war, of poverty in the midst of plenty, of crime, of inefficiency, of self-seeking graft in business and in government. The communist and fascist, fundamentally opposed to each other in economic ideals, both reject the democratic ideals of freedom and assert that the people must put their faith in the all-wise head of the state — Lenin or Stalin, Hitler or Mussolini, or some other leader — who will dictate how the economic and political (and even social, spiritual, and aesthetic) life of the people shall be controlled. The idea that the state is all-powerful and that the individual exists for the state, to do as the state directs, is called *totalitarianism.* According to this idea there should be dictatorial planning and regulation by the state of the *totality* of activities — social, political, economic — of individuals in the interests of the state. Both communism and fascism believe in having the exclusive right to mold public opinion; both believe in censorship; both believe in silencing critics or opposition by force if need be; hence both destroy freedom, and both are opposed to democracy.

Communism. The differences between communism and fascism can be summarized briefly: communism, as practiced in Russia and advocated elsewhere, stems from the economic ideas of Karl Marx. He advocated a philosophy of socialism, or communism, in the middle of the nineteenth century, according to which the private ownership of capital goods (the means of production and distribution, such as railroads, farms, factories) and the use of these goods for private profit are the causes of all that is wrong (war, poverty, crime, greed) in the world. Therefore, private ownership of the means of production and distribution must be abolished, and some form of social or governmental ownership substituted for it. Communism (or socialism) also teaches that

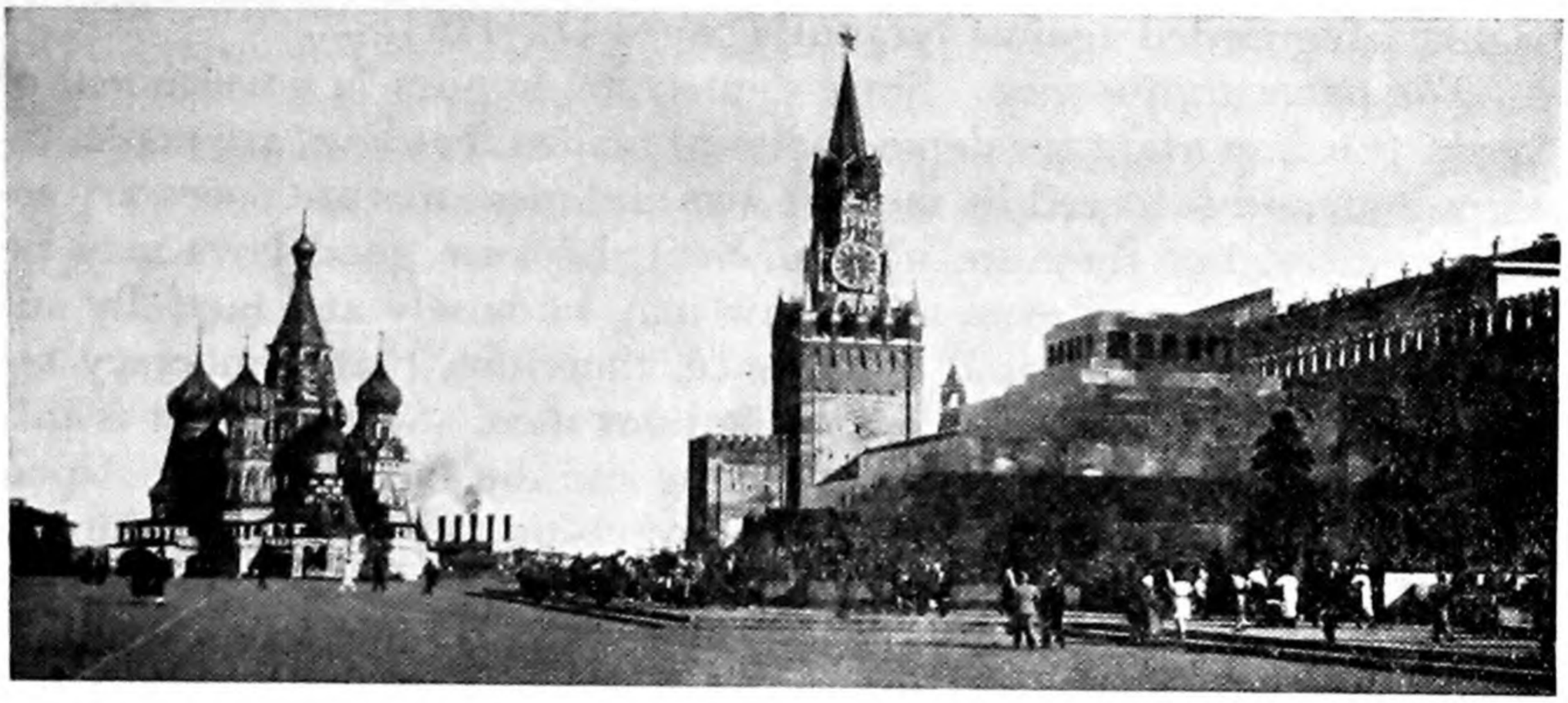
there is an inevitable class war between the owners of capital goods and the propertyless workers (the proletariat). Defenders of communism, as it has been practiced in Russia, claim that when the communist economic system has been firmly established, and when the people as a whole have been converted to communist ideas, *political* democracy will *ultimately* be restored. During a transition period of indefinite length, a dictatorship, controlling all organs of opinion and propaganda, strict, and merciless toward all opposition, must be tolerated by the people. (Socialism as an organized political movement expects to accomplish these fundamental aims as a result of education and gradual peaceful evolution by democratic means; communism disagrees with this idea of peaceful change and believes that these goals can be achieved only by means of a violent revolution.)

Fascism. Fascism, on the other hand, finds little fault with the capitalistic system as such, that is, private ownership of the means of production, but believes that business must be controlled and directed by the state. To do this it is claimed that a dictatorship which will "regiment" industry, capital, and labor is necessary. Fascism originated in Italy in the early 1920's and was later introduced into Germany by Hitler, where it was called Nazism. Since fascism did not stem from any clearly defined philosophy, but borrowed ideas from several sources, it had different aspects in both of these countries, and adjusted itself to conditions as they developed. Attempting to combine some of the ideas of socialism with nationalism, and accepting the theory of the superman and the ideal of racial supremacy, fascism, like communism, claims that the individual exists for and must obey the totalitarian state. Fascism, like communism, controls all the agencies for the molding of opinion and tolerates no criticism or opposition. Both communist and fascist governments sometimes use mass plebiscites to endorse the policies of dictators. Communism is opposed to religion; Nazism as practiced in Germany opposed any religious ideas or practices not sanctioned by the dictator and, therefore, engaged in a campaign against Protestant and Catholic Christianity and against the Jews. The Jews were either completely silenced in Germany, ruthlessly persecuted, or driven from the country. Fascism is intensely nationalistic and militaristic; communism in theory is international, maintaining that the interests of the propertyless workers throughout the world are identical, regardless of national boundaries. Communism looks forward to and promotes the cause of a revolution of the "propertyless workers" in all countries throughout the world. During World War II, communism as practiced in Soviet Russia underwent many changes, the most significant of which were (1) the abolition of the Third, or Communist, International, the instrument by which communism endeavored to promote a revolution throughout the world, and (2) the modification of its policy of hatred and opposition to religion (pages 783–784).



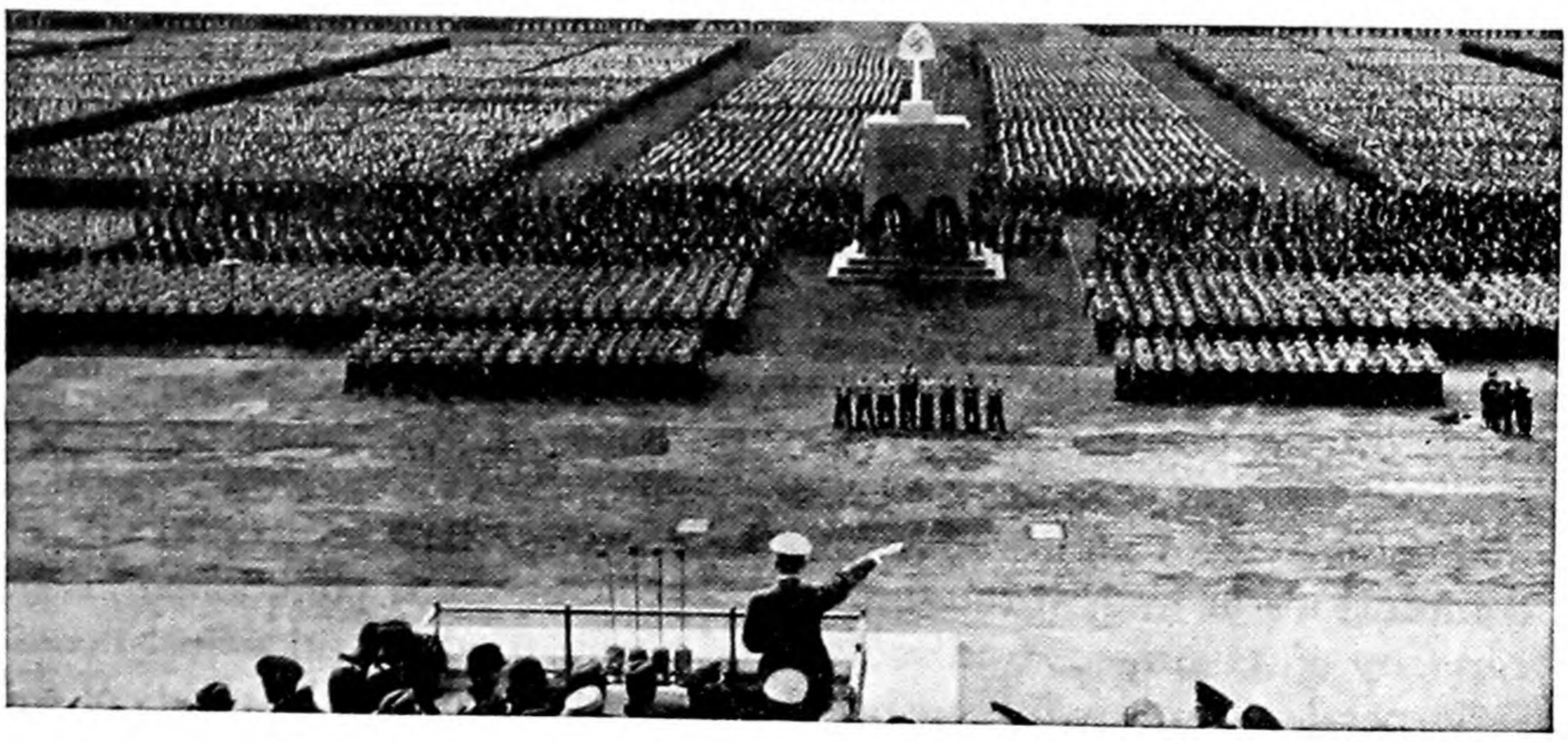
Ewing Galloway

The intimate relationship between the interested citizens in the audience and the councilmen at the table at this city council meeting at Seattle, Washington, is characteristic of democracy at work.



Sovfoto

The Red Square in Moscow is the site of many huge demonstrations of the political solidarity and military might of Communism in the Soviet.



Acme

Hitler salutes forty-five thousand men from labor camps during a Nazi party congress in 1936. The regimentation of Fascism is illustrated in this photograph.

Government of laws, not men. Communism and fascism depend on force; democracy depends upon freedom and reason. The great achievement of more than a thousand years of history is summed up in the phrase that in democracy there is a "government of laws, not men." This means that in a democracy the social and economic relations of men are controlled, not by the absolute or dictatorial decree of men who have achieved power, but by the principles laid down by the laws of the land and carried out and interpreted by men who hold office according to law. The purpose of law is to free man from arbitrary power, "to bring the sovereign under a constitution, to establish for the individual and for voluntary associations of men, rights which they can enforce against kings, barons, magnates, majorities, and mobs." Democracy is proud that it has achieved a government of laws. The Constitution of the United States, of the several states, the charters of cities, and the statutes of legislatures prescribe the "rules of the game" — the conditions under which the American people are governed and their rights safeguarded against tyranny (pages 115–118).

The necessity for men. Since democracy implies "a government of laws," it is important for democracies to realize that laws are made, interpreted, and enforced by men. Laws and measures are necessary social controls, but they are not sufficient, because good laws may be poorly executed, and even a bad law may be wisely and tactfully administered. It is of prime importance, therefore, that democracy secure the services of able and conscientious men. So important is this task that many regard it as the beginning and the end of reform. Upon the citizen is imposed the burden of exercising the utmost care in the choice of public servants.

Democracy's faith in its citizens. Democracy believes in freedom. Democracy respects the rights of the individual; it believes that the state is the servant of the people, not their master. Democracy is conscious of the economic conflict between different individuals and between groups; it is aware, for example, of the desire of the worker for higher wages and of the owner of the factory for greater profits. It believes, however, that this and similar conflicts can be solved by compromise; that the government, itself, working for the people and directed by the people, can effect a satisfactory adjustment of the rights of the individual and the rights of society.

Obviously, democracy requires an intelligent, informed, public-spirited, and tolerant citizenry, ever vigilant to detect its weaknesses and evils, and industrious and courageous in discovering ways to eliminate them. Not endowed with a sure and perfect answer to all the complexities of human relationships, democracy has confidence in the capacity of its citizens to discover and apply, modify and adjust necessary social controls, while respecting and safeguarding the rights of the individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Words and Phrases

Australian ballot, authoritarian state, communism, corrupt practices acts, "direct" legislation, direct primaries, fascism, initiative, invisible government, "lame duck" session, lobbying, preferential ballot, proportional representation, recall, referendum, short ballot, "Third House," totalitarian state

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. List the essential causes of weaknesses in our political machinery and the proposals for the reform of these weaknesses.
2. How can the "boss" control the primary?
3. Does your state or city make use of the initiative, the referendum, the recall? What has been the result?
4. Should Congress have the power to unseat a representative who is apparently satisfactory to the voters of a state? Reasons.
5. Give illustrations of the work of congressional investigating committees which have prepared the way for important legislation.
6. How does lobbying result in the representation of group interests? Is this desirable?
7. Is "propaganda" an evil? Reasons.
8. In what respects do communism and fascism agree? How do they differ?
9. What devices have been experimented with by the nation, by the states, or by cities to make the government more responsive to the will of the people?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. In Belgium voters who do not vote are subject to fines. What are the arguments for and against this practice?
2. "Many people do not vote at all; many of those who do, vote without thinking; and many others are easily influenced." Do these facts indicate that democracy is a failure?
3. Investigate more detailed accounts and illustrate concretely the working of the system of preferential voting and proportional representation. Elect a small committee for some class function to demonstrate the working of proportional representation.
4. To what extent does the new Russian constitution, put into effect in 1937, prove that Communist Russia has passed through the transition stage and is now ready for "real" democracy? Consider also changes in Russian policy during and after World War II.
5. How does a "planned economy" differ from communism and fascism? Is the New Deal agricultural program "communistic" or "fascistic" or neither? Reasons.
6. After reading Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here*, discuss the book in the light of events at the time of publication and events today.

Suggested Reading

THE SUFFRAGE: Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 73–81; Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 171–176; Hart, V, 498–505; Kent, *Great Game of Politics*, pp. 279–286, 687–688; Ogg and Ray, *Intro-*

duction to American Government, pp. 597–613; Porter, *History of Suffrage in the United States*, pp. 135–145; McKean, D. D., *Party and Pressure Politics*, pp. 29–50. Consult *Problems in American Life Series*, National Council for the Social Studies, and also *Teaching the Civil Liberties*, prepared by Howard E. Wilson and others for the National Council for the Social Studies.

THE PRIMARY: Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 99–100; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 355–356; Kent, *Great Game of Politics*, pp. 6–13; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 157–161; Ogg and Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, pp. 834–839.

DIRECT LEGISLATION: Beard and Beard, II, 556–559; Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 522–533; Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice* (A.L.S.), pp. 80–92; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 356–358; Hart, V, 405–409, 412–416; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 161–166; Commager, No. 406 – Elihu Root on Invisible Government.

LOBBYING: Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan*, pp. 212–219; Kent, *Great Game of Politics*, pp. 249–279; Ogg and Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, pp. 421–422; 731–732; McKean, D. D., *Party and Pressure Politics*, pp. 606–644; Commager, No. 392 – Wilson's Denunciation of the Tariff Lobby.

VII

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTERS

39 *A Century of Isolation*
40 *The Spanish-American War and the Panama Canal*
41 *The Retreat from Dollar Diplomacy*
42 *Inter-American Co-operation*
43 *America's Interest in the Pacific*
44 *World War One, 1914–1918*
45 *The Search for Peace, 1919–1939*
46 *World War Two, 1939–1945*



International News Photos

Units of the United States Seventh Fleet fly the American flag off Shanghai, China. The growth of the United States Navy in the twentieth century kept pace with American industrial development and with the increasing influence of the United States in world affairs. American naval power was a decisive factor in the victory over both Germany and Japan. At the end of World War II, 1945, the United States had a larger and stronger Navy than any other nation. The Navy is an instrument of foreign policy.

CHAPTER THIRTY-NINE

A Century of Isolation

THE POLICY OF ISOLATION HAD ITS ROOTS IN THE CONSIDERATION OF OUR ECONOMIC INTERESTS

The meaning of "isolation." The foreign policy of the United States throughout most of its history is summed up in the word "isolation." This term does not mean that the United States has not been concerned about its trade interests in various parts of the world; nor does it mean that the United States has not been interested in the material and cultural progress of the rest of the world. It means, rather, that the United States has been unwilling to enter into any treaty which could be construed as an alliance with a foreign power.

The beginning of the policy of isolation. The foundations of the American policy of isolation were definitely laid during the 1790's by Washington, Hamilton, and the Federalists. President Washington maintained a policy of neutrality in the quarrel between England and France, and in his Farewell Address advised the United States to "cultivate peace and harmony with all nations" (pages 154–157). When placed in a position of power, Jefferson pursued the same policy as Washington. The purchase of Louisiana was inspired both by a desire to assist the pioneers of the westward movement and to prevent a strong European power from establishing itself in Louisiana. The Monroe Doctrine forcefully stated that the United States would not tolerate interference by European powers in the Western Hemisphere. This doctrine became the cornerstone of American foreign policy (pages 202–206). Its most important result has been to prevent the Western Hemisphere from becoming a field for European imperialism.

The conquest of a continent. The early adoption of a policy of isolation was based upon the conviction that the future of America lay primarily in the development of the vast economic resources of the continent. In expanding westward and in conquering a continent America pursued a colonial or imperialistic policy no less urgent than the policy which induced England, France, Germany, and others to exploit Asia and Africa. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803, of Florida in 1819, the annexation of Texas in 1845, the acquisition of the Southwest as a result of a war with Mexico, the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, the vigorous prosecution of our claim to the Northwest, culminating in the Oregon settlement with Great Britain in 1846, are all manifestations of a desire for

power and expansion, but which has been pleasantly referred to as "manifest destiny." Because the acquisition and then the development of a continent absorbed our energies, some writers prefer the word "continentalism" instead of "isolation" to describe our foreign policy in the nineteenth century.

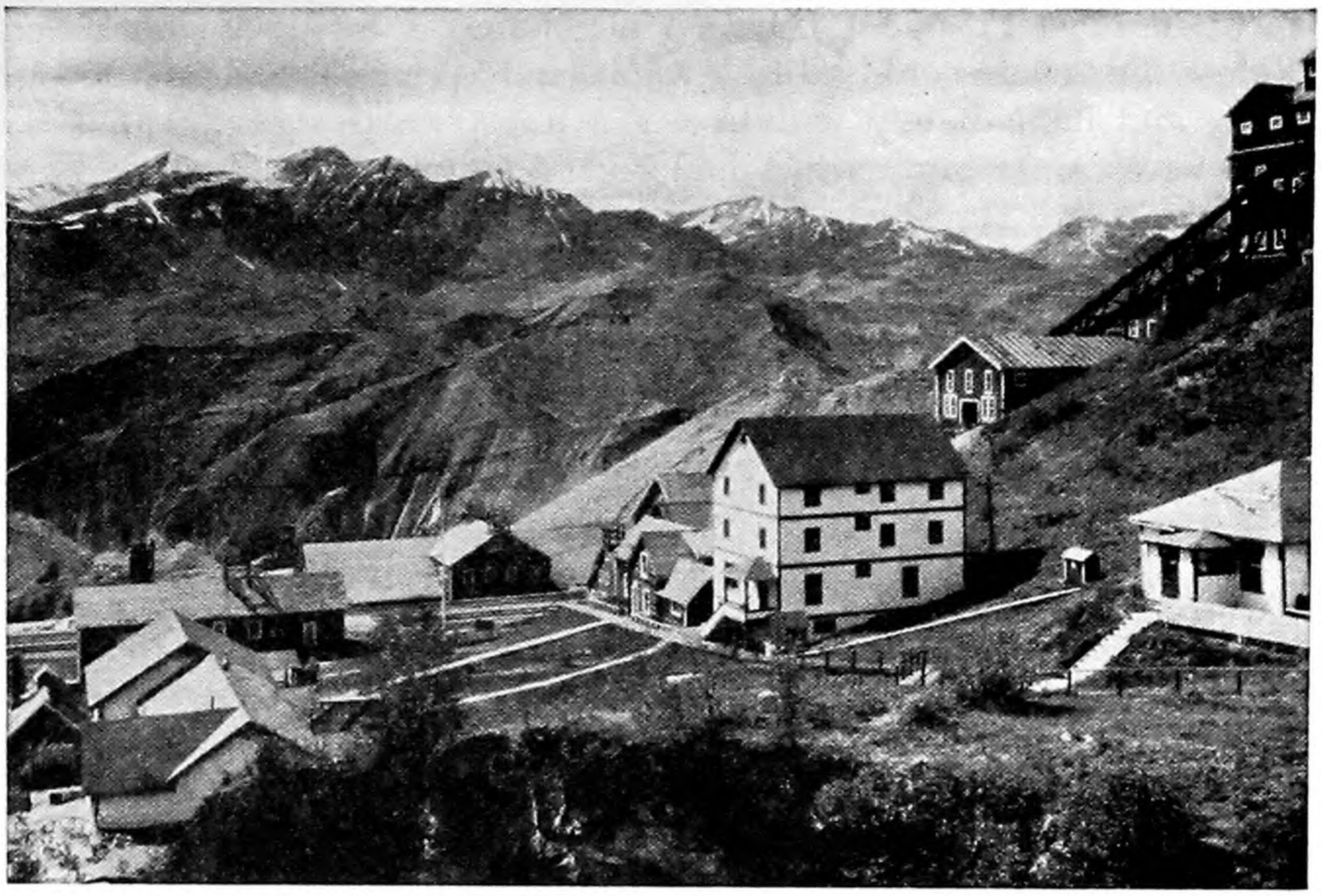
THE UNITED STATES ACQUIRES FOOTHOLDS IN FAR PLACES

Since the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 the United States has not acquired any territory touching her boundaries, yet expansion has continued. Most of this overseas expansion has taken place since 1895, when economic changes began to influence American foreign policy.

The purchase of Alaska, 1867. In the 1860's there were brief attempts on the part of Grant and Seward to urge overseas expansion, but they could not secure much support for their ideas (pages 341, 648). Seward, however, succeeded in 1867 in getting an unenthusiastic Senate to ratify a treaty with Russia, providing for the purchase of Alaska. The purchase price of $7,200,000 was opposed by the Senate on the ground that the territory was too far north. Seward was regarded as a visionary, but he was partly inspired by the same feeling that influenced Jefferson in purchasing Louisiana — the desire to eliminate strong European powers from the Western Hemisphere. He also had visions of the future importance of the American West. The purchase of Alaska gave the United States its first noncontiguous land, that is, land not touching our boundaries.

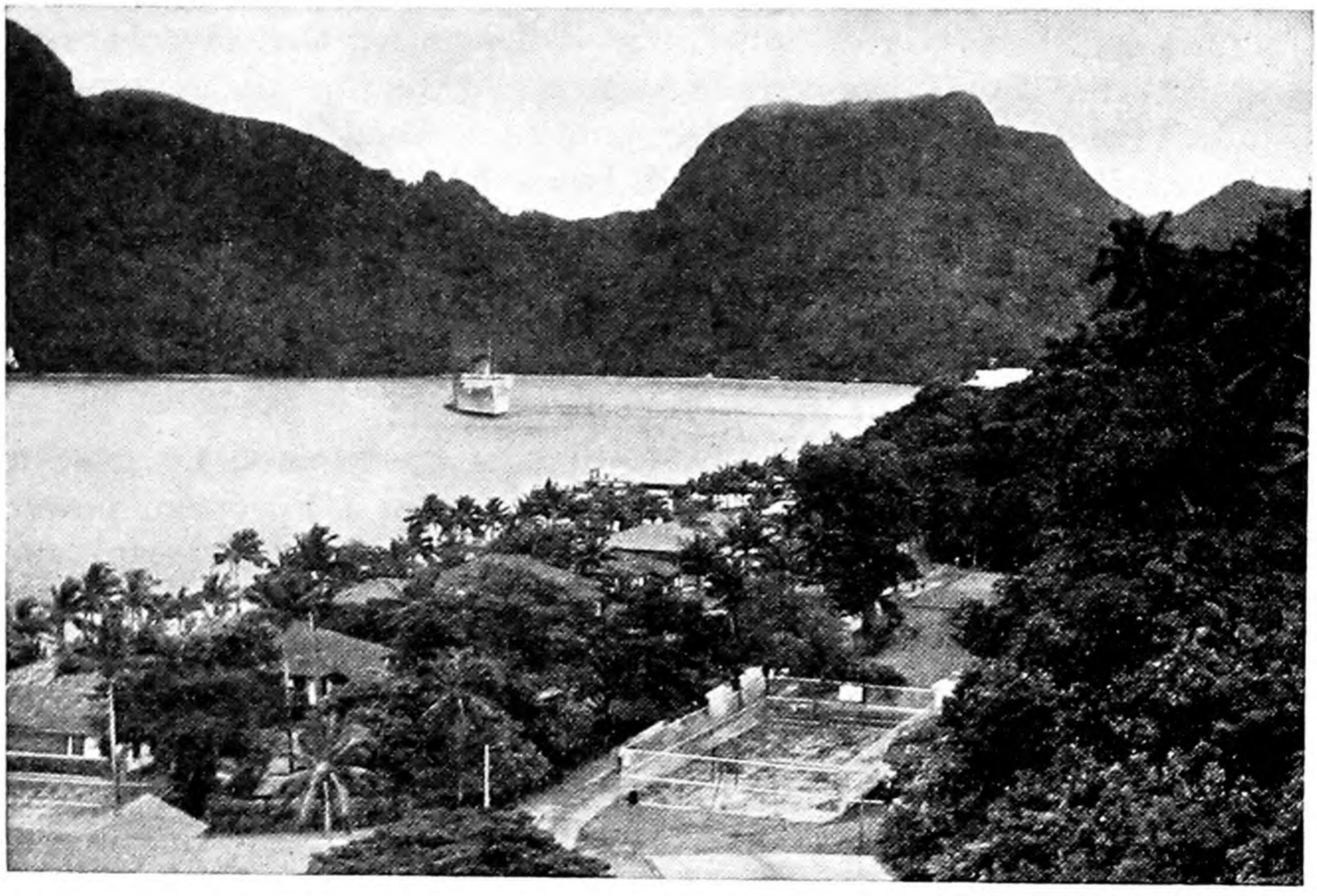
The Samoan Islands. To protect our commerce in the Pacific the United States at times established control over some of the small and sparsely inhabited islands of the Pacific. The purpose was to provide harbors and coaling stations for American ships. This practice ultimately brought us into conflict with the European powers also interested in the trade of the Pacific. Incidentally, it gave us a few strategic possessions in the Pacific, among the more important of which were a few small islands of the Samoan group. The excellent harbor of Pago Pago on the island of Tutuila first came under American control in 1872 when an American naval officer made arrangements with a native chieftain for its use. After some years of rivalry with England and Germany, the United States acquired outright possession in 1899.

The annexation of Hawaii. American interest in the Hawaiian Islands began early in the nineteenth century. In 1842 Daniel Webster, acting for President Tyler, assured the Hawaiians that the Monroe Doctrine applied to their territory as well as to continental America, and that European interference with their affairs would not be allowed. Subsequently, treaties with the Hawaiian Kingdom gave the United States special trading privileges and rights to a naval base at Pearl Harbor. After the American residents overthrew the native govern-



Ewing Galloway

The mining settlement at Kennicott, Alaska, is only one of many similar projects that have developed the rich mineral resources of the territory which, at the time of its purchase, was popularly referred to with scorn as "Seward's icebox."



Philip Gendreau, New York

The harbor at Pago Pago is on the southern coast of Tutuila, one of the Samoan Islands in the South Pacific. American possession of the island was recognized in 1899. It has become an outpost of American naval power, and the buildings in the foreground are quarters for United States Navy personnel.

ment in 1893, President Harrison negotiated a treaty of annexation. Before the Senate could ratify it, Cleveland became President a second time, and immediately withdrew the treaty on the ground that the landing of American marines had been a factor in the revolution and that the native Hawaiians did not wish their country to be annexed to the United States. It was not until 1898 that Hawaii was annexed by a joint resolution of Congress. The Spanish-American War resulted in our acquisition of the Philippine Islands and Puerto Rico (pages 656–657 and maps on pages 676, 790).

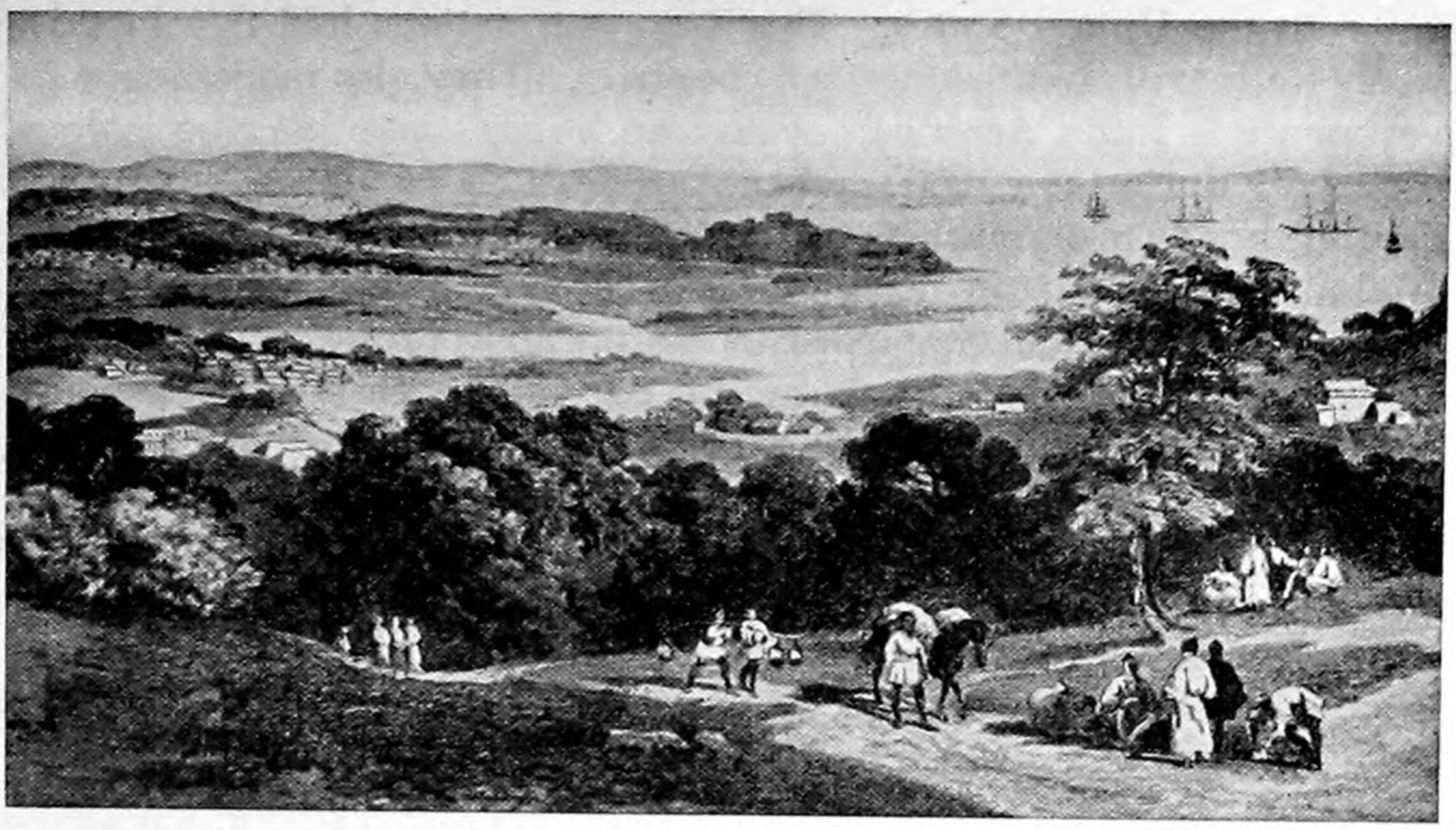
THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE DESIRE TO EXPAND OUR COMMERCE INFLUENCE OUR RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA

The Maximilian affair. While we were thus establishing footholds in the Pacific, diplomats were also concerned with our relations with Latin America. The desire of Emperor Napoleon III of France to gain control of Mexico was a cause for the French hostility to the United States during the War between the States (page 340). At that time French soldiers conquered Mexico and set up a new government, with Maximilian of Austria as emperor. The excuse was that Mexico had not paid her debts to French moneylenders. The United States, preoccupied with the problems of the war, was unable to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. But when the War between the States ended, President Johnson and Secretary of State Seward demanded that Napoleon III withdraw the French troops from Mexico. At the time the government was in a good position to support its policy by armed force. The armies of General Grant had not all been disbanded, and he began assembling on the Rio Grande an organization twice as large as the French force in Mexico. To avoid trouble with the United States, and to prepare himself for a possible war with Prussia, Napoleon III withdrew the French troops from Mexico. Deprived of Napoleon's help, Maximilian was soon overcome by the Mexicans and put to death.

This episode was the first application of the Monroe Doctrine to save an American republic from domination by a European power. The United States wanted (1) to prevent a struggle of powerful, ambitious nations for the control of the weak Spanish-American states; and (2) to maintain conditions favorable for the extension of its own trade.

Grant's interest in the Caribbean. In 1869 a political faction in the Dominican Republic on the island of Haiti in the West Indies agreed to sell their country to the United States for $1,500,000. President Grant earnestly believed that annexation would benefit the United States, but he could not persuade the Senate to ratify the necessary treaty. Senators were too absorbed just then with problems of reconstruction.

Blaine and Pan-Americanism. Within a few years, however, some leaders came to realize that the Latin-American countries had economic



Wide World Photos

Naha Harbor on Okinawa was a peaceful spot in 1854, when Commodore Matthew C. Perry visited the Far East. This harbor and the city of Naha, which has about 60,000 of the island's 438,000 population, were one of the prime objectives in the costly but successful invasion by American Marine and Army forces in 1945 in World War II.



The Archduke Maximilian of Austria became the puppet emperor of Mexico. When Napoleon III of France withdrew French troops from Mexico, Maximilian was captured and shot. Because the United States had protested against French interference in Mexico, the failure of Napoleon III's plan strengthened the Monroe Doctrine.

value to the United States. The European nations had developed a lively trade with Latin-American countries. They also made heavy investments in Latin America. American businessmen became jealous, especially during the 1880's, when America's economic revolution was causing her to seek markets for her surplus products. Could not the United States, by cultivating friendly relations with South America, weaken the economic influence of European countries? Among the statesmen who thought so, James G. Blaine was easily the foremost.

1. The creation of the Pan American Union. In 1881 President Garfield appointed Blaine Secretary of State and gave him permission to invite the independent republics of the Americas to send delegates to a conference in Washington. Before the plan could be carrried out, the assassination of Garfield and Arthur's accession to the Presidency removed Blaine from office. But interest in a Pan-American conference did not die, and in 1888 Cleveland's Secretary of State issued an invitation for such a conference. When it met, Harrison was President, and Blaine, Secretary of State. Blaine was President of the Conference. Seventeen nations of the Western Hemisphere sent delegates.

Subjects discussed at this conference included the standardization of trademarks and patents, improved transportation facilities, a Pan-American monetary union, and a plan for the arbitration of disputes. However, the most important immediate result was the establishment of an International Bureau of American Republics to collect and publish useful information regarding these countries. This Bureau was later known as the Pan American Union (page 689).

2. Blaine's attempts to secure reciprocity. Blaine did not allow the main purpose — the development of better commercial relations — to die with the Pan-American Conference. In 1890, almost singlehandedly, he prevailed upon Congress to add to the McKinley Tariff Act a clause providing that certain South American products — coffee, sugar, hides, molasses — would be on the free list, but directing the President to impose duties on these products whenever the exporting country did not grant tariff concessions to the United States. This so-called "reciprocity clause" was in reality a threat of retaliation. Blaine negotiated agreements with several South American countries by which they reduced their tariffs on imports from the United States. Protective-tariff advocates disliked the plan and eliminated it from the tariff of 1894.

3. South American suspicions. Blaine's projects did not arouse much interest in South America. There were suspicions, fostered by Europeans who traded with South America, that the United States contemplated some sort of control over the American republics. For some time the South American republics suspected the activities of the "Colossus of the North," as they called the United States. They were grateful that the Monroe Doctrine had enabled them to develop without European political interference, but they began to fear that the

United States itself intended to secure political and economic control of the Western World. Events in the twentieth century deepened this fear, which did not abate until there were evidences of a change in policy under Coolidge and Hoover. This change of policy was carried on, developed, and strengthened as the "good neighbor policy" by Franklin D. Roosevelt (pages 693–694).

THE UNITED STATES EMERGES AS A WORLD POWER

In somewhat halting fashion during the decades of the 1870's and the 1880's, the United States began to reach out for the trade of the world. The frontier disappeared about 1890. A continent had been conquered. Would the United States be content or would she seek new worlds to conquer? Manufactures were an increasingly important part of our export trade. Capital, which once found an opportunity for investment in the development of the United States, began to look elsewhere. To encourage the expansion of American commerce, and to secure opportunities for the investment of capital, American diplomats became more and more interested in coaling stations, cable stations, trade rights, and the protection of American property and citizens abroad.

In 1898 the United States annexed Hawaii, fought the Spanish-American War, and acquired the Philippines and Puerto Rico. A few years later the United States began the construction of the Panama Canal. These events reveal that the United States was becoming a world power. They emphasize the change that was taking place as a result of the development of our natural resources and industrial strength.

Words and Phrases

alliance, Colossus of the North, Continentalism, isolation, Maximilian affair, reciprocity, retaliation

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. Was the adoption of a policy of isolation in Washington's administration a good or bad thing for the new country?
2. How was the purchase of Louisiana in keeping with the policy of isolation?
3. "The Monroe Doctrine is the clearest expression of the policy of isolation." Explain.
4. Why did the United States object to French troops in Mexico?
5. How did changing economic conditions in the period 1880–1920 affect the policy of isolation?
6. What were Blaine's reasons for fostering the Pan-American movement?
7. Give arguments for or against the statement that the United States cannot any longer pursue a policy of isolation. What are the evidences that the United States has abandoned a policy of isolation?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement with the statement that the American policy of "manifest destiny" and the European policy of imperialism were identical in purpose.
2. Investigate and report on Blaine's reciprocity treaties and the reciprocity movement, 1890–1900. Also investigate Blaine's proposals for a tariff union with South America. What do you think of the idea? Compare with the Reciprocal Trade Treaties of the New Deal (page 592).
3. Are the real economic interests of the United States today best served by the maintenance of the policy of isolation or by a policy of international co-operation? Are the terms "isolation" and "economic nationalism" identical in meaning? Make note of your opinions at this point in your study and compare with the conclusions you reach later.
4. Report on our acquisition of Alaska, Samoa, and the Hawaiian Islands.
5. Investigate and report on the career and influence of Admiral A. T. Mahan, whose writings on naval history had a marked influence on our own naval policies and on those of other nations. Prepare a special report on Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power on History.* (Consult Earle, E. M., ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy,* pages 415–445.)

Suggested Reading

ISOLATION: Bemis, pp. 388–395, 451–462; Bradley, Phillips, ed., *Isolation Reconsidered* (contains important documents); Fish, *Path of Empire* (Y.C.S.), pp. 39–78; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 37–44, 91–108; Hart, III, 302–322, 479–509; Latané, *History of American Foreign Policy,* pp. 400–417; Lippmann, Walter, *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic;* Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics,* pp. 8–25, 407–416; Nevins, *The United States in a Chaotic World* (Y.C.S.), pp. 6–8; Schlesinger, pp. 171–178; Commager, Nos. 268, 330, 331, 348 – Purchase of Alaska and the Annexation of Hawaii.

CHAPTER FORTY

The Spanish-American War and the Panama Canal

MIXED MOTIVES LEAD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO CRUSADE FOR LIBERTY IN THE CARIBBEAN

Discontent in Cuba. The closeness of the islands of the Caribbean to the shores of the United States has always caused the United States to be concerned with their affairs. In the first decades of the nineteenth century Spain lost control of all her possessions on the mainland, but she retained control over some islands in the Caribbean, the most important of which was Cuba. The Spanish administration of Cuba was both inefficient and corrupt. Cuba was treated as a dependency which should contribute to the welfare of the mother country. The chief source of Cuban wealth was cane sugar, and the best market for it was the United States. Spanish officials interfered with this market by imposing heavy duties on American exports to Cuba; the United States retaliated by raising the tariff on Cuban sugar (Wilson-Gorman Tariff, 1894).

The people of Cuba were restless, and there were numerous revolts against Spanish authority. For the most part the Spaniards had little difficulty in suppressing these revolts, which seriously hampered the production, marketing, and shipping of sugar to the United States. In 1895 the Cubans started another war for independence. This outbreak was occasioned in part by the fall in the price of sugar, due to the Wilson-Gorman Tariff. There was widespread unemployment and discontent. As a result the revolutionists easily made their cause popular, and soon the whole island was in revolt. The Cubans ravaged plantation crops and burned mills and factories to destroy the resources of the governing class. The Spaniards gathered the Cubans, especially the women and children, into concentration camps, where they could neither grow food nor give other aid to the revolutionists. Half of the Cubans in the camps perished from famine and disease.

American economic interest. The interference with American trade and the threat to investments in Cuban tobacco and sugar plantations were factors, though not determining ones, in arousing American interest. American investments in Cuba amounted to about $50,000,000,

and the annual trade between Cuba and the United States was about $100,000,000. But Cleveland, who was President when the Cuban insurrection began, and McKinley, after him, were opposed to American intervention. The government of Spain seems to have been equally eager to avoid war with the United States. But Spain was confronted with a dilemma. If upon the demand of a foreign nation she were to give the Cubans independence, her own people would rise in revolt. If she refused, the Cuban war would go on indefinitely, bringing financial ruin or American intervention. Dispatches from our minister to Spain indicated that Spain greatly wanted to get rid of her Cuban troubles in any way that would not start an upheaval in the mother country.

Propaganda for American intervention. The misery and suffering in the concentration camps awakened a widespread sympathy in the United States. This sympathy and interest was stirred up by the "jingo press" — led by the *New York Journal* — into a demand for American intervention. At the time, William Randolph Hearst of the *Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer of the *New York World* were engaged in competition to secure readers for their papers. Both resorted to extreme sensationalism, with screaming headlines and lurid details of the latest scandal. Their reporters were ever on the hunt for something to startle and attract readers; their copy writers "doctored" the news to make it more exciting and their illustrators let their imagination run wild; while the gullible readers said, "it must be true, it's in the paper" or "there's the picture." Events in Cuba played into the hands of the rival newspaper owners. To sell papers they made the Spanish authorities in Cuba appear bloodthirsty tyrants. To the influence of the newspapers must be added that of a Cuban junta (a small group of revolutionists) in the United States, which continually spread propaganda for intervention and prepared the minds of the public for a war with Spain.

The De Lome letter. An insurgent spy stole a private letter from the Havana post office written by De Lome, the Spanish minister to the United States. It was released to the press in the United States on February 9, 1898. Among other things it referred to President McKinley as "weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd, besides being a would-be politician who tries to leave a door open behind himself while keeping on good terms with the jingoes of his party." The "yellow press" made the most of this letter from a high Spanish official, using it to fan American anger against Spain.

"*Remember the* Maine." Indignation over the De Lome letter was still at fever heat when the newspapers "headlined" the fact that the United States battleship *Maine* had blown up in Havana harbor. In his report on the disaster, which cost the lives of 260 officers and crew, Captain Sigsbee stated: "Public opinion should be suspended till further report." But public opinion was not suspended. "Remember the

Maine" became the powerful slogan of those who wanted war. The *Journal* and the *World* struggled to outdo each other in their handling of the episode. The *Journal* shrieked in big headlines: "The War Ship *Maine* was Split in Two By an Enemy's Secret Infernal Machine." E. L. Godkin, editor of the *Post*, wrote: "Nothing so disgraceful as the behavior of these two newspapers in the past week has ever been known in the history of journalism. Gross misrepresentation of facts, deliberate inventions of tales calculated to excite the public and wanton recklessness in the construction of headlines . . . have combined to make the issues of the most widely circulated newspapers firebrands scattered broadcast throughout the community."

The facts about the sinking of the *Maine* are still unknown, although the ship was raised some thirteen years after the event to determine the exact nature of the explosion. But whatever the truth, American opinion blamed the disaster on Spain. The people were demanding war. The slogan of the hour was "Remember the *Maine*." For failing to act speedily McKinley was criticized as weak, Theodore Roosevelt declaring that he had the "backbone of a chocolate eclair."

Question of the necessity of war. After much negotiation with the Spanish government McKinley finally decided to lay the whole question before Congress. Since Congress was largely dominated by those in favor of war, McKinley's action meant that Congress would declare war. McKinley, who was criticized for not taking this action sooner, has been criticized for not paying heed to a request of the European powers for delay, and to the similar suggestion of our own minister to Spain. The day before he submitted his message to Congress, McKinley received assurances that Spain was ready to grant all our demands, but he made only slight mention of this fact in his message. Many have regarded the Spanish-American War as unnecessary, condemning McKinley for thus dealing with the Spanish effort to avoid war; others, taking the opposite stand, feel that further negotiations with Spain would merely have postponed, not avoided, the conflict.

The Teller Resolution. On April 19, 1898, a few days after receiving McKinley's message, Congress passed a series of resolutions which amounted to a declaration of war. Congress declared that the people of Cuba are, and of right, ought to be free and independent, and authorized the President to use the army and navy to compel Spain to relinquish its authority over Cuba. To allay the suspicions of European powers, and also of many Americans who were opposed to a war for purposes of annexation, Congress also added a self-denying ordinance — the famous Teller Resolution. This resolution stated that "the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

Dewey at Manila. At the time, we had an Asiatic fleet of seven warships under command of Commodore George Dewey at Hong Kong on the Chinese coast. A few weeks before war began, Theodore Roosevelt, temporarily acting as Secretary of the Navy, had sent orders to Dewey to keep his Asiatic squadron in readiness for action. On April 25, Dewey received orders to proceed to the Philippine Islands and to begin offensive operations against the Spanish fleet. On May 1 Dewey steamed into Manila Bay, and before the day was over had put the Spanish fleet out of action. Dewey held the harbor of Manila until transports arrived from the United States. On August 13 an American army under command of General Wesley Merritt occupied the surrounding territory.

The blockade of Cuba. In the Atlantic a Spanish fleet under command of Admiral Cervera was bottled up in the harbor of Santiago by our Atlantic fleet under the command of Admiral Sampson. An army under command of General Shafter was landed in Cuba and easily defeated the Spanish land forces, but not until tropical disease and an inadequate supply of food had worked havoc among American soldiers. In July Cervera's fleet attempted to break through the blockade, and in a running fight the American fleet destroyed Cervera's. The loss of two fleets and the surrender of the Spanish army at Santiago forced Spain to sue for peace. An armistice was concluded on August 12, just as General Miles was invading Puerto Rico and as General Merritt, cooperating with Dewey, entered Manila (August 13, 1898).

The real enemy in the West Indies — tropical diseases. After six weeks in Cuba, General Shafter's army was laid low by an enemy more dangerous than the Spanish army. Tropical diseases had attacked it. On August 1 one man in every six was a victim of yellow fever. The experiences of the army in Cuba inspired the work of Doctor Walter Reed. Out of his studies in tropical diseases came the discovery that the mosquito transmits yellow fever. Thus, one result of the Spanish-American War was the freeing of tropical life from one of its greatest scourges.

The treaty of peace. 1. Freedom for Cuba; the annexation of Puerto Rico. The peace treaty was concluded by a joint Spanish-American commission sitting in Paris. Upon two points the United States was determined: Cuba should be independent, and Puerto Rico annexed to the United States. Spain yielded and also ceded the island of Guam, giving our Navy another station in the Pacific.

2. The acquisition of the Philippines. It had been agreed in the preliminary peace negotiations that the United States might "occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion

of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines." The United States had annexed territories many times, but never had it done so in the face of such problems as the Philippines presented. Whether to leave the inhabitants to their own fate, to await possible seizure by Japan or Germany, or to hold the harbor and the city of Manila, leaving the rest of the Philippines free, or to take possession of the entire archipelago as an American colony, was a difficult problem which Congress and the people debated for several months. Some argued that the control of the resources of the Philippines would be of value to the United States; others argued that the United States should obtain a sphere of influence in the Far East to match the spheres of influence which the other powers had obtained in China. At the same time, there ran through the country a deep current of idealism. Some urged that Cuba should be given its freedom, and that the Philippines should be helped and protected by the United States. President McKinley ultimately sided with those who wanted the United States to obtain the Philippines. He thus expressed the mixed motives of the American people in his instructions to the peace commission in Paris. "The war has brought us new duties and responsibilities which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of a civilization. Incidental to our tenure in the Philippines is the commercial opportunity to which American statesmanship cannot be indifferent. . . ." We required Spain to yield the Philippines for $20,000,000.

A change in American policy. The treaty with Spain, which was finally ratified with only one vote to spare, was a turning point in the relations of the United States with the rest of the world. The Monroe Doctrine had announced the concern of the United States with the affairs of the New World. The Spanish treaty indicated that time had only strengthened that interest, and that the United States would take an active interest in the future development of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Caribbean. It also extended the scope of national activities in the Pacific Ocean. For it was, as we have seen (pages 646–648), in 1898 and 1899 that the United States came into full possession of Hawaii and some of the Samoan Islands. In 1900 the islands of Midway and Wake, lying between the Hawaiian group and the Asiatic mainland, were also added to the American possessions.

THE UNITED STATES DIGS A CANAL AT PANAMA AND ASSUMES THE BURDENS OF A WORLD POWER

The voyage of the Oregon. The construction of the Panama Canal followed closely upon the Spanish-American War. It was proba-

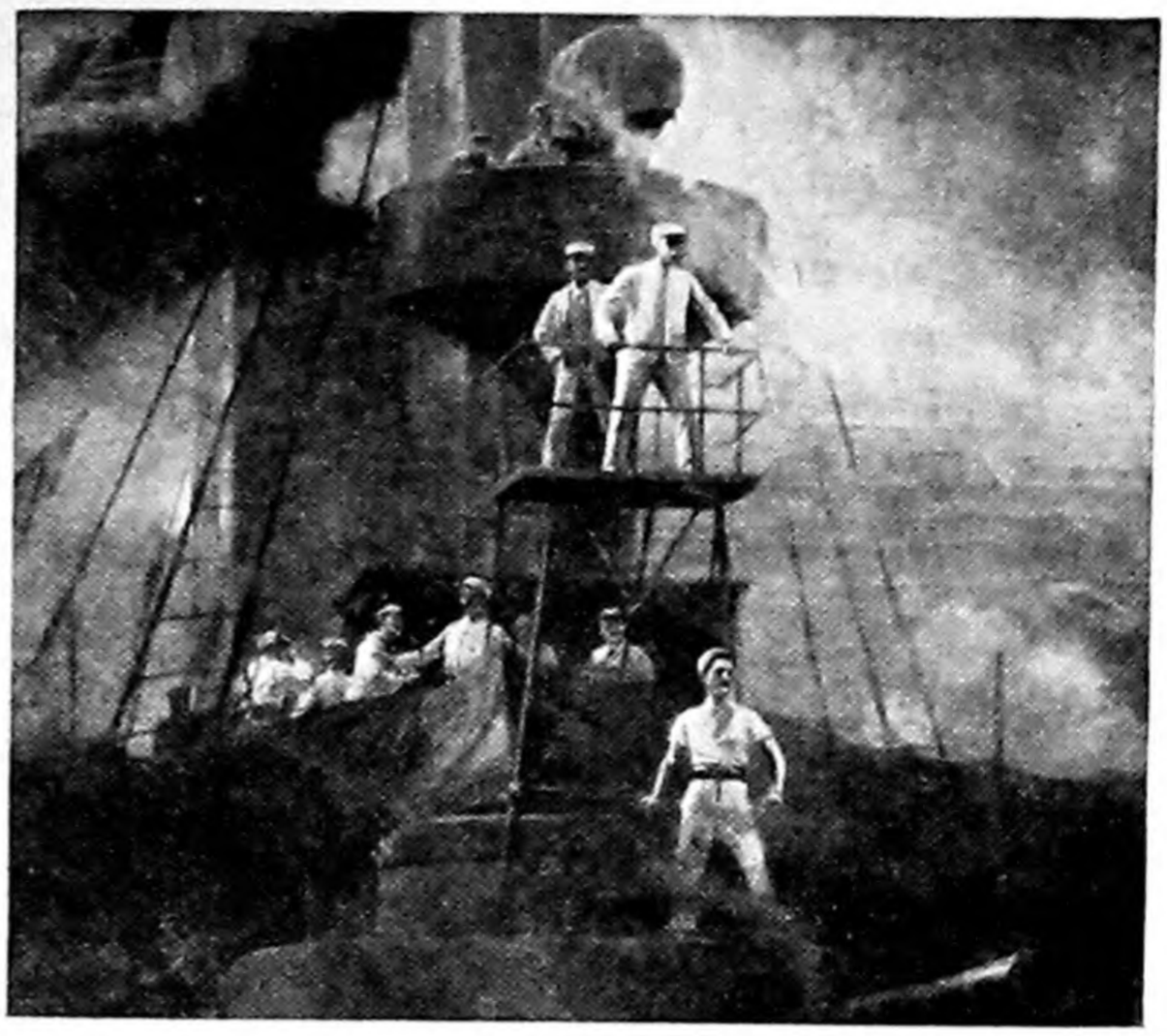
bly more important than the war in shaping American foreign policy in the twentieth century. When the war began, one of our new and largest battleships, the *Oregon*, was stationed in the Pacific. To reinforce the American fleet in Cuban waters it was ordered to make the fourteen thousand mile trip from the Pacific through the Straits of Magellan at the tip of South America, and thence to Cuba. This long voyage forcibly demonstrated to the people of the United States the desirability of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. Newly acquired possessions in the Caribbean and the Pacific seemed to make it imperative. The driving energy of Theodore Roosevelt made it a reality.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850). Interest in an isthmian canal was of long standing. As early as 1846 the United States had made a treaty with Colombia which gave us the right to dig a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. A few years later British expansion in Central America made the United States fear that England might obtain control of a possible canal route through Nicaragua. The United States, therefore, made a treaty with England, known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850). By this pact both England and the United States agreed that they would exercise *joint control* over a canal dug by either through any part of Central America. The treaty also promised that both nations would enjoy equal rights in its use and that it should not be fortified. No canal was dug, however; and our interest in the idea lagged, particularly after the transcontinental railroads were built.

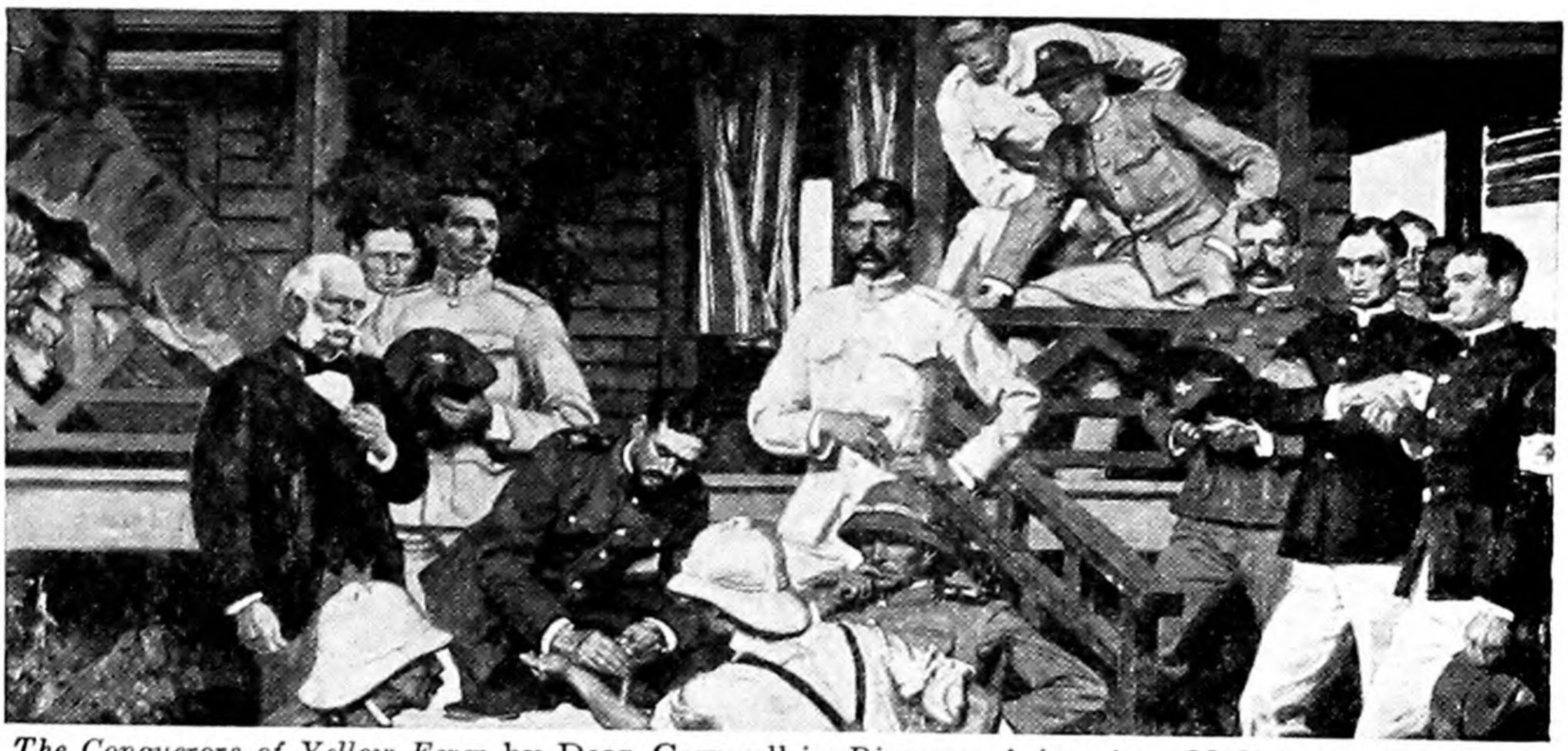
In the 1880's a French company undertook to build a canal across Panama. Although the work was directed by De Lesseps, successful builder of the Suez Canal, and more than $250,000,000 was spent, the concern finally failed in 1889. A reorganized company, however, still retained the franchise rights and equipment. It was during the period of French construction that Western farmers began to complain of railroad rates, and Americans became interested in a waterway which would force the railroads to cut down their charges. The United States began to regret the bargain with England, and several unsuccessful efforts were made to induce England to give up her privileges under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. In the words of President Hayes: "The policy of the United States is a canal under American control."

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. The acquisition of Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico in 1898 forced the United States to act promptly to obtain the right to build a canal under our own control. Secretary of State John Hay began negotiations with England. A statesman of culture, of great personal charm, and of long experience in public affairs, Hay was eminently fitted to represent the United States in the new period which had dawned. In 1901 he negotiated the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. By its terms the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was set aside. The United States was given the right to construct a canal, with the understanding that the "canal shall be free and open

Dewey's order to the commander of the flagship *Olympia* has become famous: "You may fire when ready, Gridley." Dewey's victory at Manila started a series of important developments in American foreign policy.

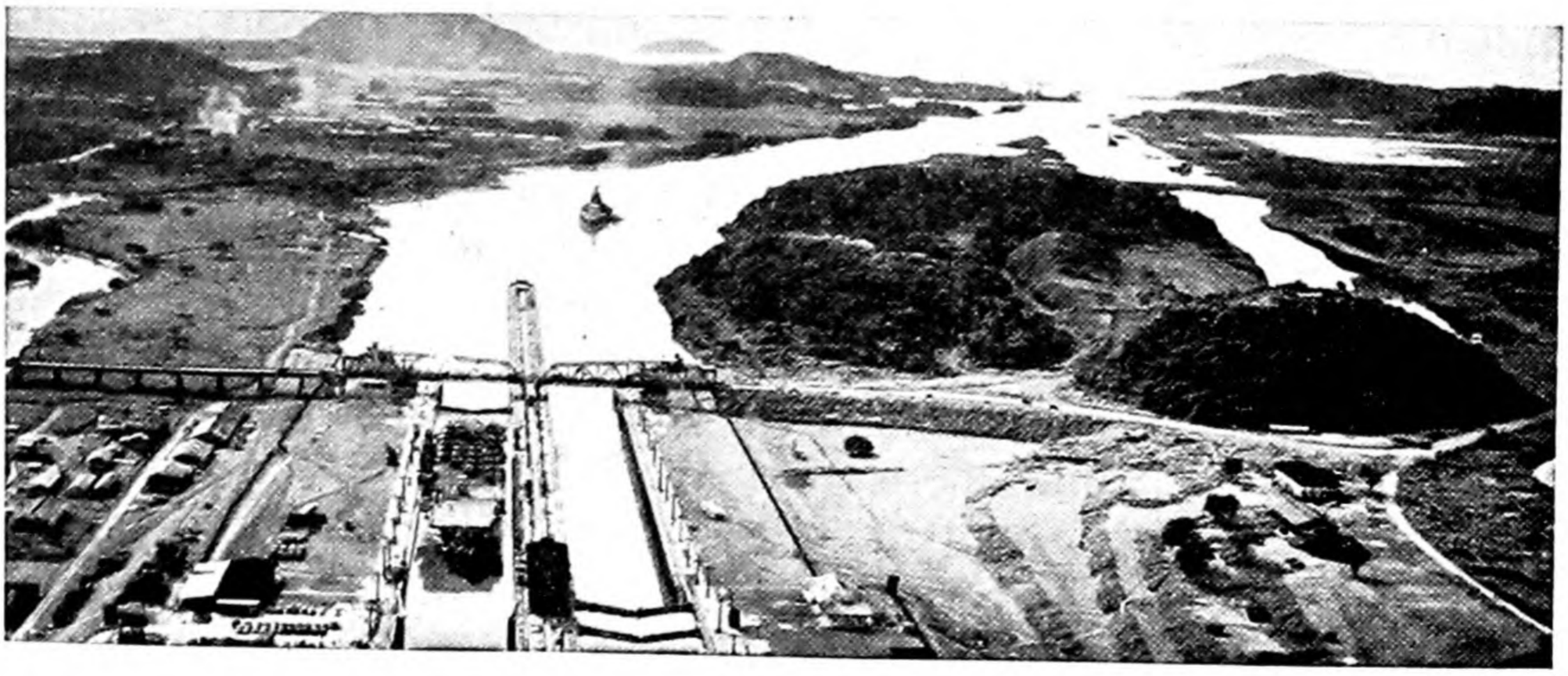


Dewey at Manila Bay, by Zogbaum. By permission of Mrs. Margaret G. Blue. Courtesy United States National Museum



The Conquerors of Yellow Fever, by Dean Cornwell in *Pioneers of American Medicine Series*. Copyright Wyeth Inc., Philadelphia

An American commission to Cuba, headed by Dr. Walter Reed (1851–1902), demonstrated by experiments that yellow fever was transmitted by mosquitoes.



Acme

The Panama Canal has been called "the southern boundary of the United States." The problem of defending the canal has influenced American policy in the Caribbean.

to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise."

Choice between Panama and Nicaragua. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty cleared the way for the United States to proceed with the construction of the canal. The problem was now whether a canal should be built through the isthmus of Panama or through Nicaragua. The chief elements in the situation were: first, the interests of the governments of Colombia and Nicaragua; second, the interest of the French company, whose opportunity for obtaining some money from its ventures would be lost if the United States decided to build through Nicaragua; and third, the railroads, which tried to prevent the construction of a canal.

Negotiations with Colombia. Congress, after receiving extensive reports from engineers and after much debate and considerable lobbying, passed a bill instructing the President to secure the property of the French company at $40,000,000 and to negotiate with Colombia for the Panama route. He was instructed that unless he could come to satisfactory terms with Colombia in a reasonable time, he was to proceed with the Nicaraguan route. The Hay-Herran Treaty was promptly negotiated with Colombia. By this document the United States, in return for the lease of a strip of land six miles wide, agreed to pay Colombia $10,000,000 and an annual rental of $250,000. The American Senate ratified the treaty, but the Colombian Senate, after debating the treaty at length, refused to ratify, apparently hoping to obtain better terms after the rights of the French company expired in 1904.

Secession of Panama. After the rejection of the Hay-Herran Treaty by the Colombian Senate, events moved rapidly. The directors of the French company were panic-stricken. The people of Panama were annoyed and began discussing the possibilities of revolting from Colombia. A representative of the Panama revolutionists was sent to the United States to discover whether this country would support a revolution. Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a French citizen and formerly an engineer for the French company, was very active in preparing the way for the proposed revolution. On October 10, 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt wrote a personal letter to Dr. Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, in which he said: "Privately, I freely say to you that I should be delighted if Panama were an independent state, or if it made itself one at this moment; but for me to say so publicly would amount to an instigation of revolt, and, therefore, I cannot say it." A little later the magazine had an article entitled "Will Panama Declare Independence?" Colombia, anticipating a revolt, landed some troops at Colón. On November 2 orders were sent to the commanders of some American warships near the isthmus to use force if necessary to prevent Colombia

from moving these troops across the Isthmus. The revolution took place on November 3 and there was no bloodshed. Because the American State Department made inquiries concerning the revolution a few hours before it began, some have argued that the United States government instigated the revolt. There seems to be no proof that any American official assured the people of Panama of American support. However, there can be no doubt that the United States welcomed the revolt and gave it substantial support by refusing to allow Colombian troops to cross the isthmus.

The Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty. On November 6 the revolutionary government in Panama was recognized by President Theodore Roosevelt, who within another week received Bunau-Varilla as minister for the new Republic of Panama. On November 18, fifteen days after the revolution began, the Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty was negotiated. This pact with the new state of Panama took the place of the rejected Hay-Herran treaty with Colombia. By the pact, the United States guaranteed the independence of Panama, and, in return for the grant of a strip of land ten miles wide over which the United States was to have full authority, agreed to give Panama $10,000,000 outright and an annual payment of $250,000, beginning nine years after ratification of the treaty. (The yearly amount was later raised to $430,000.) One reason for Roosevelt's hurried action was his desire to settle before Congress convened the whole question of when and where the canal was to be built. He accomplished this purpose, and in February, 1904, the Senate ratified the Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty.

A heritage of ill will. President Roosevelt, some years later, thus explained the reason for his hasty action: "If I had followed traditional conservative methods, I should have submitted a dignified state paper of probably two hundred pages to the Congress, and the debate would be going on yet; but I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate, and while the debate goes on, the canal does also."

Roosevelt has been severely criticized for his action, which provoked not only the ill will of Colombia but that of the other South American states. The fear persisted that Theodore Roosevelt's actions in Panama and in Santo Domingo indicated the deliberate intention of the United States to assume the political and economic leadership of the Western Hemisphere (pages 672–678).

The American government, sensing the keenness of this resentment, made several efforts to make amends to Colombia. These attempts were blocked in the American Senate, where a strong group of Republicans took the point of view that the United States was under no obligations to Colombia. But finally, in 1921, the United States paid Colombia $25,000,000 in order to "remove all the misunderstandings growing out of the political events in Panama in November, 1903." A very important consideration influencing this action of the American Senate

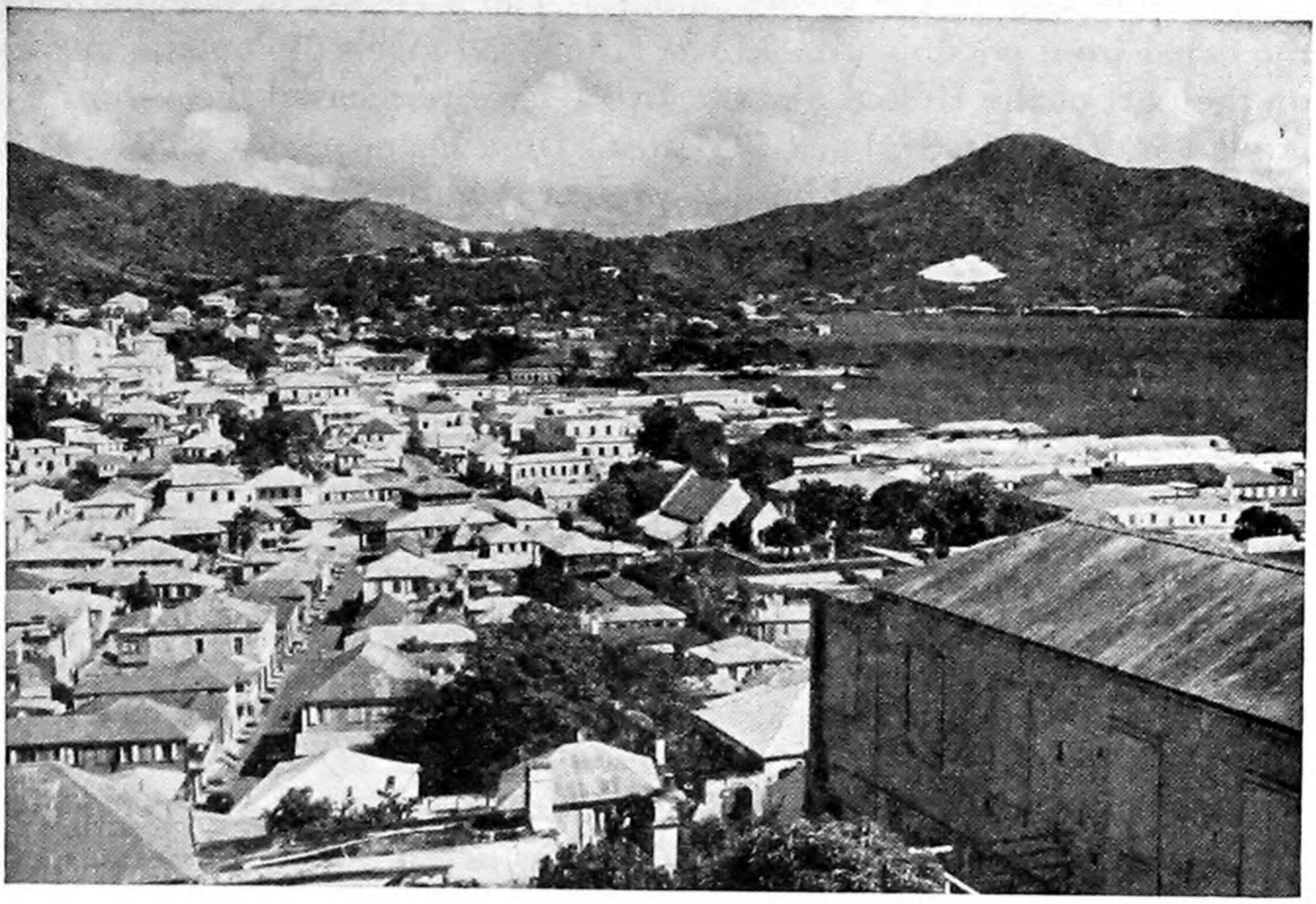
was the desire to smooth the way for American oil interests which were having difficulty in securing favorable concessions in Colombia.

The work of Colonel Goethals. After the Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty was ratified, considerable debate followed as to whether the United States or a private corporation should undertake the task of construction, and whether a lock or a sea-level canal should be built. At length it was decided that the War Department should have charge of construction and that a lock canal should be built. The War Department placed Colonel George W. Goethals in charge of the work. Excavation began in 1906, and the canal was opened to traffic in 1914. The cost of construction was $375,000,000, more than twice the original estimate. An additional $100,000,000 was spent for fortifications and other features added soon after the canal was open. The Panama Canal ranks as one of the greatest engineering feats yet accomplished in this century. The work of Army surgeons, under the direction of Dr. William C. Gorgas, in stamping out yellow fever and malaria and thus making it possible for men to work at the great task, rivals the engineering achievement.

The Panama Canal Zone. The ten-mile strip through which the canal runs is known as the Panama Canal Zone; it is owned by the United States. The governor of the Canal Zone, usually an Army officer, has complete authority over the inhabitants. Inasmuch as the canal is heavily fortified and is regarded as an essential part of the American coast line, the entire zone is managed as a military post.

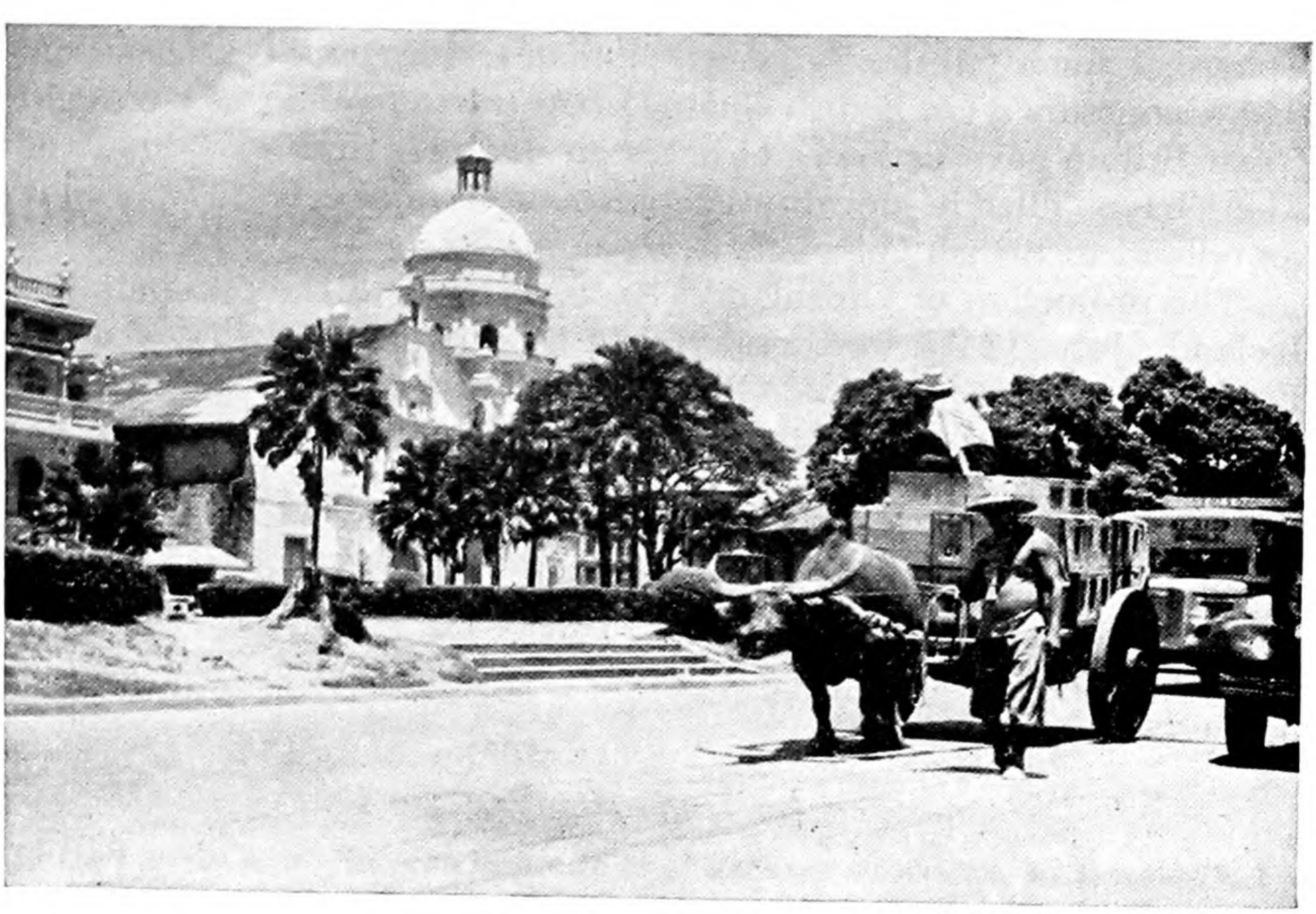
The Panama tolls question. As the canal neared completion Congress passed a Panama Canal Tolls Act, which exempted American ships engaged in the *coastwise trade* from the payment of tolls. Great Britain protested that this exemption violated the stipulation in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty that the canal would be open *to the vessels of all nations on terms of entire equality.* Americans argued that this meant *all other nations*, and was not intended to prevent the United States, the owner, the builder, and defender of the canal, from discriminating in favor of its own domestic shippers. In March, 1914, President Wilson appeared in person before Congress and in a brief speech urged Congress to repeal this act. After a bitter debate, during which several strong anti-British speeches were made, Congress yielded to Wilson's demand.

Extension of the American coast line. One of the most important factors determining American foreign policy in the twentieth century has been the construction of the Panama Canal. The advantages to the United States from its independent and exclusive ownership, construction, and control are strategic, not commercial or financial. The canal has been of enormous benefit to the commerce of the world; but to the United States the canal is also an additional coast line that must be protected and defended.



Screen Traveler, from Gendreau

The Virgin Islands (part of St. Thomas is pictured above), have a population of approximately twenty-five thousand. The United States purchased these islands from Denmark in 1917 for twenty-five million dollars.



Screen Traveler, from Gendreau

The ancient and the modern meet at the Old Plaza in Manila. The United States acquired the Philippines by the terms of the treaty with Spain, December 10, 1898. In 1950 the population was about nineteen millions. On July 4, 1946, the Philippine Islands formally became an independent Commonwealth.

The purchase of the Virgin Islands. The necessity of safeguarding the canal from possible attacks has influenced many diplomatic moves on the part of the United States. In 1917 we purchased the Virgin Islands (St. Thomas, St. John, St. Croix) from Denmark for $25,000,000 in order to secure a naval base to protect the approaches to the canal. Ownership of the canal was also a factor in the intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of several countries; in effect, if not in legal terms, the United States began to exercise a "veiled" protectorate over the countries of Central America (pages 672–678).

The control of alternative canal routes. It is the policy of the United States to have exclusive control over other possible canal routes. One such route is across Nicaragua. In 1916 the Bryan-Chamorro treaty with Nicaragua gave the United States the right of way for a canal through Nicaragua, a lease on the Corn Islands in the Atlantic, and the right to establish a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca. For these concessions the United States paid Nicaragua $3,000,000. There has been occasional interest in the construction of a second canal, and in 1931 a commission of Army engineers reported in favor of such a project. No further action has been taken. Work was begun on an additional set of locks for the Panama Canal for the special use of the Navy. These locks will be wide enough for the largest of our new warships.

Sea bases in the Atlantic. In September, 1940, in exchange for fifty over-age destroyers, Great Britain granted the United States the right to establish six naval bases on British possessions in the Western Hemisphere: Exuma (in the Bahamas), Jamaica, Antigua, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Georgetown (in British Guiana). At the same time, as a free gift, Great Britain gave us leases to bases on Bermuda and Newfoundland. These bases "filled in precarious gaps in a crescent of defense from Newfoundland to British Guiana."

The protection of Greenland (April, 1941) and the occupation of Iceland (July, 1941) were undertaken as part of our policy of aid to England in the war against Germany, and also as part of a desire to strengthen our defenses in the North Atlantic.

Words and Phrases

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, De Lome letter, Destroyer-Naval Base deal, Guam, Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty, Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, jingo press, Panama Canal Zone, "Remember the *Maine*," Teller Resolution, tolls question, Virgin Islands, yellow fever

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. "Interest of American capitalists in the outcome of the Cuban Revolution was the most important single factor in determining American intervention." Give arguments for or against this statement. (Consult Hacker and Kendrick, pages 281–288.)

2. What is a "jingo press"? Why would it be interested in advocating war?
3. Defend or criticize McKinley's policy.
4. Why, in a war over Cuba, was Dewey instructed to seize Manila?
5. What was the nature of the "Teller Resolution"?
6. If you had been a member of the Peace Commission, would you have advocated the annexation of Puerto Rico and the purchase of the Philippines? Reasons.
7. Was the Spanish-American War a cause of the emergence of the United States as a world power? Explain.
8. Account for the fact that the United States did not build an isthmian canal until the opening of the twentieth century.
9. What did England gain or lose by substituting the Hay-Pauncefote for the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty?
10. What is the difference between a lock canal and a sea-level canal?
11. Explain the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the controversy with Colombia over the acquisition of the Canal Zone, and the "free tolls" controversy with Great Britain.

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Consult other books to obtain more details and endeavor to form an answer to the questions: (a) What part did the United States play in the Panama Revolution? (b) Should Wilson have advocated the repeal of the Tolls Exemption Act? (c) Should the United States have paid Colombia $25,000,000?
2. Do you believe the Spanish-American War was unnecessary? Reasons.
3. Investigate and report on the details of the work of Dr. Gorgas and Dr. Reed.
4. Investigate and report on the activities of Theodore Roosevelt during the Spanish-American War; on the points of view of Senators Albert J. Beveridge, Henry Cabot Lodge, Admiral Mahan, and others on the issues of imperialism at the turn of the century.
5. Consult *The World Almanac* for statistics on the cost, expense of operation, and number of ships using the Panama Canal. Should a canal be built through Nicaragua?
6. Locate on a map the sea bases leased from England in September, 1940. Investigate and report on the terms of the arrangement and the uses to which these bases were put during World War II.
7. Investigate and report on the role of the Hawaiian Islands, Samoa, Guam, Midway, and Wake in World War II. Identify and locate Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Saipan, Iwo Jima. What should be the policy of the United States toward the islands in the Pacific that it conquered and occupied during World War II?

Suggested Reading

CAUSES OF THE WAR: Bassett, *Makers of a New Nation* (Pageant), Chap. VIII; Beard and Beard, II, 370–373; Bemis, pp. 432–450; Fish, *Path of Empire* (Y.C.S.), pp. 90–115; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 286–294; Hart, IV, 573–590; Latané, *History of American Foreign Policy*, pp. 498–508; Millis,

W. L., *The Road to War;* Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics,* pp. 416–422; Rhodes, *McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations,* pp. 44–117; Schlesinger, pp. 183–189; Commager, Nos. 345, 346 – De Lome Letter and McKinley's War Message.

THE WAR AND ITS EFFECTS: Bailey, pp. 511–531; Beard and Beard, II, 373–381; Bemis, pp. 451–475; Fish, *Path of Empire* (Y.C.S.), pp. 116–197; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 341–353; Latané, *America as a World Power* (A.N.S.) pp. 3–82; Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900–1950,* pp. 3–20; Schlesinger, pp. 189–194; Wood and Gabriel, *In Defense of Liberty* (Pageant), Chaps. IX, X; Commager, No. 349 – Treaty of Peace with Spain.

PANAMA CANAL: Bailey, pp. 533–546; Beard and Beard, II, 511–517; Bemis, pp. 508–518; Fish, *Path of Empire* (Y.C.S.), pp. 240–259; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 367–372; Hart, V, 152–156; Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States,* pp. 193–228; Latané, *America as a World Power* (A.N.S.), pp. 204–223; Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics,* pp. 423–433; Rhodes, *McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations,* pp. 99–132; Schlesinger, pp. 196–199; Commager, Nos. 355, 361 – Hay-Pauncefote Treaty and Negotiations with Panama.

CHAPTER FORTY-ONE

The Retreat from Dollar Diplomacy

PRACTICAL CONCEPTIONS OF NATIONAL INTEREST DETERMINE FOREIGN POLICIES

Economic changes and foreign relations. Two of the reasons for the interest of the United States in the Caribbean in the twentieth century are, first, the acquisition of Puerto Rico and the establishment of a protectorate in Cuba, and second, the construction of the Panama Canal. But more important than these is the changed economic status of the United States. With the disappearance of the frontier, some businessmen were eager to sell their surplus manufactures in foreign countries, and others were interested in the importation of various raw materials. Still others, capitalists and bankers, wanted to invest their surplus capital in profitable enterprises overseas.

Investment of capital in backward areas. The exploitation of new, undeveloped but rich resources always yields a larger return than the investment of capital in older, well-developed areas where the resources are approaching exhaustion. European capitalists were eager to invest in the development of growing America; American capitalists are now eager to invest their capital in Latin America, or elsewhere, provided, of course, there is not too much risk involved. Nations which export capital frequently use force to compel backward countries to respect property rights; in this way the risks taken by those who invest capital abroad are considerably reduced.

If events should take place which endanger the property rights of the capitalist, or if some of his agents are killed, it is customary for his government to intervene in his behalf. Many have argued that the investments of the capitalists are no concern of the government, and that intervention would mean the use of the government's power for the benefit of a small class and not for the country as a whole. It is also argued that through intervention a strong government can easily impose its will upon a weak nation. Thus, many Americans believe that intervention in the affairs of foreign countries for the protection of property is contrary to the ideals of liberty, justice, and government by the consent of the governed.

The problem of modern industrial states. In respect to foreign investments, modern governments are confronted with a serious dilemma. For a powerful industrial nation to maintain its existing economic strength and standards of living, it must sell its goods, secure raw materials, and invest its capital abroad. Since several strong nations assist their nationals in this process, a nation which does not pursue the same policy may find itself forced to deal with the rest of the world on unfavorable terms. In protecting the rights of its citizens, a nation may clash with some other government supporting the claims of its citizens. Diplomatic friction may develop, and then a feeling of unfriendliness, which can easily be turned to hatred. Too often war has been the outcome. What then shall a modern government do? Should it endanger its prosperity by a policy of inaction or indifference, or enter into the struggle to secure a share of the world's resources for its own citizens?

The policy of controlling and developing backward areas is commonly called economic imperialism. In the United States it came to be called "dollar diplomacy," especially during Taft's administration. Mr. Taft declared that the policy of his administration was "characterized by substituting dollars for bullets." Dollar diplomacy, he said, is "frankly directed to the increase of American trade upon the axiomatic principle that the government of the United States shall extend all proper support to every legitimate and beneficial enterprise abroad." Economic imperialism or dollar diplomacy or whatever it may be called is a cause of war, because (1) backward areas resent domination by a foreign power and frequently rebel, and (2) it leads to intense economic and commercial rivalry among the strong industrial nations. Undoubtedly one of the great stumbling blocks to peace is the economic urge toward imperialism.

"Practical conceptions of national interest." For almost a third of a century after the Spanish-American War, the United States embarked upon a policy of economic imperialism. Beginning about 1925 we began to retreat, to "liquidate" our imperialistic ventures. The process of retreat finally resulted in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's policy of the "good neighbor." Both Republican and Democratic statesmen first encouraged the movement toward imperialism and later the retreat from it. Consequently, over a period of time economic conditions (plus our geographic position) rather than partisan politics have been the guiding factor in our foreign policy. As Mr. Hughes declared while serving as Secretary of State: "Foreign policies are not built upon abstractions. They are the result of practical conceptions of national interest." Events from 1898 to about 1925 seemed to indicate that our national interest called for an aggressive search for foreign markets in the Caribbean, in South America, and in the Far East. After 1925 events seem to have persuaded the American people that an aggressive policy would endanger rather than promote our national interest.

Hence, there has been a retreat from imperialism and enthusiastic acclaim for the policy of the "good neighbor."

THE UNITED STATES FACES THE PROBLEM OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Dilemma of 1898. In 1896 McKinley was elected to the presidency after a stirring campaign over the issue of free silver. By an odd turn of events his administration was occupied chiefly with foreign affairs. The United States found that in the space of a few years it had acquired the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, and several small islands, among them Guam in the Pacific and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean; furthermore, its army was in occupation of Cuba. These lands were situated in widely separated areas and inhabited by people of diverse tongues, races, and religion, all in different stages of civilization. What should the United States do with these colonial dependencies? Should the United States surrender these possessions; should it attempt to prepare them for admission into the Union as states; should it treat them as colonies? This problem was the chief issue of the campaign of 1900. The Republican platform defended the Spanish-American War:

> No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which the American standards were unfurled. . . . No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the West Indies and the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world.

The Democratic platform attacked the war as imperialistic:

> We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

McKinley was elected by a larger majority than in 1896, and the Republican party was charged with the responsibility of dealing with the problems of colonial administration. The burden, however, fell not upon the shoulders of McKinley, who was assassinated a few months after his second inauguration, but upon Theodore Roosevelt.

Colonies and the Constitution. The question of the powers of Congress over the new dependencies took the form: Does the Constitution follow the flag? Or, do the provisions of the Constitution regarding citizenship, tariffs, and trade apply to the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico? The Constitution provides that duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States. Does this clause prevent Congress from imposing a special Philippine or Puerto Rican tariff? The Supreme Court, in a group of decisions commonly known as the "*insular cases*," ruled that only "fundamental" parts of the Con-

stitution follow the flag, but that "formal" parts do not. In substance, this decision meant that the "Constitution did not follow the flag" unless Congress so decreed. Under this broad interpretation the President and Congress were given a free hand in dealing with the dependencies. Thus the Court ruled that it was within the power of Congress to impose a tariff upon goods coming from Puerto Rico. Referring to these hairsplitting decisions of the Supreme Court, Finley Peter Dunne caused his famous character, Mr. Dooley, to remark that whether or not the Constitution followed the flag, the Supreme Court followed the election returns.

To study the manner in which Congress solved the problems arising out of the Spanish-American War, we shall discuss separately at this point our relations with Cuba and Puerto Rico and leave to a later chapter a discussion of our relations with Hawaii and the Philippines.

THE UNITED STATES ESTABLISHES A PROTECTORATE OVER CUBA AND LATER RELINQUISHES IT

Cuba, the Pearl of the Antilles, has an area of about forty-three thousand square miles and a population of about five and a third million (1950). By the Teller Resolution (page 655), Congress stated that it had no intention of annexing Cuba. McKinley, therefore, upon the cessation of hostilities, proceeded to prepare Cuba for self-government. For a time Cuba remained under the control of an American army which, under the command of Major General Leonard Wood, undertook to restore order. In a few years the military administration made remarkable progress. Roads were built; an educational program developed; church and state separated; legal reforms introduced; and probably most important of all, sanitary conditions were improved.

The Platt Amendment. In 1900 General Wood called a constitutional convention which framed for Cuba a constitution modeled upon that of the United States. The constitution contained provisions recognizing the United States as a special protector of the Cuban republic. These provisions were dictated by part of an act of Congress known as the Platt Amendment. Among the terms of the Platt Amendment were: (1) a promise by Cuba never to enter into any agreement with a foreign power which would impair its independence; (2) Cuba's consent that "the United States may interfere for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty." (By requiring Cuba to insert these provisions in her constitution the Senate had found a way to get around the Teller Resolution, and made Cuba a protectorate of the United States.) (3) Cuba also agreed to sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations. Under this clause the United States maintains a naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

Cuba as an American protectorate. Early in 1902 the United States withdrew from Cuba, and a Cuban government assumed control of affairs. For a few years the Cubans, unaccustomed to democratic government, passed through stormy trials, and the United States intervened several times (1906, 1912, 1917, 1920) to maintain order. These "interventions" under both Republican and Democratic administrations furnished opportunities for the economic penetration of Cuba by American bankers and economic interests. By 1928 American investments in Cuba passed the billion-dollar mark with $600,000,000 invested in sugar, $12,000,000 in railroads, $115,000,000 in public utilities, $50,000,000 in mines, and about $20,000,000 in tobacco. As a result of these investments and the maintenance of a political regime favorable to American interests, Cuba took sixth place among the customers of the United States, and the United States became Cuba's best customer. About three-fourths of Cuba's export trade is with the United States, while Cuba buys more than half her imports in the United States.

From 1925 to 1933 American banking interests maintained President Machado in power. Since Cuban prosperity largely depends upon sugar, the decline in the price of sugar as a result of world-wide trends made conditions among the Cuban masses grow steadily worse. A revolt broke out in 1933, Machado was deposed, and there followed a series of revolutions. President Franklin D. Roosevelt succeeded in avoiding intervention.

The forbearance of the United States during the Cuban upheavals of the early 1930's was part of the new policy of retreat from aggressive imperialism. It helped to revive Latin-American good will. More significant than our avoidance of intervention, however, was the ratification of a treaty in 1934 by which we gave up our rights under the Platt Amendment, retaining, however, the naval base at Guantanamo Bay. This was a step in the policy of the "good neighbor." However, American investors still have great influence in Cuba.

THE UNITED STATES DEVELOPS A COLONIAL POLICY FOR PUERTO RICO

The commercial advantages of the United States. At the close of the Spanish-American War the United States secured complete control of Puerto Rico. This West Indian island contains about 3400 square miles and has a population of two and a quarter million people. The exports from Puerto Rico to the United States have expanded from $3,000,000 a year in 1900 to more than $100,000,000. In 1900 Puerto Rico purchased about 20 per cent of her imports in the United States; today nearly 90 per cent of her imports come from the United States. The people of this densely populated island are very poor, and there is a perpetual unemployment problem. As elsewhere, the United States

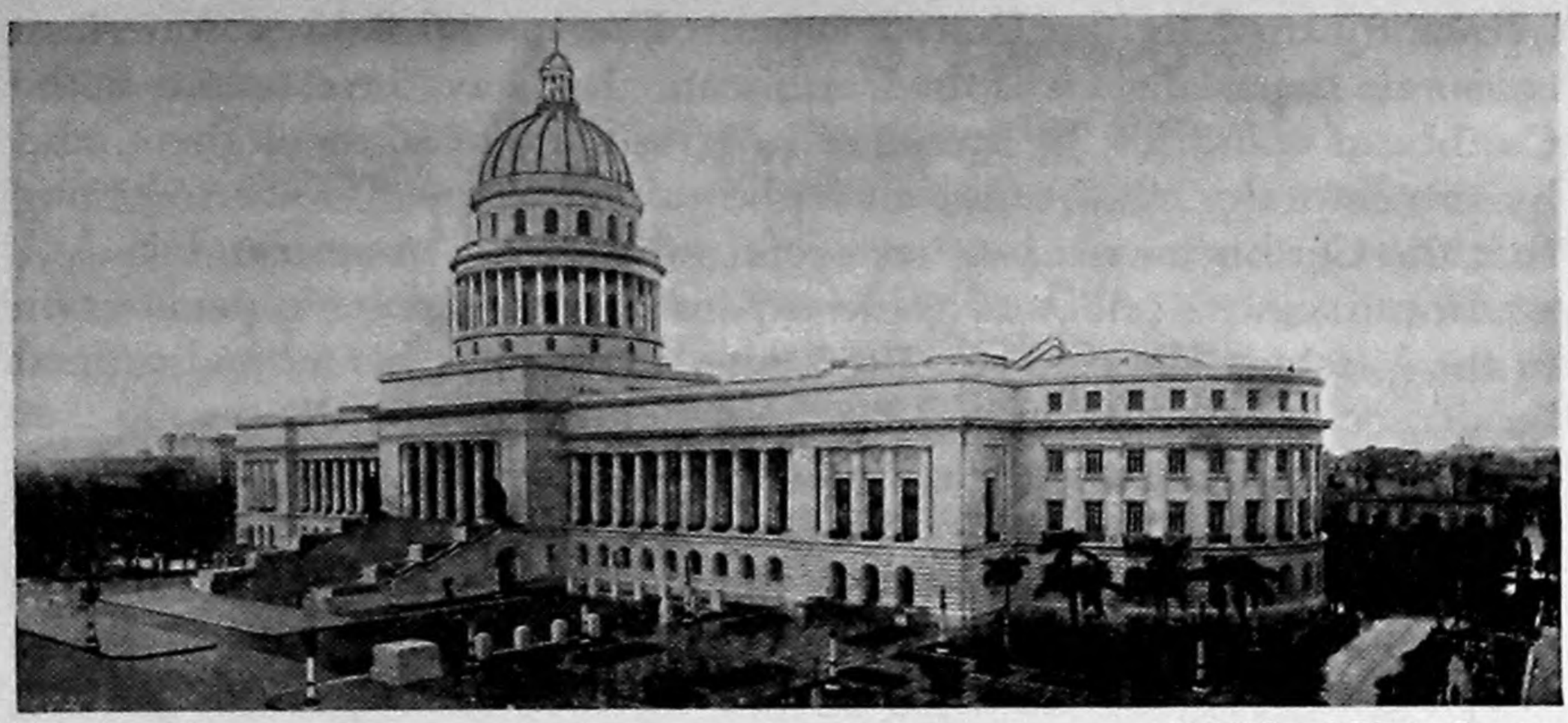
has done much in the way of sanitation, road building, irrigation, and education. After World War II several thousand Puerto Ricans migrated to the United States, the great majority settling in New York City.

The government of Puerto Rico. For over half a century Puerto Rico was an unincorporated territory; that is, all parts of the American constitution did not apply to it. The main features of the Puerto Rican government, as fixed by laws passed in 1900 and 1917, were as follows: (1) The executive authority was vested in a governor appointed by the President of the United States. (By a law of 1947, the Puerto Ricans elected their own governor, but the President continued to appoint some administrative and judicial officials.) (2) There was a two-house legislature. The laws were subject to veto by the governor, but if the legislature overrode the veto, the law was submitted to the President of the United States, who had absolute veto. (3) The citizens of Puerto Rico were citizens of the United States. (4) Puerto Rico was represented at Washington by a commissioner who had the courtesy of the floor of the House of Representatives, but no vote. (5) Articles of commerce exported to the United States were exempt from customs duties, but were subject to revenue taxes just as if they had been produced in the United States. However, the tax collected on Puerto Rican products was turned over to the Puerto Rican treasury.

Under this regime some Puerto Ricans agitated for complete independence, some for commonwealth status, and others for statehood, a proposal endorsed by the Democratic platform of 1932. The great majority of Puerto Ricans steadily advocated a greater voice in their own government. Thus they were greatly pleased when President Truman appointed a native Puerto Rican as governor and when Congress gave them the power to elect their own governor. Puerto Rico finally achieved "home rule" in 1952 when a constitution drafted by Puerto Ricans and approved in a popular referendum by a vote of 375,000 to 83,000 was also approved by Congress. The new constitution gives Puerto Ricans complete control of their own government, but at the same time links Puerto Rico to the United States as part of its federal structure. The status of "The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico," as it is referred to in the constitution, might be described as somewhat similar to that of a British commonwealth like Canada. The Puerto Ricans celebrated their "home rule" independence on July 4, 1952.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE IS USED TO CONVERT THE CARIBBEAN INTO AN "AMERICAN LAKE"

The acquisition of overseas territory like Puerto Rico and the Philippines was only one evidence of the drift toward imperialism. Economic penetration or dollar diplomacy was the form of imperialism most



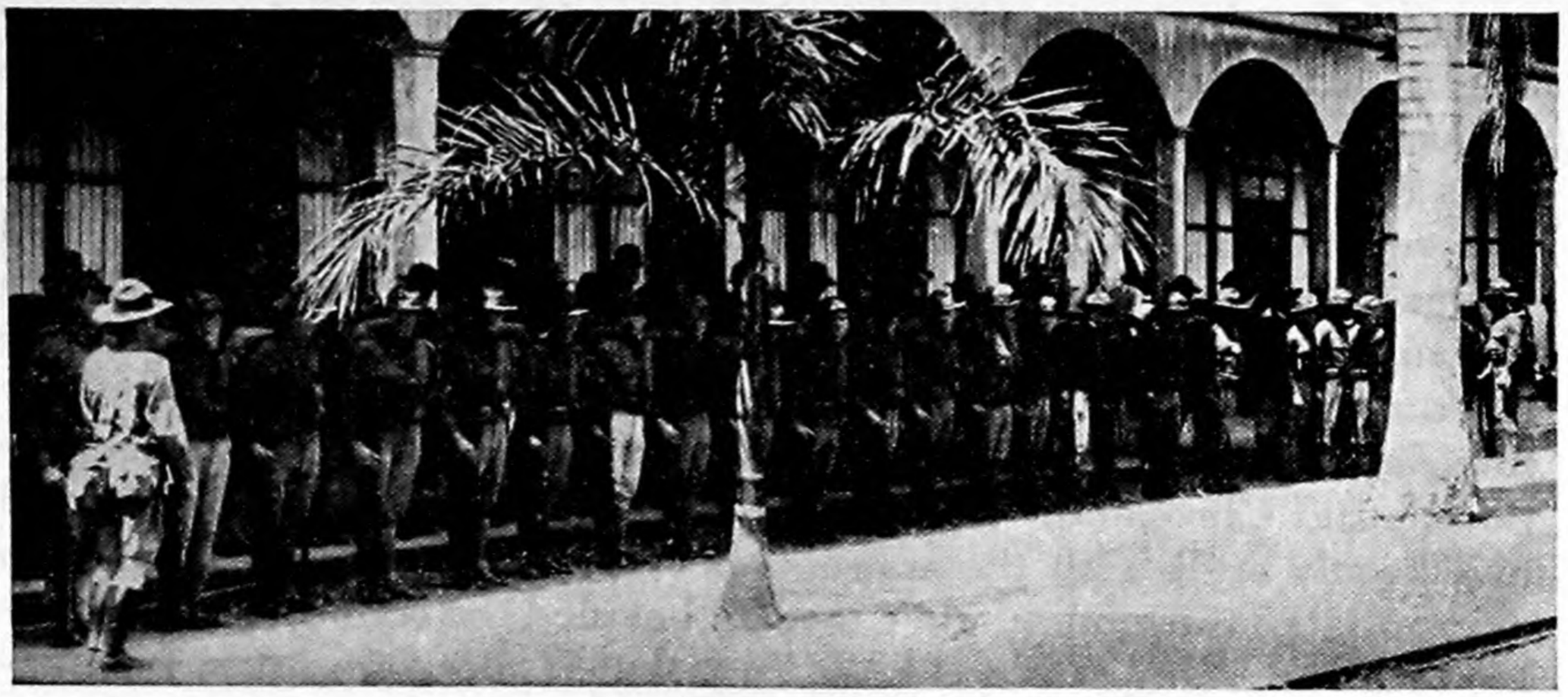
Publishers' Photo Service

The Capitol at Havana, Cuba, is a large, modern building, in which conferences pertaining to Western Hemisphere affairs are sometimes held.



Courtesy Steve Hannagan, Puerto Rican News Bureau

San Juan, Puerto Rico, the oldest capital city under the American flag, has become a modern city with skyscrapers rising above the ancient forts.



Official United States Marine Corps Photo

United States Marines "fall in" at Nicaragua. On more than one occasion in the past the Marines have been used to maintain order in Central America.

frequently used by the United States. The special field of American economic imperialism was the Caribbean. By heavy investments in the Caribbean countries, by frequent interventions in some of them, and by protectorates, the American "spheres of influence" were so strong that the Caribbean sea has been referred to as an "American lake."

In pursuing a policy of trade expansion and economic penetration in the Western Hemisphere, the United States has been handicapped by democratic traditions and by the general feeling of its people that it is not quite right for one nation to seek to influence the destiny of another. Consequently, we justified our actions either by calling attention to the necessity of defending the Panama Canal or by stretching the Monroe Doctrine to cover a variety of actions that are scarcely in keeping with a literal interpretation of it. In the nineteenth century the Monroe Doctrine was generally regarded as an instrument to prevent European political action in South America; in the twentieth century it was construed, till recently, as an instrument to check the economic penetration of non-American powers in the Western Hemisphere and to further our own "dollar diplomacy."

The Venezuelan boundary dispute, 1895. During a boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela in the 1890's, it seemed as though Great Britain might resort to force to compel Venezuela to recognize her demands. Claiming that England was seeking to extend her political influence in the Western Hemisphere, President Cleveland in 1895 suggested that the matter be submitted to arbitration. England refused, implying that the dispute was no concern of the United States.

In reply, President Cleveland's Secretary of State, Richard Olney, sent a forceful note to England, claiming that American intervention in the matter was based upon the Monroe Doctrine. Olney's theory — that the Monroe Doctrine properly interpreted gave us a right to intervene in a controversy between other nations when we feel that our own interests are endangered — is sometimes referred to as the "Olney interpretation" of the Monroe Doctrine.

The English refused to agree to accept this interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and also refused to submit without certain reservations the boundary dispute to an arbitration board. Cleveland therefore reviewed the whole matter in a message to Congress and asked Congress for an appropriation to pay the expenses of a commission to determine the boundary line. He concluded by saying that it would be the duty of the United States to resist any violation of the boundary line determined by the commission. "In making these recommendations," said Cleveland, "I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow." Congress appropriated the money, and Cleveland named the commission. Cleveland's threat of war calmed both Englishmen and Americans, for England agreed to arbitrate the dispute. The result of the arbitration was

to recognize the substantial justice of England's claim. More important was the fact that Cleveland's action and Olney's strong language gave new life and vigor to the Monroe Doctrine.

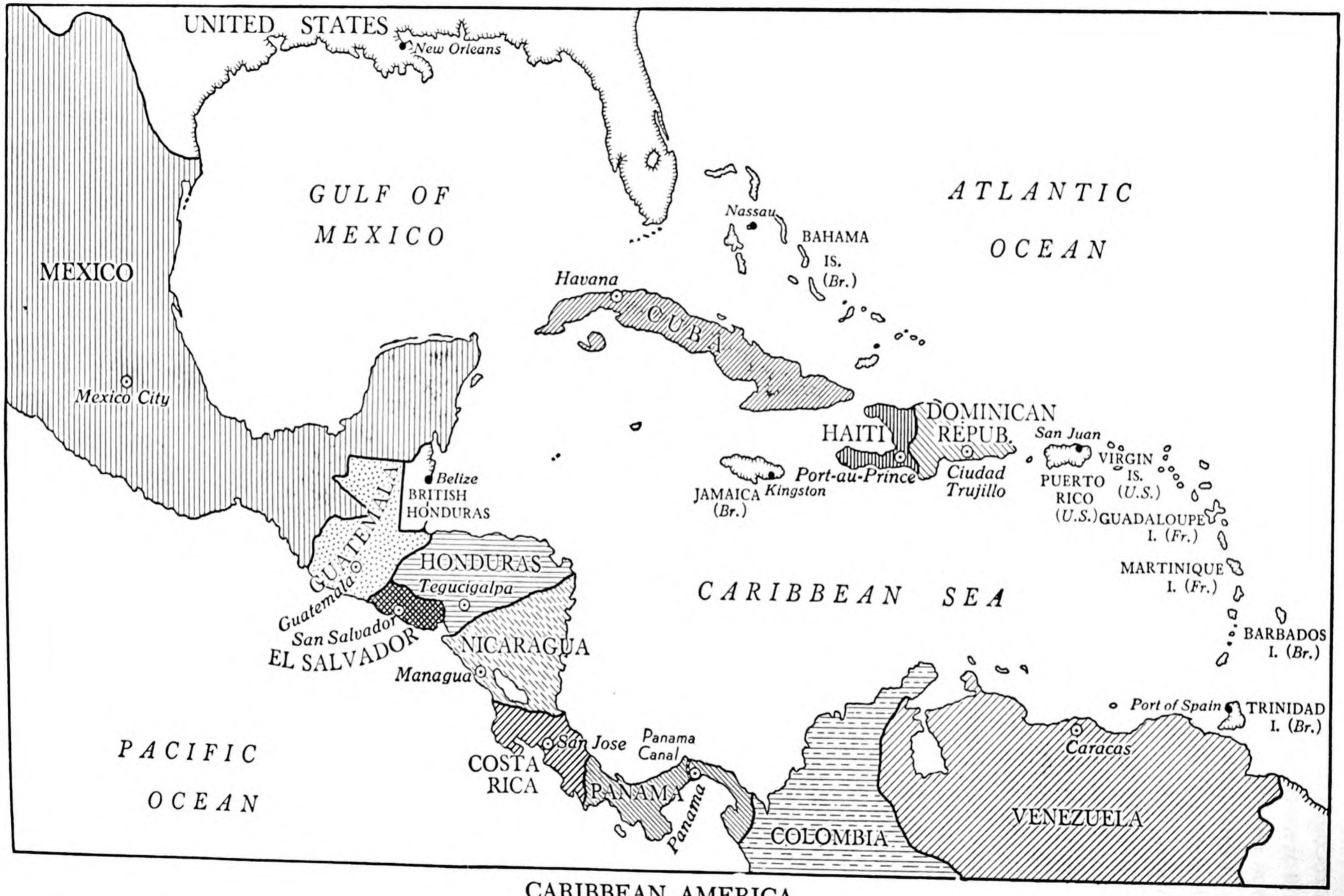
Venezuela's debt difficulties. Some years later (1902), during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, Venezuela was heavily in debt to European investors. Great Britain, Germany, and Italy tried to enforce the payment of the debt by blockading the ports of Venezuela, seizing the customs houses, and collecting the Venezuelan tariffs. The European powers assured the United States that they did not contemplate occupation of Venezuela. But Roosevelt, fearing that their action might lead to permanent occupation, claimed that the action of the European powers was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. The European nations agreed to accept arbitration of the matter, England almost immediately and Germany a little later. Whether or not the European powers agreed to arbitrate because of Roosevelt's action is still a matter for dispute among historians, who are even disposed to question the complete accuracy of Roosevelt's "inside" story, written some sixteen years after the event:

> When we were menaced with trouble, I acted up to my theory that the proper way of handling international relations was by speaking softly and carrying a big stick. And in that particular case, Dewey and the American fleet represented the big stick.

Santo Domingo's debt difficulties. The policy of the United States in 1902 in persuading the European powers to arbitrate their dispute over Venezuela's debts, received a logical extension two years later when Santo Domingo was unable to pay her debts. Did Roosevelt's policy toward Venezuela mean that the European governments were helpless to compel defaulting governments to live up to their obligations? Roosevelt saw that his policy, if persisted in, might encourage several governments to refuse to pay their debts. Therefore, in the case of Santo Domingo, Roosevelt formulated a new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. He took the point of view that since we would not permit foreign nations to collect debts forcibly, we were under the obligation to intervene to compel the defaulting governments to pay their debts.

The Roosevelt Corollary. In a long message to Congress in December, 1904, President Roosevelt thus stated his position:

> Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.



CARIBBEAN AMERICA

Acting under this interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, which came to be known as the Roosevelt Corollary, Roosevelt persuaded Santo Domingo to accept a treaty whereby the United States would collect the taxes, administer the finances of the country, and apportion the receipts to Santo Domingo and its creditors. The Senate at first refused to ratify the treaty, which also contained the promise that Santo Domingo would not contract any future debts without the approval of the United States. However, Roosevelt went ahead with his program, securing the Senate's ratification two years later.

A "veiled" protectorate in Santo Domingo. In handling the receivership of Dominican customs the United States found it necessary to do much more than act merely as financial administrator. For twenty years the United States was very much in control of the little country — supervising elections, policing it with marines, and actually placing the government in the hands of American naval officers for six years, 1916–22. Finally, a provisional government was set up in 1922, and in 1924, during the administration of President Coolidge, the American marines were withdrawn. By treaties made in 1924 the Dominican government confirmed the acts of the American military occupation, secured an additional loan of $25,000,000, and continued the American receivership of Dominican customs. Under American control, the Dominican debt was slowly reduced, and many worth-while improvements were made in sanitation, building, and road construction. Meantime, the volume of the foreign trade of the republic increased, and the United States secured a large portion of that trade.

The United States and Haiti. The story of American intervention in Santo Domingo was repeated when the United States took charge of affairs in Haiti, a Negro republic on the same island. When the Haitian government in 1915 refused either to pay its European creditors or to accept American intervention, the United States sent warships to the island and placed the republic under the control of the marines. Hoover made preparations to withdraw the marines, but they did not leave Haiti till 1934 during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The United States and Nicaragua. In 1909 a revolution broke out in Nicaragua. On the ground that two American citizens were killed, the United States intervened to "maintain order." Men favorable to American interests were put in charge of the Nicaraguan government; heavy loans were made to Nicaragua with the understanding that the principal and interest of the debt would be guaranteed by customs receipts. After 1912 a small force of marines helped to maintain as President of Nicaragua a man who was willing to collaborate with the United States. The use of marines in Nicaragua was defended with the argument that the authorities in Nicaragua had asked for American help. However, not infrequently such requests come from officials who are in power because they have the support of American investors.

During this period the Bryan-Chamorro treaty (1916) gave the United States special privileges in Nicaragua (page 664).

In August, 1925, during the Coolidge administration, when the United States had begun to modify its aggressive policy, the marines were withdrawn from Nicaragua. But within a few weeks another revolution was in progress. Once again the marines were sent to Nicaragua. In a long message to Congress in January, 1927, President Coolidge defended American intervention: "There is no question that if the revolution continues American business investments and business interests will be very seriously affected, if not destroyed. . . . The stability, prosperity, and independence of all Central American countries can never be a matter of indifference to us." Even after United States marines had restored a measure of order and had supervised the election of a Nicaraguan government, revolutionary activities continued; in part they were a protest against the presence of the United States forces. In 1931 Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson made the significant statement that the United States would not henceforth concern itself with internal revolutions in Latin-American countries. He declared that the United States "would not undertake the general protection of Americans throughout Nicaragua with American forces." In 1933 the marines were finally withdrawn.

"Economic penetration." The other Central American states — Guatemala, Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras — did not come under American political domination to the same extent as Nicaragua, Panama, Santo Domingo, and Haiti. But a network of debts — government bonds, railroad bonds, and the investments of corporations controlling a large portion of their trade and resources — has brought them within the orbit of American economic influence. The same is true of the countries of northern South America — Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Venezuela. Everywhere throughout the region of the Caribbean, heavy American investments give the United States a preponderant economic influence, which usually carries with it considerable political influence.

THE UNITED STATES TRIES TO PROTECT ITS MEXICAN INTERESTS

For more than a quarter of a century Mexico was torn by internal strife. At various times during the period the relations between Mexico and the United States were strained. A good deal of the trouble and many of the revolutions in recent years were bound up with the attempt of outside capitalists to exploit Mexico's resources.

The Diaz regime. Under Porfirio Diaz, who ruled Mexico with an iron hand from 1877 to 1911 (with a brief interruption between 1880 and 1884), Europeans and Americans had no trouble in obtaining valuable rights to Mexico's land, minerals, and railways. Diaz welcomed foreign capital and ruthlessly suppressed domestic insurrections. His

primary concern was the development of the wealth and not the well-being of Mexico. The bulk of the population were landless agricultural laborers, working on great estates.

Wilson's policy of nonrecognition. In 1911 a revolution began against Diaz, inspired, it is believed, not only by agrarian discontent but also by certain oil interests which were displeased at the way Diaz was encouraging English investments. This was part of a policy he pursued to prevent any one group of foreign capitalists from securing a strangle hold on Mexican resources. A succession of rulers rose to power. By the time Wilson became President, Diaz was out of Mexico. Madero, an agrarian reformer who had achieved the presidency, had been killed, and Huerta, leader of the old Diaz crowd, was in the saddle. Acting on a novel principle in international law, Wilson refused to recognize Huerta on the ground that he had achieved power by assassination and force.

The occupation of Vera Cruz, 1914. While some people urged that the United States should intervene in Mexico "to clean it up," Wilson endeavored to maintain what he called a policy of "watchful waiting," hoping that the Mexican people would ultimately adjust their own difficulties. There were two occasions, however, when Wilson abandoned this policy. One occurred in 1914 when some American sailors who had gone ashore at Tampico to buy gasoline were arrested by Huerta's officers. The sailors were released, but Wilson ordered a blockade of Mexican ports and the occupation of Vera Cruz to compel Huerta to apologize and to salute the American flag. The real purpose of the occupation of Vera Cruz was to prevent the delivery of large quantities of military supplies to Huerta. It was Wilson's way of carrying out his policy of nonrecognition, and of helping, indirectly the forces opposed to Huerta. After six months the United States withdrew from Vera Cruz. Our occupation hastened Huerta's downfall, for it added to his difficulties in securing customs revenues and munitions. It permitted Carranza to rise to power.

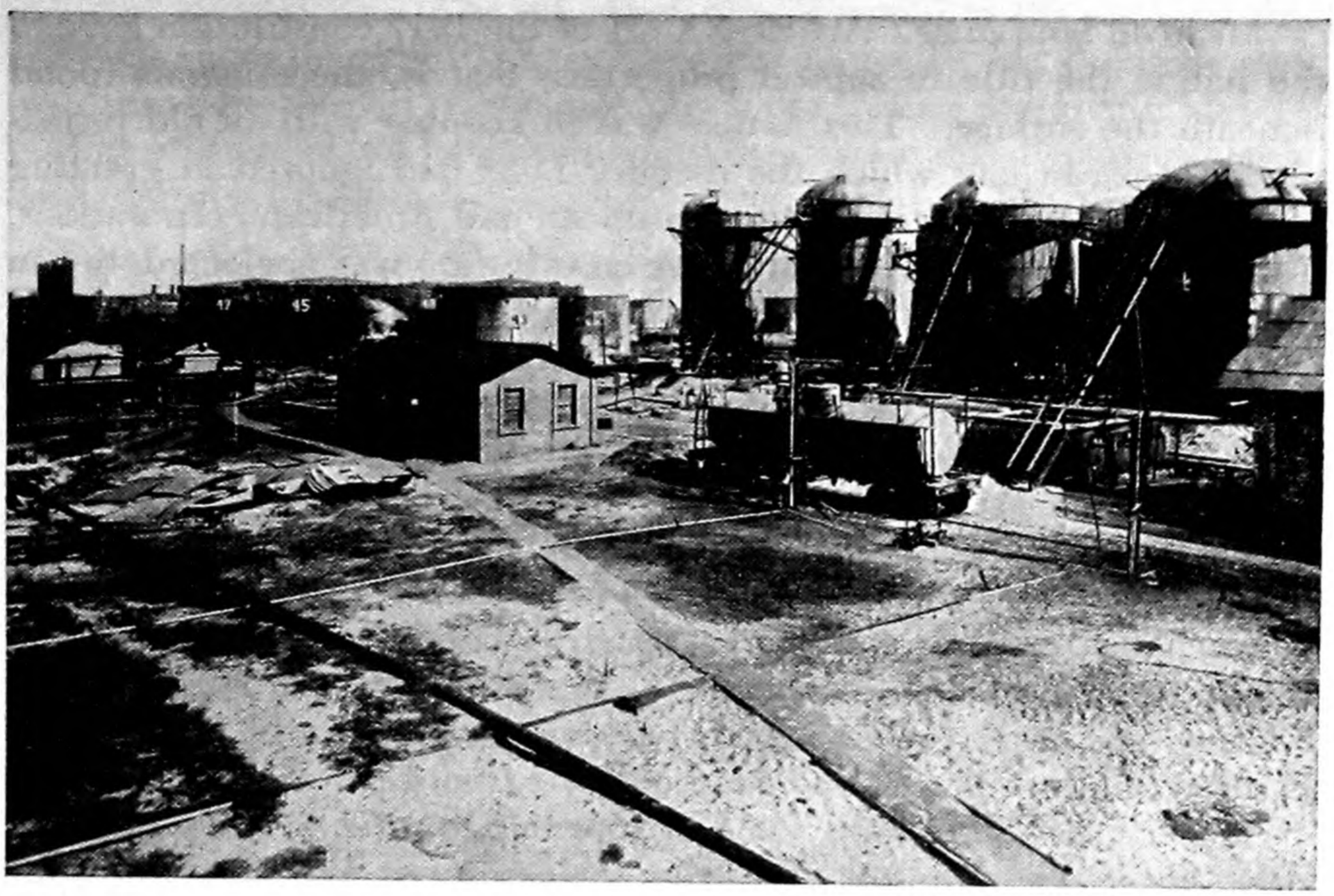
The A.B.C. Conference. During the difficulties with Huerta the United States accepted the offer of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (the so-called A.B.C. powers) to mediate. The conference of the A.B.C. powers did not accomplish much, for Huerta found it convenient to abandon Mexico before their deliberations could bear fruit; probably one factor in the downfall of Huerta was the fact that the A.B.C. powers were about to rule against him. The significant thing, however, is that the United States, instead of acting alone as she had done heretofore, acted in concert with the stronger nations of South America. The A.B.C. conference also tended to allay the suspicions of Latin America concerning the ultimate motives of the United States.

The punitive expedition to Mexico, 1916. Huerta was overthrown by Carranza, whom the United States finally recognized as the head of

the legitimate government in Mexico. Carranza's authority was disputed by several military chieftains ambitious for power. Foremost among these was the bandit, Pancho Villa, who had once helped Carranza but who now turned against him and started a revolt in northern Mexico. In 1916, Villa, in order to provoke American intervention, crossed the border, raided Columbus, New Mexico, and killed several Americans. Wilson for the second time abandoned the policy of "watchful waiting" and ordered the National Guard to mobilize along the Mexican border. With the approval of Carranza, Wilson also ordered General Pershing to lead a punitive expedition of about twelve thousand troops into Mexico to get Villa. Pershing and his troops were in Mexico for nine months but did not succeed in capturing him. Finally, in February, 1917, Wilson recalled Pershing. Our difficulties with Germany were increasing, and Carranza objected to the prolonged stay of American troops in Mexico. The United States entered World War I in April, 1917, and Mexican problems receded.

The social revolution in Mexico. In 1917, during the administration of Carranza, Mexico revised her constitution and began a period of relative stability. This has continued under various presidents, although there have been occasional uprisings on the part of military leaders, and presidential elections have sometimes been accompanied by violence. In the meantime Mexico has been carrying forward revolutionary changes in her social and economic structure. To a great extent these changes were foreshadowed by the constitution of 1917. Among these changes are the following: (1) a complete reform of her educational system (this involved secularization; that is, eliminating the influence of the clergy and bringing the school system under the control of the state); (2) a complete modernization of the relations between labor and capital (this involved the passage of a series of labor laws, which improved the conditions of the workers, provided for workmen's compensation, legalized strikes, and made the organization of labor unions compulsory); (3) a complete overhauling of the system of land ownership (this involved the confiscation of large landed estates, including the property of the church and of foreign corporations, and the distribution of the land in small parcels to the people).

Each of these aspects of the Mexican social revolution has at some time disturbed American relations with Mexico. Many people in the United States, the Catholic population particularly, have expressed alarm at the nature of Mexican legislation toward the church. Mexico confiscated religious property, limited the influence of the clergy in the schools, limited or forbade religious services, and even persecuted religious leaders. Others in America have professed concern over the "communistic" character of some of the labor reforms and the asylum Mexico gave to the revolutionary Communist, Leon Trotsky, and to loyalist refugees from Spain during the Spanish Civil War.



Courtesy Pan American Union

This petroleum refinery at Tampico is only one of many in Mexico. The desire of strong nations to have an adequate oil supply is a cause of international friction.



Courtesy National Archives

Mexican refugees board a train at Vera Cruz in April, 1914, when the United States took possession of the city.

Mexican land laws. Article XXVII of the 1917 constitution gave to the nation the title to subsoil properties; that is, the minerals found beneath the surface. This Article was in keeping with an old principle of Mexican law which the dictator Diaz had ignored in granting valuable mineral concessions to European and American corporations. For a few years this provision of the constitution was neglected, but in the 1920's Mexico began to collect rents and royalties from the oil lands owned and operated by foreign corporations. Foreigners appealed to their governments for help against what they called "confiscation." The United States refused to recognize the Mexican government until President Obregón (1923) promised that the provisions of the 1917 constitution would not be applied to concessions obtained before that date. A few years later Mexico, determined to go ahead with her social revolution, passed a series of land laws which violated Obregón's agreement. Briefly these land laws provided (1) that after fifty years minerals on lands owned by foreigners would become the property of Mexico; and (2) that aliens could not own land near the frontier or coast.

The United States and some European countries protested against these laws, claiming that they were confiscatory. President Coolidge sent Dwight W. Morrow, partner in the banking firm of J. P. Morgan, as ambassador to Mexico. With rare tact and considerable skill Morrow succeeded in establishing cordial relations with the Mexican government and people. He won over President Calles to a sympathetic understanding of the American point of view. Whether because of the notable "good will" that Morrow had built up or because of other considerations, Mexico modified her extreme point of view. President Calles announced that the rights of the oil lands acquired by foreigners prior to 1917 would be confirmed absolutely and forever, provided that the foreign corporations had actually operated the properties, and provided that they made application for confirmation of their title. Most of the corporations accepted these conditions and entered into negotiations with Mexico for the adjustment of their claims against Mexico.

In 1938 serious trouble again developed. At that time Mexico confiscated the properties of some of the foreign-owned oil companies on the ground that they had been disregarding Mexican labor laws. Both English and American corporations were involved. England broke off diplomatic relations with Mexico; the Roosevelt administration was under pressure to take the same course of action. President Roosevelt's good neighbor policy was put to a severe test. Secretary of State Hull protested to Mexico in strong language, but he also informed Mexico that as a sovereign state she had a right to handle her internal problems without the interference of other nations. Mr. Hull did insist upon the principle that the owners of the confiscated properties should be adequately compensated. Mexico agreed to this principle and arranged for the payment of damages to be determined by an inter-

national commission. The oil companies objected to the amount they received (considerably less than they had claimed), but the issue does not disturb the cordial relations between the United States and Mexico.

The attitude of the Roosevelt administration in this dispute strengthened the good neighbor policy immeasurably, because it seemed to prove to Latin Americans that the United States at last had accepted an important principle, that it would not interfere with another nation's right to manage its internal affairs as it saw fit. The fruits of our policy toward Mexico were clearly evident during World War II, when Mexico co-operated with the United States. The United States agreed to lend Mexico funds with which to complete the Pan American highway and to develop her industries, which in turn supplied the United States with war materials.

THE UNITED STATES CHECKS THE SOUTHWARD COURSE OF EMPIRE

A quarter century of imperialism. The aggressive "dollar diplomacy" of the United States in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was frequently under severe attack, not only by people in Latin America but also by many Americans. An example of this criticism and also a summary review of American policy is contained in the following words of Professor Shepherd. Writing in 1927, he said:

> In a short thirty years, we have erected two new republics — Cuba and Panama; converted them and three other Latin American countries — the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Haiti — into virtual protectorates; intervened by force at least thirty times in the internal affairs of nine supposedly sovereign and independent nations; made the period of intervention last anywhere from a few days to a dozen years; enlarged our investments from a paltry two or three hundred millions of dollars to the tidy sum of upward of three billion dollars, and installed in four states our own collectors of customs to insure payment. Incidentally, we have annexed Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, built a canal, secured our option to construct another, and gathered in several naval stations.
>
> Of the measures we have taken in the Caribbean, the eventual outcome is painfully clear. If we go on as we have begun, the American empire must eventually bestride the entire sea. Politically, the republics within it may remain "sovereign and independent" in the language of diplomacy. Economically, they would become a happy hunting ground for American capitalists, upheld and protected by their government. . . . Business is business. And southward the course of empire takes its way.

Evidences of retreat. But this summary was written some years ago. Since that time business has discovered that good will is of greater value than marines in promoting trade and financial interests. The

southward course of empire, of "dollar diplomacy," of intervention, of the Theodore Roosevelt Corollary, has been halted and repudiated. The change of policy began in the Republican administrations of Coolidge and Hoover, under the influence of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Stimson as Secretaries of State. It was advanced immeasurably by the good neighbor policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the reciprocal trade treaties, and the diplomacy of Cordell Hull. The marines have been withdrawn from Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua; the Platt Amendment with Cuba has been abrogated; a treaty with Panama modifies our right to intervene to maintain order; friendly relations exist with Mexico and the other countries of Central and South America. The treaty ratified by the United States in 1934 to the effect that "no nation has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another" indicates that the vigorous criticism of American foreign policy bore fruit in the "liquidation" of imperialism and in the policy of the "good neighbor."

Words and Phrases

A.B.C. Powers, "big stick," economic penetration, imperialism, insular cases, international police, Mexican land laws, nonrecognition, Olney doctrine, Platt Amendment, protectorate, punitive expedition, Roosevelt Corollary, "veiled" protectorate, Venezuela Boundary dispute, "watchful waiting"

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. How has the construction of the Panama Canal influenced our policies in the Caribbean?
2. Why is America's Caribbean Sea policy a natural result of the economic development of the United States?
3. How may investments abroad involve a country in economic imperialism? Is such a policy consistent with a nation's real interests?
4. Criticize or defend Cleveland's Venezuelan policy.
5. Account for the fact that Bryan, an anti-imperialist in 1900, as Secretary of State in Wilson's administration was chiefly responsible for our policy toward Haiti and Nicaragua.
6. How did the Platt Amendment give the United States a protectorate over Cuba?
7. In the first quarter of the twentieth century how did the Monroe Doctrine become an economic policy?
8. How did the United States secure protectorates over Santo Domingo and Haiti?
9. Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement with Wilson's policy of refusing to recognize a government which has come into existence as a result of assassination.
10. State your reasons for your agreement or disagreement with the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine (pages 675–77).
11. What were American objections to Mexican land laws? How was the difficulty settled? How was Mexican expropriation of foreign property in 1938 finally adjusted?

12. Compare the administrations of Grover Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt as regards the application of the Monroe Doctrine.
13. How has the "good neighbor" policy changed our policy toward the Caribbean? Does it signal a complete and permanent retreat from imperialism?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Does the Constitution follow the flag? (See Commager, No. 352.)
2. How would you explain and defend America's Caribbean Sea policy to a Latin American who had protested against American imperialism?
3. President Coolidge said: "Our country consumes great quantities of oil and gasoline: If these products are to be kept within a reasonable price, our people who go abroad to develop new fields and to increase the supply ought to have the encouragement and support of our government." Reasons for your agreement or disagreement with this statement.
4. Outline in brief form the essential features of our Caribbean Sea policy; outline the policy you think the United States should pursue in the future. Defend your policy.
5. Are practical considerations of national interest involved in the "liquidation" of our Caribbean policy? Explain.
6. Investigate and report on the trade and economic interests of the United States in the Caribbean and in the Central American states.
7. Professor Bemis suggests that what has been called America's "Caribbean policy" might more appropriately be called America's "Panama policy." What special emphasis in interpretation is suggested by the name "Panama policy"?
8. Make a special investigation and report of the details of American intervention in Haiti, Santo Domingo, or Nicaragua, or of the extent of American economic interests in some South American country.
9. Investigate and report on the origin and outcome of the diplomatic exchanges between the United States and Mexico on the expropriation of oil properties by the Mexican government. (Consult International Conciliation Pamphlet, No. 345, December, 1938, which contains the diplomatic correspondence between the two countries as well as two articles which describe the origin of the controversy from both the American and Mexican point of view.)
10. Secretary of State Olney in his Venezuela note (1895) declared, "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat [will] is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." How would this language affect South American statesmen? (Consult Bemis, pages 415–422 for other interesting aspects of the Venezuelan case.)

Suggested Reading

Cuba and Puerto Rico: Beard and Beard, II, 735–736; Bemis, pp. 503–508; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 314–317, 319–323; Hart, V, 169–181; Inman, S. G., and Castañeda, C. E., *A History of Latin America for Schools*, pp. 191–196; Schlesinger, pp. 253–255; Commager, Nos. 347, 485 – Independence of Cuba and the abrogation of the Platt Amendment.

VENEZUELA: Bailey, pp. 550–553; Bemis, pp. 415–422, 522–525; Dewey, *National Problems* (A.N.S.), pp. 305–313; Fish, *Path of Empire* (Y.C.S.), pp. 79–89, 264–269; Hart, *The Monroe Doctrine*, pp. 183–206, 223–242, 269–281; Latané, *America as a World Power* (A.N.S.), pp. 269–284; Commager, No. 340 — Cleveland's Message on the Venezuela Boundary Dispute.

SANTO DOMINGO, HAITI, NICARAGUA: Bemis, pp. 400–403, 525–531; Fish, *Path of Empire* (Y.C.S.), pp. 259–277; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 372–374, 410–412, 487–488; Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States*, pp. 106–147; Inman, S. G., and Castañeda, C. E., *A History of Latin America for Schools*, pp. 196–207; Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, pp. 433–437; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 254–262; Schlesinger, pp. 250–257; Commager, Nos. 177, 410, 460 — Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and American interest in Haiti and Nicaragua.

MEXICO: Bailey, pp. 602–609; Beard and Beard, II, 501–527; Bemis, pp. 539–564; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 405–409, 486–487; Hart, V, 156–161, 226–228; Inman, S. G., and Castañeda, C. E., *A History of Latin America for Schools*, pp. 155–173; Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, pp. 437–450; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 284–304; Schlesinger, pp. 257–260; Commager, Nos. 393, 395, 396 — Relations with Mexico.

The Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Washington, D.C., has published several helpful pamphlets, especially a series on each of the republics of the Western Hemisphere. (Consult also publications of the U. S. Office of Education, especially *Inter-American Friendship Through Schools;* also, publications of the American Council on Education.)

CHAPTER FORTY-TWO

Inter-American Co-operation

LATIN AMERICA IS A REGION OF GREAT RESOURCES

The republics of Central and South America. There are twenty-one republics in the Western Hemisphere. At one time they were all under the rule of European powers — England, Spain, France, and Portugal. By a series of revolutions, of which our own was the first, they have achieved their independence, so that today on the mainland of North America, England alone retains any possessions — Canada, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and, in Central America, British Honduras. In South America, England, France, and Holland retain possession of a small area known as Guiana. France and England also retain some islands in the Caribbean. The total population of South America is about 108,000,000; of Central America and Mexico, about 33,000,000. The most populous countries are Mexico with about 25,500,000; Brazil, with 53,000,000; Argentina has a population of approximately 17,000,000; Colombia, 11,200,000; Peru, 18,400,000; and Chile, 6,000,000.

Rather advanced civilizations had developed among the natives of Mexico and Peru hundreds of years before the opening of the Western Hemisphere to European colonization. The Spaniards and Portuguese reduced the natives to virtual slavery, with two notable results: first, continued domination by wealthy aristocrats; and second, fusion of three main racial elements — Indian, European, and Negro.

Resources of Central and South American nations. Central and South America are rich in mineral resources, raw materials, and in fertile fields which produce enormous amounts of grain and maintain a large livestock industry. South America is, therefore, one of the world's great sources of raw materials. Latin America exports 85 per cent of the world's coffee, 55 per cent of the beef, 25 per cent of the wheat and wheat flour, 30 per cent of the hides and skins, and 25 per cent of the wool. It also exports quantities of lumber and other forest products, tobacco, cotton, nitrates, tin, copper, and other minerals.

Its great need is for textiles, machinery, and manufactured articles, and for capital to develop its resources and transportation system. The citizens of foreign countries — Germany, Italy, France, England, and Japan, particularly — have invested heavily in South America. Citizens of the United States have invested billions in Central and South Amer-

ica. Since the restriction of immigration to the United States many Europeans and Orientals have migrated to South America.

The great opportunities for wealth in Latin America have been confined to a comparatively few rich landowners; the mass of the people have remained in a semi-feudal state, working on large plantations or in mines. However, in recent years social reforms have been put into effect, and large sections of different Latin-American countries have become more and more industrialized. All the countries of Latin America are republican in form, having constitutions modeled in many respects after that of the United States. Frequent internal revolutions and the rise to power of self-seeking dictators have created an impression of political instability. Not infrequently these revolutions have been influenced by rivalries among foreign financial interests. In recent years illiteracy has been greatly reduced and some revolutions have inaugurated important social and economic reforms; in particular they have weakened the economic power of foreigners.

The effect of economic changes on the diplomacy of the Western Hemisphere. As the United States is gradually lessening its exports of raw materials, it is no longer so strong a competitor of Latin America for the same world markets. The United States has been trying to find in Latin America a market for its *manufactured* products, and to compete successfully with other industrial nations in supplying manufactures and capital to Latin America. There is also noticeable in Latin America a trend toward industrialization. In these economic shifts may be found the explanation for the changing attitude of the United States toward Central and South America.

Among the 310,000,000 people of North and South America there exist enormous possibilities for the development of a vast trading empire which should bring peace and prosperity to all. Efforts have been made to achieve this goal, but not infrequently the actions of the United States, as the strongest nation, have caused ill will. The movement to secure these mutual advantages, formerly known as Pan-Americanism, is now known as Inter-American Co-operation.

THE UNITED STATES GRADUALLY ABANDONS EXTREME INTERPRETATIONS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The meaning of Inter-American Co-operation. Pan-Americanism, like many other similar terms, is an expression that may mean a number of things. To some it has meant an attempt to exchange valuable information concerning markets and materials. To others it has meant simply the holding of periodical conferences to discuss problems peculiar to the Western Hemisphere. To still others Pan-Americanism has meant the leadership of the United States in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. To some Latin-American statesmen it has meant the

association and co-operation of equal states for the promotion of common ends; to still others the term Pan-Americanism has been regarded as an instrument of "Yankee imperialism." To get rid of the bad odor that formerly attached to the term "Pan-Americanism," the movement is now called Inter-American Co-operation, and the Pan-American Conferences are now known as the International Conferences of American States. The new names emphasize significant changes in American policy and in the spirit and character of the movement.

An early Pan-American Congress. The ideal of inter-American co-operation is a logical consequence of the Monroe Doctrine — in a sense the *positive* aspect of the Doctrine; namely, the promotion of friendly co-operation among the republics of the New World. Simón Bolívar, the great South American patriot and revolutionary, in the 1820's envisioned a federation of the American states for the purpose of protecting the Americas from European interference; he was the leading spirit in the promotion of a Panama Congress in 1826 (page 234). In the early years of the nineteenth century Henry Clay was the great advocate of close ties with Latin America. But the United States did not take part in any of the four American Congresses which were held in 1826, 1847, 1856, and 1864. The Monroe Doctrine, which might have been converted into an *inter-American* doctrine, remained exclusively a doctrine of the United States.

The Pan American Union. Blaine revived the idea of co-operation and economic reciprocity among the Americas and became president of the first Pan-American Conference in 1889 (pages 648–651). The Pan American Union created by this first conference is supported by the contributions, apportioned according to population, of the republics of the Western Hemisphere. It is managed by a governing board representing all the republics of the Western Hemisphere. The Union issues a monthly bulletin in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. It is housed at Washington in the beautiful Pan-American Building, erected by Andrew Carnegie. In addition to making arrangements for the holding of the general International Conferences of American States the Union has arranged for many special conferences of journalists, jurists, scientists, educators, and others. Its aims are to develop commerce, friendly intercourse, and understanding and to preserve peace.

International Conferences of American States. Since the first conference in 1889 eight others have been held: in Mexico City, 1901; Rio de Janeiro, 1906; Buenos Aires, 1910; Santiago de Chile, 1923; Havana, 1928; Montevideo, 1933; Lima, Peru, 1938; Bogotá, 1948. The conferences give an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and the discussion of grievances, plans for arbitration treaties, and trade relations. They have also been instrumental in clarifying basic principles of international law. The ninth conference at Bogotá, the capital of Colombia, drafted a new charter for the organization of American states.

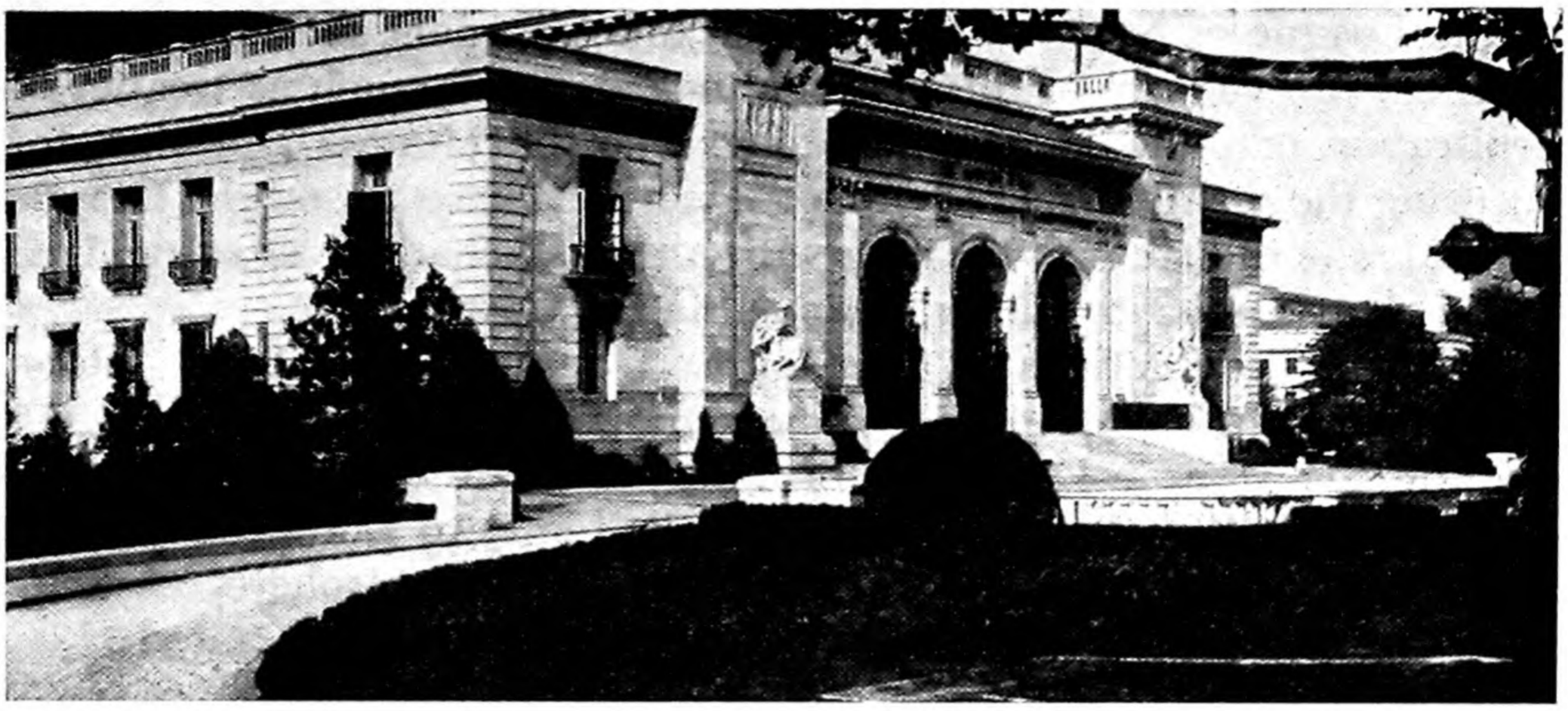
Latin America and the Monroe Doctrine. 1. Attitude of Latin America toward the United States. The attitude of the Latin-American republics toward the United States has not always been one of admiration and appreciation. Grateful for the nineteenth-century policy of the United States, which gave them an opportunity to develop in peace, Latin-American countries have since feared the "dollar diplomacy" of the "Colossus of the North." American Presidents and diplomats have protested strongly against the belief that the United States was bent on the exploitation of the Western Hemisphere.

Ill will toward the United States continued to develop, however, largely because our actions did not seem to correspond with our words, and probably because other nations found it to their advantage to foster antagonism to the United States. Latin America remembers the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, the Panama Revolution of 1903, our treatment of Colombia, our annexation of Puerto Rico, our protectorate over Cuba, our intervention in Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, and elsewhere. Latin Americans have objected especially to (a) Olney's bold statement concerning the Monroe Doctrine; (b) the Roosevelt Corollary; (c) our intervention with marines; (d) "dollar diplomacy"; (e) the Wilson policy of refusing to recognize revolutionary governments. Some Latin-American leaders organized a movement known as Pan-Hispanism, to promote the solidarity of the Hispanic nations and to eliminate United States domination.

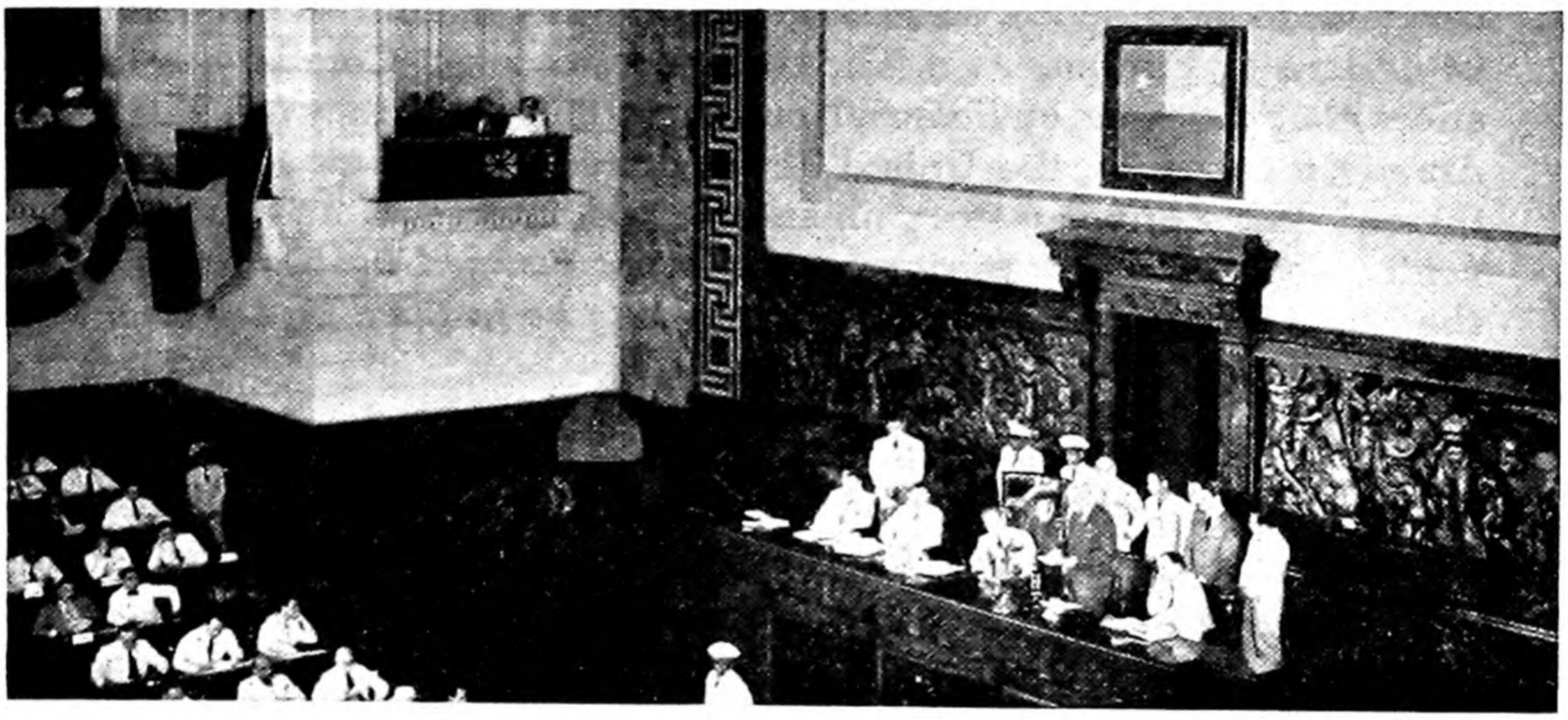
2. The Monroe Doctrine and "Pan-Americanism." At the conferences South American delegates have expressed their objections to American policy. They have sought chiefly (a) to force a modification of the American doctrine of the right of intervention and (b) to compel a redefinition and reinterpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. To some extent they have been successful. The objections to the Monroe Doctrine were based on the fact that it was *unilateral;* namely, that it was a doctrine respecting other nations, which can be applied and interpreted by one only, the United States. It was also argued that the Monroe Doctrine was applied and interpreted in different ways at different times, so that it *came to mean, in any given instance, whatever an American President or Secretary of State cared to have it mean.* It was also argued that the application of this doctrine by the United States, alone, put the other American republics in an inferior position.

A rather concerted movement was started, therefore, to compel either a new definition of policy, or the *Pan-Americanization* of the Monroe Doctrine. This would mean that it would cease to be unilateral and would become a policy that *all the American republics would jointly interpret and enforce.* However, at the Fifth Conference, in 1923, our State Department objected to such a change.

3. The League of Nations and Pan-Americanism. Senators, sharing the same view, insisted upon a safeguarding clause in the Covenant



The Pan American Union Building in Washington, D.C. was built largely through the munificence of Andrew Carnegie, who was a delegate to the First International Conference of American States.



James Sawders

In the capitol at Havana, Secretary of State Hull addresses the Pan-American Conference held in July, 1940.



Courtesy Office of Inter-American Affairs

Dr. Ezequil Padilla, Mexican minister of foreign affairs, addresses the conference in Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City in 1945.

of the League of Nations: "Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace." (When Mexico joined the League in 1931, she did so with the reservation that she had never recognized the regional understanding mentioned in the Covenant.)

4. Recent definitions of the Monroe Doctrine. About 1930, however, American statesmen began to make more moderate claims concerning the Monroe Doctrine. Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes declared that the original Doctrine applied only to European powers' extending their *political* control in the Western Hemisphere. A State Department publication, the *Clark Memorandum* of 1930, stated:

> So far as Latin America is concerned, the Doctrine is now and always has been, not an instrument of violence and oppression, but an unbought, freely bestowed, and wholly effective guaranty of their freedom, independence, and territorial integrity against the imperialist designs of Europe. . . . The so-called Roosevelt Corollary to the effect that in cases of financial or other difficulties in weak Latin-American countries, the United States should attempt an adjustment thereof, lest European governments should intervene, and in intervening should occupy territory . . . *is not justified by the terms of the Monroe Doctrine, however much it may be justified by the application of the doctrine of self-preservation.*

On another occasion Hughes defended American intervention in Nicaragua in 1928 on general principles of international law, but in essence rejected the Roosevelt Corollary by insisting that the right to intervene was not derived from the Monroe Doctrine. The withdrawal of marines from the Caribbean and the repudiation of the Roosevelt Corollary mark the beginning of a decided change of policy on the part of the United States toward Central and South America.

INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES AGREE TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND ACHIEVE WESTERN HEMISPHERE SOLIDARITY

The Havana Conference, 1928. 1. Reorganization and communications. The Sixth Conference of 1928 at Havana removed one source of irritation when it provided for the reorganization of the Pan American Union so as to give the United States a somewhat less dominant influence. Plans were also made for the completion of the Pan-American Railway and the construction of a Pan-American motor highway.

2. Treaties of arbitration and conciliation. By far the most important action of the Conference was the resolution to provide for a conference to meet in Washington within the year to draft arbitration treaties. This conference of December, 1928, drafted two treaties — an *arbitration* treaty and a *conciliation* treaty. The arbitration treaty,

almost in the language of the Kellogg Pact (pages 749–750), condemned war as an instrument of national policy, and adopted the principle of compulsory arbitration for the settlement of disputes which are "juridical in their nature," with the exception of domestic questions and disputes which involved those states not joining the treaty. The conciliation treaty provided for the submission to either of two conciliation commissions — one at Montevideo, and the other at Washington — of any disputes between nations which could not be settled through diplomatic channels. All the republics of the Western Hemisphere have agreed to these treaties.

The Montevideo Conference, 1933. The Seventh Conference at Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1933 was decidedly more friendly in tone and spirit than the one at Havana in 1928, indicating apparently that the withdrawal of marines from Santo Domingo and Nicaragua had produced good results. The Stimson declaration that the United States did not intend to pursue the Wilson policy of nonrecognition and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's willingness to consult with other Latin-American nations during the Cuban upheaval of 1933 also helped to clear the air. In December, 1933, President Roosevelt declared:

> *The definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention.* The maintenance of constitutional government in other nations is not a sacred obligation devolving on the United States alone. The maintenance of law and the orderly processes of government in this hemisphere is the concern of each individual nation within its own borders first of all. It is only if and when the failure of the orderly processes affects the other nations of the continent that it becomes their concern; and the point to stress is that in such an event it becomes *the joint concern of a whole continent* in which we are all neighbors.

In June, 1934, the United States Senate ratified a convention drawn up at Montevideo which declared that "no state had the right to interfere in the external or internal affairs of another." Because of this significant result the Montevideo Conference of 1933 deserves to rank as probably the most important of all the international conferences of the American States.

The Buenos Aires Conference of 1936. A conference suggested by President Roosevelt was held in December, 1936, at Buenos Aires, Argentina. It was officially known as the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. The active head of the American delegation was Secretary of State Cordell Hull. The acting Secretary of State, R. Walton Moore, thus summarized the results of the conference:

> The twenty-one American republics . . . approved a convention pledging them to consult together for common defense in case of war.

A protocol was agreed to which provides that any act of an unfriendly nature tending to disturb the peace by any American nation affects all the American nations and will be the basis for invoking the consultative procedure provided for in the convention.

Of special interest to students was the convention concerning public instruction. The twenty-one republics agreed "to organize in their public educational establishments the teaching of the principles of pacific settlement of disputes and the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy" and "to promote understanding, mutual respect, and the importance of international co-operation."

The Lima Conference, 1938. The Eighth Conference, held at Lima, Peru, December, 1938, adopted the so-called *Declaration of Lima,* in which the twenty-one republics of the Western Hemisphere affirmed their respect for international law and agreed that *any problem which threatened the peace of any one of them would become the problem of all.* Owing to the opposition of Argentina this declaration of "continental solidarity" was not so strong as the American delegation, led by Secretary Hull, had hoped for. The Conference also adopted a "Declaration of American Principles," among them *the principle that no state has the right to intervene in the external or internal affairs of another;* force as an instrument of national policy is forbidden.

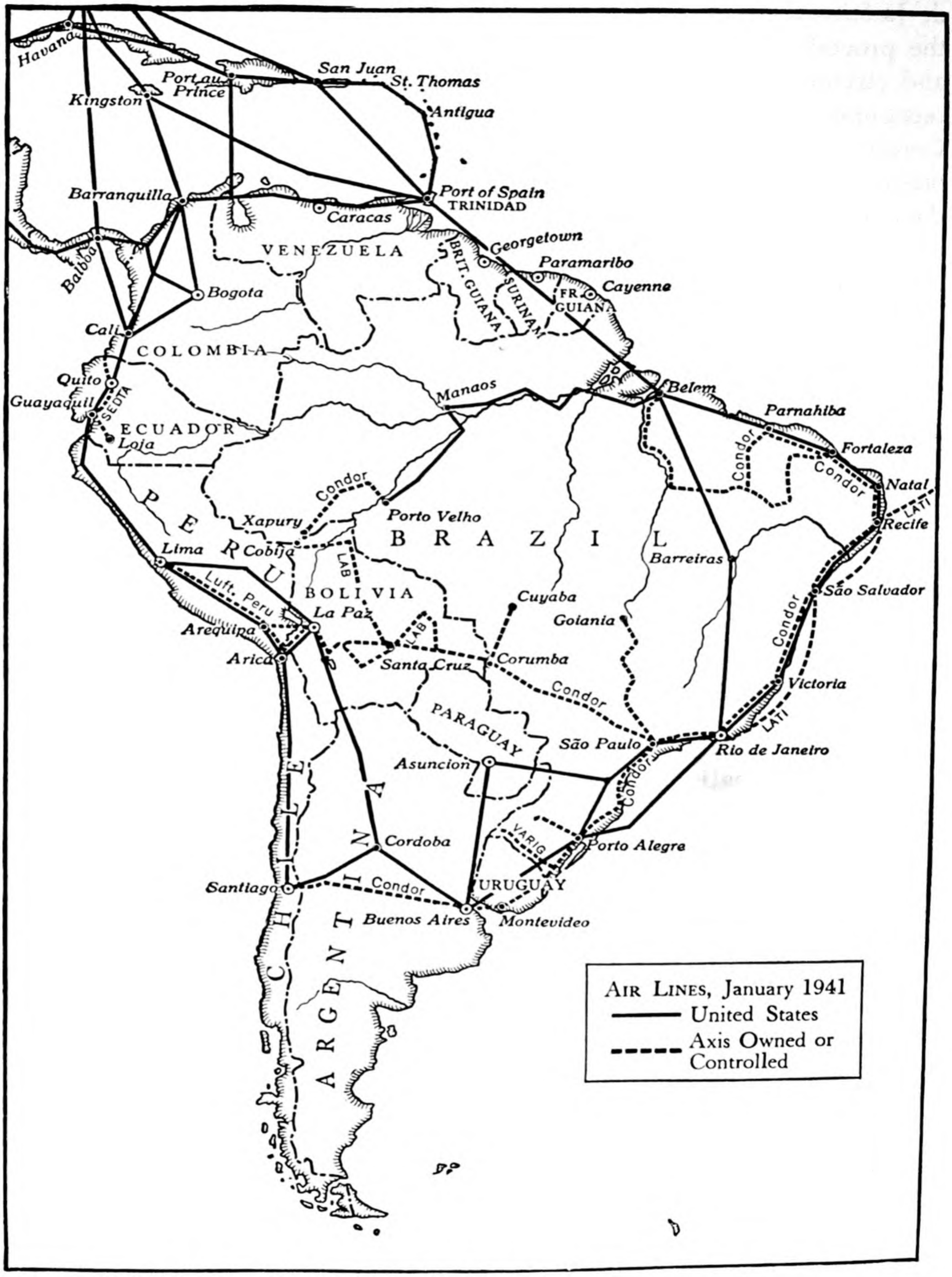
Western Hemisphere defense: the Act of Havana, 1940. The value of the good neighbor policy became evident in 1940 when it was feared that a German victory in World War II might result in German occupation of French and English possessions in the Western Hemisphere. The United States warned the European powers that it would not tolerate any attempt to transfer the colonies in the Western Hemisphere from one non-American power to another. In July, 1940, at a meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics held at Havana, Cuba, this policy was agreed to by all the twenty-one republics. The Act of Havana also declared that: "When islands or regions now under the possession of non-American nations are in danger of becoming the subject of barter of territory or change of sovereignty, the American nations . . . may set up a regime of provisional administration for such regions." The Act also provided for the creation of an emergency committee to give effect to this declaration. This Conference also drafted a Declaration of Neutrality and organized an Inter-American Financial and Advisory Committee. One purpose of this Committee was to assist Latin-American countries to meet the difficulties resulting from the loss of the European markets for their products.

The Rio de Janeiro Declaration, January, 1942. A year and a half later, when Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, the Central American States declared war on the Axis im-

mediately, Costa Rica acting even before the American Congress. In January, 1942, a conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Rio de Janeiro declared that the "American republics, in accordance with the procedure established by their own laws and within the position and circumstances of each country in the actual continental conflict, recommended the rupture of their diplomatic relations with Japan, Germany, and Italy, since the first of these states has attacked and the other two have declared war on an American country." Within a few days all of the twenty-one republics except Argentina and Chile severed diplomatic relations; some went one step further and declared war. The failure of Chile and Argentina to act promptly was the first rift in Western Hemisphere solidarity. However, Chile broke off diplomatic relations with Germany in January, 1943, and Argentina did so in 1944. Finally, under great pressure from the United States and her sister republics, Argentina reluctantly declared war on Germany and Japan, March 27, 1945.

The Axis threat to the Americas. The reluctance of Argentina to declare war was due to a number of factors, not the least of which was powerful Axis influence. Much of South America's prosperity depends on her export, and a large portion of that trade is with Europe. German and Italian nationals own important businesses throughout South America. Nazi agents carried on a systematic propaganda to stir up fear and distrust of the United States. There are approximately two million German, three million Italian, and half a million Japanese immigrants in Latin America. Most of these are in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile. These nationals were used by agents from the mother country to carry on propaganda and espionage.

Throughout the war, but particularly in 1941 and 1942, there was a real danger that Axis economic and political influence in parts of South America might prepare the way for military control of strategic areas. The United States, with the help of leaders in several South American countries, using diplomatic and economic pressure, finally succeeded in counteracting Axis influence. Military defeats sustained by Italy and Germany probably caused Argentina to refrain from taking more drastic steps. When Argentina broke off diplomatic relations with Germany in January, 1944, she did so on the ground that Axis agents had maintained a vast network of espionage and had carried on acts of aggression against other American countries from Argentine territory. Shortly after Argentina took this step, there was a "palace revolution." The American state department refused to recognize the new government, headed by General Farrell, and pursued a policy of cautious waiting. But in July, 1944, the United States adopted a more aggressive attitude. At that time, Secretary of State Cordell Hull declared that Argentina had "openly and notoriously been giving affirmative assistance to the declared enemies of the United Nations." Mr. Hull asked the other



AIR LINES OF SOUTH AMERICA IN 1941

American republics to support the policy of nonrecognition of the government of Argentina on the ground that "Argentina had violated the pledge . . . to co-operate in support of the war against the Axis."

Argentina did not enjoy her diplomatic and economic isolation, or the fact that she had not succeeded in causing other South American republics to follow her leadership. At the same time, the Latin-American countries hoped that Argentina would ultimately join them in supporting their policy of Western Hemisphere solidarity. A Conference on the Problems of War and Peace held at Mexico City in March, 1945, prepared the way for Argentina's re-entry into the group.

The Act of Chapultepec, 1945. The Mexico City Conference formulated plans to increase wartime collaboration against the Axis, and to insure an orderly reconversion to peacetime conditions. The most important result of the Conference was the Act of Chapultepec (so-called because of the palace where the Conference met). This Act, regarded by Latin America as the "Continentalization of the Monroe Doctrine," was designed to guarantee the territorial integrity and independence of each American state. The Act established guarantees for the "inviolability of the territory, the sovereignty, and the political independence of an American state" against aggression by any American, European, or other power. The Conference invited Argentina to enter into this agreement, and suggested that as evidence of her good faith Argentina should declare war on Germany and Japan. Argentina did this a few weeks later, but the United States delayed recognition of the Farrell-Perón government of Argentina until April 9, 1945. A little later Argentina, over the protests of Russia, was allowed to become a member of the United Nations Conference on World Security at San Francisco.

The regional security system of Western Hemisphere co-operation, unity, and solidarity, culminating in the Act of Chapultepec, raised an interesting question. Could the regional objectives of Chapultepec — that is, the effort to establish an effective regional agency to settle regional disputes without outside interference — be harmonized with the general aims of a world security organization (page 788)?

Words and Phrases

Act of Chapultepec, 1945, Act of Havana, 1940, Clark Memorandum, good neighbor policy, "Pan-Americanism," "Pan-Hispanism," regional understanding, regional security, unilateral, Western Hemisphere solidarity

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. How do the population and resources of South and Central America compare with those of the United States? In what economic activities is South America a competitor of the United States?
2. Why did the early Pan-American movement collapse? Why has the later Pan-American movement been successful?

3. Explain the circumstances which prompted the United States to abandon the exclusive right to interpret and apply the Monroe Doctrine.
4. The Covenant of the League of Nations refers to the Monroe Doctrine as a "regional understanding." Is this characterization accurate? Are there any other "regional understandings"?
5. How have economic conditions influenced Inter-American co-operation?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Consult *The World Almanac* for the facts concerning the population and resources of South America and trade statistics. To what extent have American manufactures "captured" the South American market?
2. Investigate and report on (a) "fascism" in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile; (b) cotton production in Brazil; (c) wheat production in Argentina.
3. An Argentine publicist has declared: "North American imperialism is the most perfect instrument of domination which has been known throughout the ages." Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement with this opinion.
4. Why is Canada not a member of the Pan American Union?
5. What are the strength and weakness of Pan-American efforts to maintain peace in the Western Hemisphere? Compare with other efforts in the same direction.
6. Report on archaeological studies in the Western Hemisphere.
7. Investigate and report on (a) the development of American policy toward Argentina and the regime of President Perón, and (b) the policy of Russia toward the countries of South America.
8. Report on the Charter for the Organization of American States drafted at the Ninth Conference, Bogotá, Colombia, 1948. (Consult Bemis, pages 780–783.)

Suggested Reading

INTER-AMERICAN CO-OPERATION: Bailey, pp. 737–739, 834–840, 890–891, 900–902; Bemis, pp. 759–783; Fish, *Path of Empire* (Y.C.S.), pp. 54–65; Griffin, C. C., *Latin America* (Cornell University Curriculum Series); Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 486–492, 585–589; Hart, V, 161–165, 181–185; Hughes, *Pan-American Peace Plans*, pp. 1–68; Inman, S. G., and Castañeda, C. E., *A History of Latin America for Schools;* Latané, *United States and Latin America*, pp. 292–319; Nevins, *The United States in a Chaotic World* (Y.C.S.), pp. 200–221; *The New Deal and World Affairs*, (Y.C.S.), pp. 26–39; Nevins and Hacker, eds., *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs*, pp. 475–495; Ogg, *National Progress* (A.N.S.), pp. 246–254, 262–280; Schlesinger, pp. 402–406; Shepherd, *Hispanic Nations of the New World* (Y.C.S.), pp. 227–237; Commager, No. 305 – Blaine and the Pan-American Congress; No. 521 – Lima Declaration; Nos. 534, 535, and 561 – Act of Havana and Act of Chapultepec.

CHAPTER FORTY-THREE

America's Interest in the Pacific

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNS ALASKA AND HAWAII SUCCESSFULLY

Our Pacific possessions. The possessions of the United States in the Pacific include Alaska and the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands, the Panama Canal Zone, the Hawaiian Islands, and several small islands, of which Howland, Baker, Wake, Guam, Midway, and Tutuila (in the Samoan group) are the most important. (The Philippine Islands, which formerly belonged to the United States, became independent July 4, 1946. In 1950 United States citizenship was given to the people of Guam.) These small islands are important as landing bases for transpacific airplanes and were vital to the United States during World War II. The enormous population of the Far East (which, including India, China, Japan, and the islands of the East Indies, is over 800,000,000, or more than one third of the world's population) makes the trade and commerce of the Pacific potentially of great value to the United States.

Alaska and Hawaii — incorporated territories. Since 1912, when Arizona and New Mexico became states, the only incorporated territories of the United States have been Alaska and Hawaii. (We have already noted, pages 671–672, that Puerto Rico at first was an unincorporated territory; that is, some parts of the Constitution did not apply there.) It is proper to think of Hawaii and Alaska as parts of the United States rather than as possessions. Both of them look forward to becoming, some day, states in the American Union.

Under acts of Congress granting territorial status to Hawaii (1900) and Alaska (1912), similar forms of government have been set up. Each has a popularly elected legislature of two houses and a governor appointed by the President of the United States. Each is also represented in the House of Representatives at Washington by a territorial delegate, who has the right to debate or to serve on committees but not the right to vote. The territories, like the states, are subject to the laws of Congress; thus, they pay the same federal taxes, including tariffs on imports from foreign countries.

1. Alaska. Alaska is 580,000 square miles in area (more than twice the size of Texas). It has a population of about 128,000 (1950), of whom about half are Eskimos. Alaska is rich in minerals (gold, silver,

copper, coal), lumber, furs, and fish. Agriculture is possible on approximately 1,900,000 acres, but less than one third are actually under cultivation. The strategic value of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands as the shortest route to Japan was clearly demonstrated during World War II.

2. Hawaii. The Hawaiian group of islands, situated a little more than 2000 miles southwest of San Francisco, comprises a total area of about 6400 square miles. The population of the eight inhabited islands in 1950 was close to 500,000, only a small portion of which is native Hawaiian. About one fourth of the population are of Japanese origin; about one tenth are Filipinos. As a result of the United States immigration laws no Japanese were admitted in recent years, but the number of Filipino immigrants increased. The chief products of the islands are sugar and pineapples. The great bulk of Hawaiian trade is with the rest of the United States; about 90 per cent of Hawaii's imports come from the mainland, while 98 per cent of her exports go there.

THE PHILIPPINES PROVE TO BE A "TREASURE AND A PROBLEM"

Population and races. The Philippine archipelago, situated some 500 miles off the coast of China, consists of 7000 islands, most of them being mere bits of rock sticking out of the ocean. The entire archipelago is about 1100 miles in length and nearly 700 miles in width. The Philippines have in all a land area of about 115,000 square miles. The population — more than 19,500,000 in 1950 — is composed of a wide variety of races, illustrating every degree of civilization. A few of them at the time of American acquisition were little more than savages; but under American occupation savage practices have been largely abandoned and the wilder tribes are approaching a state of semicivilization. There are about seven main branches of language with perhaps eighty-seven different dialects. Ninety per cent of the population are Filipinos. Most of them are Christians, having been converted to Roman Catholicism by Spanish missionaries. About 400,000 inhabitants of the island of Mindanao are Mohammedans — called Moros by the Spaniards, after the Mohammedan Moors who once dominated Spain.

Resources. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of the islands as an agricultural producing center. Farming methods, however, still need considerable improvement, and only about one third of the available farm land is under cultivation. The chief products are tobacco, sugar, hemp, and coconut oil. The islands also contain some minerals not as yet developed to any great extent. Government experts have reported that the islands possess about two million acres suitable for the cultivation of rubber. About 70 per cent of the trade of the Philippines is with the United States.

The Philippine Commission. The government of the Philippines has been one of our country's most difficult tasks. Just before the



Ewing Galloway

Because it is located on very wet and uneven ground, Ketchikan, Alaska, is a city built on a piling foundation. Its streets are surfaced with wooden planks.



Philip Gendreau, New York

The pineapple crop is one of the most important in Hawaii, and pineapple plants, such as these on Oahu, are a common sight.

The answer to the question posed in this cartoon, *What Will He Do with It?* has been a matter of long debate. The formal achievement of independence by the Philippines (July 4, 1946) gives one answer to the political problem, but in turn gives rise to a number of new problems.



From the *New York Herald*, June 3, 1898

Spanish-American War the Spaniards had crushed a Filipino revolt; at the time of the American conquest a number of the rebels expected the United States to assist them in achieving independence. When it became apparent that this was not the intention of the United States, a revolt led by Aguinaldo broke out against the Americans. It took the army some years to subdue the Filipinos. In 1901 the American military authorities surrendered control of the country to a civil body – the Philippine Commission – and William H. Taft became the first governor. In 1907 the Filipinos were given a legislature, but the Commission, appointed by the President, continued to act as an upper house.

The Jones Act. Under Wilson the Filipinos were given a larger share in the government. In 1916 Congress passed the Jones Act, which established the government of the Philippines until 1935. Both houses of the legislature were elected by the Filipinos themselves; that is, those Filipinos who owned property, or paid taxes, or could read and write. The chief executive was the governor general, appointed by the President of the United States. He had the power to veto acts passed by the legislature; and if the legislature passed these bills over his veto, they had to be submitted to the President for his approval. Neither the United States nor the Philippine Islands taxed imports from one another. The Filipinos were never granted United States citizenship.

The promise of independence. The Jones Act contained the following preamble: "It is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein."

This promise encouraged many Filipinos to agitate for independence. At times serious difficulties developed and various Presidents sent investigating commissions to study conditions and make recommendations. Each investigation produced administrative reforms and increased the opportunity of the Filipinos for self-government; but each reported against the granting of independence, largely on the ground that the Filipinos had not achieved a "stable political or economic system."

But beginning in 1929 new forces within America were beginning to work on the side of Philippine independence. (1) Possession of the islands had not materially increased our trade with China and the Far East. (2) The cost of administering, fortifying, and defending the islands was beyond all proportion to the value of the Filipino trade; "imperialism" in the Philippines did not pay. (3) Military and naval experts questioned the ability of the United States to defend the Philippines successfully without weakening our defense of Hawaii, the Pacific coast, and the Canal Zone. (4) Migration of Filipinos to California, like the Japanese migration of twenty years before, led to a demand for a restrictive policy. We could hardly shut out the Filipinos so long

as the Philippines belonged to the United States. (5) American competitors of Filipino exports desired a tariff on Filipino products.

Philippine independence. In January, 1933, Congress passed over President Hoover's veto a complicated bill granting independence to the Philippines, after a ten-year trial period of self-government. Before becoming effective this bill had to be accepted by the Philippine legislature; but that body rejected it in the summer of 1933 because it gave the United States the right to keep certain military and naval bases in the islands. Early in 1934 President Franklin D. Roosevelt suggested that Congress eliminate from the original bill the offending clause. On March 24, 1934, Congress passed the McDuffie-Tydings Act, carrying out the President's suggestion, and on May 1, 1934, the Philippine legislature voted to accept the bill. Independence was to be proclaimed on July 4, 1946. During the intervening years (1) the United States was to keep control over finances and foreign affairs; (2) free trade between the Philippines and the United States was to continue, except that the United States might impose its regular tariff duties on Filipino exports of sugar, coconut oil, and hemp in excess of certain amounts; (3) Filipino migration to the United States was limited to an annual quota of fifty, but after 1946 the regular immigration laws would apply; (4) beginning with 1941, the Philippines might impose gradually increasing export duties on goods exported to the United States; (5) the United States promised to enter into treaties with other nations to guarantee the neutrality of the island.

In accordance with the provisions of the law, a Philippine convention drafted a new constitution. This was ratified in May, 1935. In September, Manuel Quezon was elected as the first president of the Philippine Commonwealth. A high commissioner was appointed to take charge of American interests in the islands. The new constitution contains a bill of rights, limits the president to one six-year term, and provides for a one-chamber legislature and a Supreme Court of eleven members, which has the power to declare laws unconstitutional by a two-thirds vote. There is also a provision for the compulsory arbitration of disputes between labor and capital.

Having achieved this concession from the United States, many Filipinos were not so sure as formerly of their desire for complete independence. Thus, one of the Filipino commissioners suggested in the House of Representatives that independence be postponed, and President Quezon declared that "the Philippines are not anxious to be cut off completely from United States protectorship," although in campaigning for office he had declared, "An independent Philippines must depend on herself for protection." In May, 1942, the United States lost the Philippines to Japan; but after the reconquest of the islands in 1945, and shortly before his death, President Roosevelt assured the Filipinos that they would be given their independence.

The record of the United States in the Philippines. During the more than forty years of American control, the United States gave an especially fine example to the world of enlightened colonial administration. Illiteracy was reduced from 85 to 37 per cent, more than a million children were in public schools, and the University of the Philippines had more than seven thousand students. The health of the population was much improved; cholera and smallpox were no longer a menace. Small agricultural landholdings were encouraged. An extensive public works program provided employment for large numbers. Complaints against American administration were given sympathetic attention, and a cordial good will was established. While a majority of the Filipinos desired independence, there was a large minority who were satisfied with American administration and were reluctant to face the economic problems which complete independence would bring. The enlightened policy of the United States toward the Philippines paid handsome dividends during World War II, when Filipinos fought shoulder to shoulder with Americans against the Japanese. Filipinos assisted in the reconquest of the islands in 1944 and 1945 and in the Korean War.

THE UNITED STATES CHAMPIONS THE "OPEN DOOR"

The European powers in China. While the United States was busily engaged in the development of its own resources, the other powers — especially England, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy — were pursuing imperialistic policies in the Near East, in Africa, and in the Far East. Their object was to get economic or political control of backward areas. The European powers frequently secured this control by compelling the backward areas by force or bribery to grant them "concessions" which safeguarded the interests and property of their citizens. Frequently these concessions were followed by a protectorate.

China became a field for imperialistic activities before the War between the States; but Japan, on the other hand, quickly accommodated herself to Western methods and became a strong nation.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century there was an eager scramble for leases and concessions in China. China lay prostrate. "The chief powers of Europe came, like fishermen after blubber, and took here a province and there a harbor." It was just at this time that the United States obtained Hawaii and the Philippines. At this time, too, the United States feared she would be shut off from the markets of the Far East.

Secretary Hay and the policy of the "open door." To stop the partitioning of China and to protect American trade with that country, Secretary of State John Hay invited the powers of Europe to do two things: (1) to agree to maintain the Chinese tariff in the territories they had seized, and (2) not to discriminate against other foreigners by the grant

of special port and railroad rates to their own nationals. These principles have been summarized as the policy of the "open door." The European nations responded in cautious notes to Hay's suggestion, saying in effect that they would carry out the policy if other nations agreed to it. Hay tactfully announced that the replies he had received were a "final and definite acceptance of the American policy." Hay's statement was, however, more hopeful than accurate. The powers continued to do lip service to the principle of the open door and the theory of Chinese integrity, but in practice proceeded to ignore them.

The Boxer uprising. Within a few months after Hay's efforts to secure European agreement to the principle of the open door, a Chinese association, known as the "Boxers," started a revolution. The purpose of the Boxers was to put an end to the Westernizing of China and to get rid of foreigners, their customs, their machines, and their trade. The foreign legations in Peking (now Peiping) were besieged. A joint relief expedition composed of soldiers from France, England, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the United States hurried to the assistance of the legations. While co-operating with the European powers, the United States warned them that it was opposed to using the Boxer uprising as an excuse to dismember China.

The Boxer indemnity. In the negotiations which followed, Hay accomplished his main purpose. The European powers agreed to the principle of China's independence and integrity, and merely insisted that the rebel leaders be punished and that China pay an indemnity to foreign individuals and nations to compensate them for the loss sustained. The bill of indemnity was a heavy one, far in excess of the actual losses. The United States was awarded $24,000,000, but on examination this was found to exceed, by about $11,000,000, the actual losses. Acting upon the advice of President Theodore Roosevelt, Congress ordered the return of this excess indemnity to China — an act which earned for us the good will of China in the years to come. China used the money returned to create a fund to send Chinese to American colleges. This fund enabled about sixty students to come to American colleges annually. Many returned to China to become leaders in the movement to maintain their country's independence. A strong Chinese nationalist movement gradually developed. In 1911 the Manchu dynasty was overthrown and China became a republic. For several years China was dominated by war lords, who ruled various provinces in China and sometimes obtained money from foreign governments in return for special privileges. Finally a strong National People's party (called Kuomintang) was organized by China's great hero, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. After his death in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek became the head of the People's party and founded the Nationalist Government of China. However, Chiang Kai-shek was opposed by Chinese Communists, and in 1949 he withdrew his forces to the island of Formosa.

The United States and Japan. At the beginning of the twentieth century the United States looked with favor upon the growing strength of Japan. It thought that Japan as a strong nation might be a factor in supporting the open door policy and in checking the piecemeal partition of China by European nations. When the Japanese attempted to oust the Russians from Northern China in 1904, most Americans applauded. But Japan's success in the war was so great that American sentiment shifted, and ever since then the United States has feared Japan's increasing power in the Far East. Japan also had grounds for suspicion of the United States. President Roosevelt actively intervened to bring the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05 to a close (in a peace treaty signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire). During the negotiations Roosevelt urged Japan to be moderate in her demands upon Russia. Subsequently, many Japanese claimed that Roosevelt acted as he did in order to deprive Japan of the fruits of victory. Furthermore, Japan resented American hostility to Japanese immigrants (page 606).

World War I and conditions in the Far East. Japan used the opportunity presented by World War I to insist that China agree to twenty-one demands. The net effect of these demands (1915) was to give Japan the dominant position in China and the Orient. Secretary of State Bryan sent a mild note of protest to Japan. China accepted Japan's demands after they had been considerably modified. Two years later, by means of the Lansing-Ishii agreement (1917) the United States recognized that Japan had special interests in China, "particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous." Many Chinese leaders began to feel that American friendship, as manifested by Hay's diplomacy and the return of a portion of the Boxer indemnity, had become lukewarm. World War I strengthened the Japanese position. The European powers were weakened by four years of conflict; Japan emerged stronger than ever. She received the German possessions in the Pacific north of the equator as a mandate from the League. She was also given control of Shantung, a Chinese peninsula which Germany had controlled.

The Far Eastern question and naval rivalry. The United States and Japan, in a better position than the other participants in World War I, started an extensive program of naval construction. England tried to compete. In an attempt to check this rivalry, President Harding in 1920 issued a call for a conference at Washington to discuss Far Eastern affairs and the limitation of naval armaments. Since disturbed conditions in the Far East were the chief reasons for the naval construction, any agreement to limit navies depended upon the settlement of the problems of the Pacific.

At the time, the Washington Conference was enthusiastically hailed as a great step toward international co-operation and peace. In the light of subsequent events, however, the Washington Conference is

chiefly interesting as an object lesson of what can happen to formal statements of good intentions and solemn international treaties.

The treaties limiting naval armament are described elsewhere (pages 750–752), but one clause of the naval limitation treaty deserves mention at this point. Japan and the United States agreed, with minor exceptions, to maintain the status quo as regards naval bases and fortifications in the Pacific. This agreement meant that the two countries would not enter into competition with each other to secure a preponderance of naval strength in the Pacific. We now know that Japan used the next twenty years to establish bases on numerous islands in the Pacific, many of which were mandated to her by the League of Nations at the end of World War I.

Japan also violated the treaties concerning Far Eastern affairs. The more important agreements were:

1. The Four-Power Treaty. England, France, Japan, and the United States agreed (a) to respect one another's possessions in the Pacific and to refer all disputes that might develop to a conference of the four nations for consideration and settlement; and (b) to consult with each other and to determine the actions to be taken by all four nations if some other power should threaten aggressive action.

2. The Nine-Power Treaties. The treaties concerning China are referred to as Nine-Power treaties because they were agreed to by all the nations which had interests in the Pacific — England, France, Japan, Italy, China, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and the United States. One of the Nine-Power Treaties was substantially an endorsement of the American policy of the open door. The Powers agreed (a) to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China; (b) to refrain from securing special rights and privileges in China; and (c) to support the principle of equal opportunity for all nations in trading with China. The Powers also promised to grant China full control over her own tariff policy and to take under consideration the surrender of "extraterritorial rights." (Extraterritorial rights are the special privileges that several nations had obtained to have their citizens tried under the laws and by officials of their own country rather than those of China.)

INTERNATIONAL "ANARCHY" THREATENS COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Chinese nationalism. The development of a strong nationalist movement in China, much more than these promises of the Powers, gave China a larger control over her own affairs. Thus, for example, in February, 1929, China assumed control of her own tariff, and in January, 1930, she announced that she would no longer recognize the extraterritorial rights of the Powers. However, she did not succeed in eliminating extraterritoriality until World War II. Japan finally withdrew from Shantung in 1929, as she had promised to do at the Washington Con-

ference, and England abandoned Weiheiwei, a bit of Chinese territory which she had held since 1898.

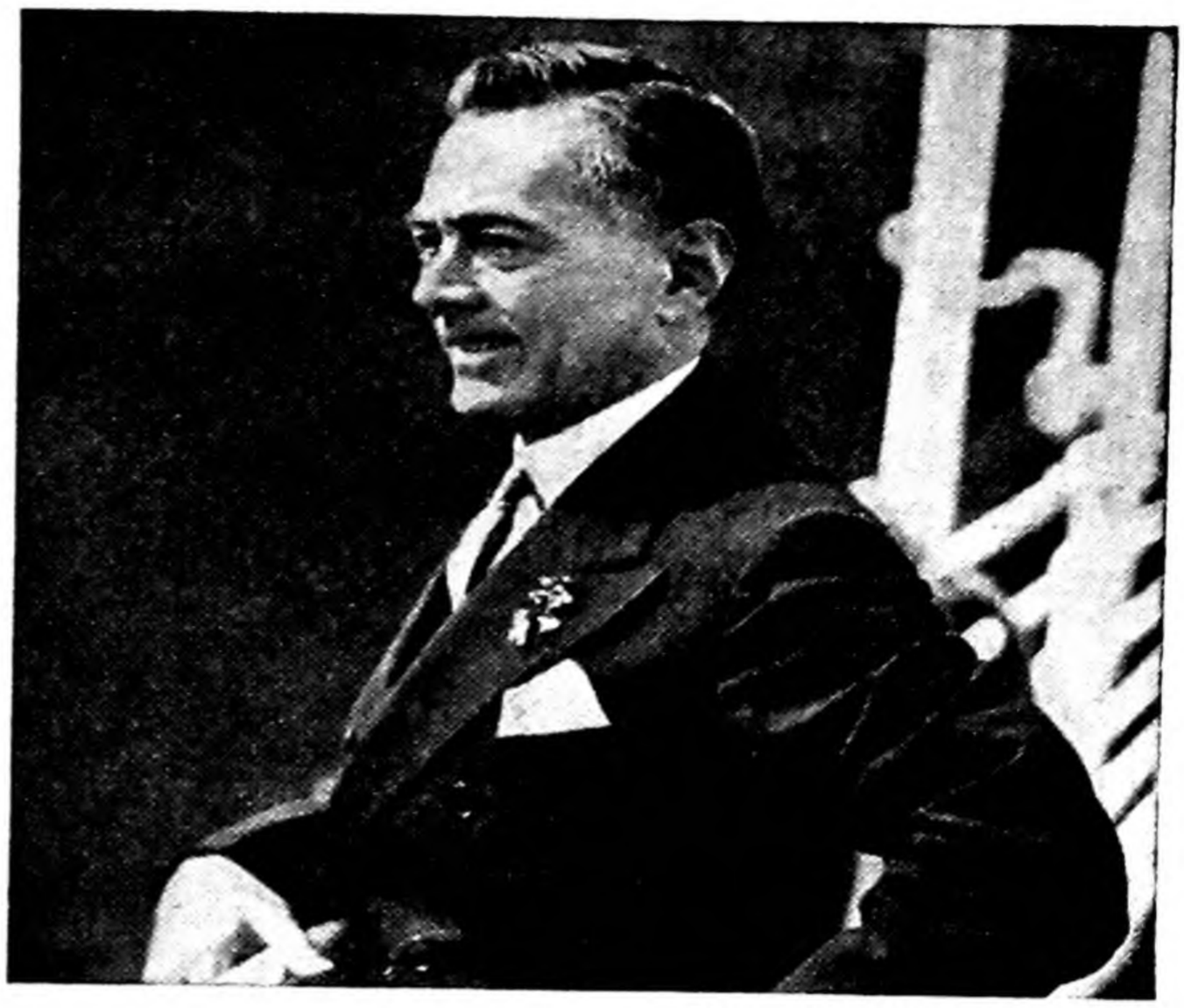
Japanese aggression in China. For a few years it seemed as though Chinese nationalism might compel all the Powers to keep the promises they had made at the Washington Conference. But in the years before 1939 many events illustrate how a strong and determined nation can upset international agreements. One such illustration is the story of what Japan did to China, first in Manchuria and then in China.

The Manchurian crisis, 1931. Manchuria was a valuable province of China, north of China proper and near Japanese possessions on the mainland of China. Manchuria gradually came under the economic control of the Japanese. The chief instrument of Japanese economic penetration was her ownership of the South Manchuria railway. This railroad was not only vital to the economic welfare of the forty million inhabitants of Manchuria, but it also controlled and operated coal mines, steel mills, public utilities, and even the schools. The Chinese, however, began to construct a series of railroad lines which threatened the supremacy of the Japanese-controlled South Manchurian railroad. Furthermore, large numbers of Chinese began to migrate to Manchuria. By 1931 Japan determined to convert her economic control of Manchuria into outright domination. The first step was to "manufacture an incident." In the summer of 1931 Japan announced that a Japanese captain and three companions had been killed by Chinese soldiers. Japan demanded an indemnity, and increased the number of her troops in Manchuria. In September, 1931, fighting broke out between Japanese railway guards and Chinese troops near Mukden, the capital of Manchuria. Japan very shortly was in complete control of Manchuria.

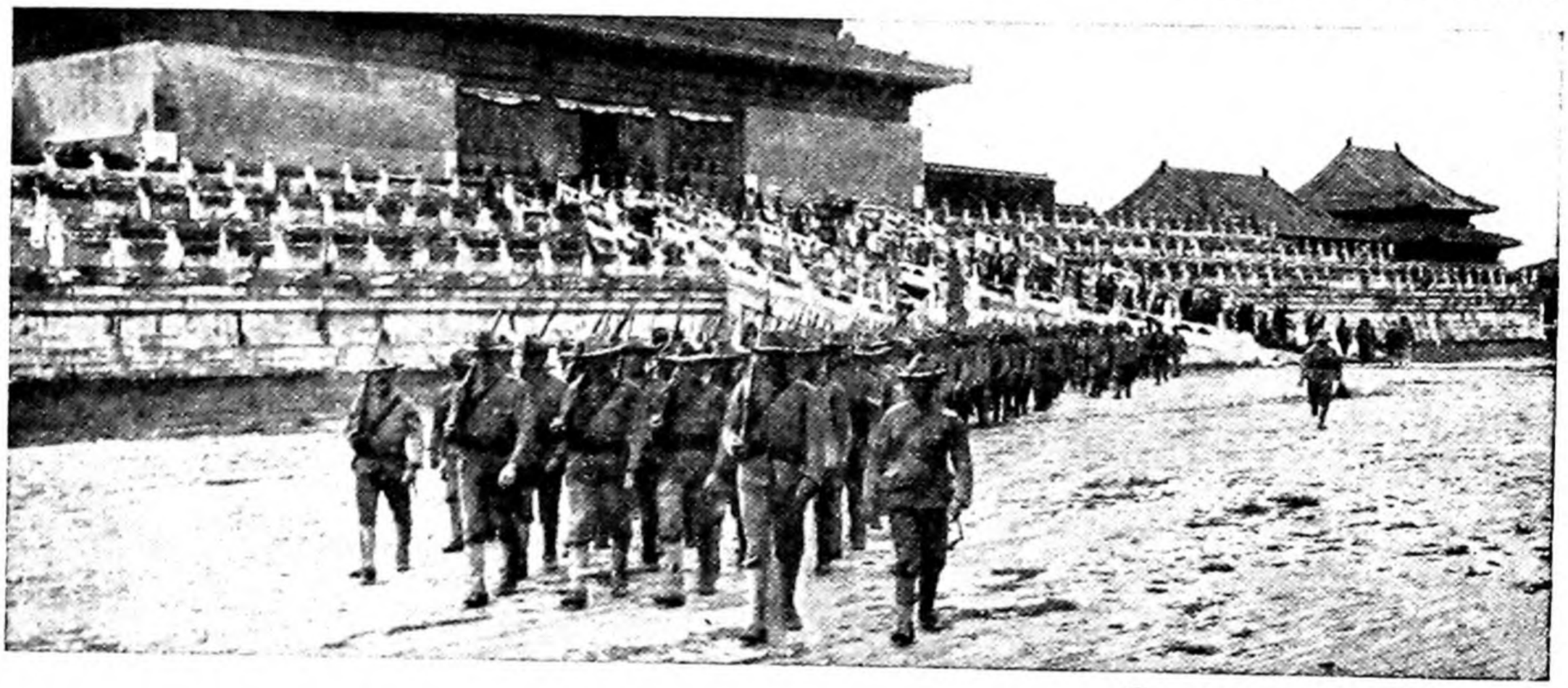
The failure of the League of Nations. Both China and Japan were members of the League of Nations. China, therefore, protested to the League against Japanese aggression, demanding the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Manchuria. In October, 1931, Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State, informed the Council of the League that the United States would co-operate with it in its efforts to stop Japanese aggression. The Council of the League invited the United States to send a delegate to sit as a member of the Council. Japan voted against this invitation, but the United States accepted it, and thus entered into co-operation with the League, which it had refused to join. The Council of the League, with Japan again casting a dissenting vote, adopted a resolution asking Japan to withdraw her troops from Manchuria.

The American doctrine of nonrecognition. Secretary Stimson, apparently realizing that Japan had already achieved her major objectives, decided that the United States should assert its position independently of any action that might be taken by the League. In January, 1932, he sent a strongly worded note to Japan in which he declared that the United States would not recognize any developments in Man-

President Manuel L. Quezon started fighting for the independence of the Philippines in 1889, when he was a college student. His efforts came to a successful conclusion in 1935, when he became president of the Philippine Commonwealth. He fought both Spanish and American control of the Islands. He died in 1944.



Keystone View Company



Courtesy National Archives

American troops parade on the Temple of Agriculture grounds in Pekin, China, during the Boxer uprising in 1900.



Acme

In a mass demonstration in 1938, Chinese soldiers, sailors, police, and students in military training appeal to the League of Nations to take action against Japan.

churia which were brought about in violation of international agreements or which interfered with American treaty rights in China, including those which concerned the independence and integrity of China and the international policy of the open door. Mr. Stimson thus endeavored to uphold the treaties made at the Washington Conference. He also based his objections on Japan's obligations under the Pact of Paris (pages 749–750). The United States, he declared, "does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the Pact of Paris."

Japan's reply to Mr. Stimson's protest is interesting chiefly as an exhibit in the diplomatic use of words for the purpose of face saving. In the light of what actually happened it is almost incredible that the Japanese government should have used the words it did. Here are some of them: The Japanese government is "well aware that the United States would do everything in its power to support Japan's efforts to secure the full and complete fulfillment in every detail of the treaties of Washington and the Kellogg treaty for the outlawry of war." (*Sic*) The Japanese government "regards the open door policy as a cardinal policy in the politics of the Far East and only regrets that its effectiveness is so seriously diminished by the unsettled conditions which prevail throughout China. . . . The treaties which apply to China must necessarily be applied with due regard to the state of affairs prevailing from time to time in that country." Japan also declared that it entertained no territorial aims or ambitions in Manchuria, and that insofar as Japan "can secure it, the open door policy will always be maintained in Manchuria, as in China proper."

The establishment of Manchukuo. By the time Secretary Stimson had announced his "policy of nonrecognition," Japan had effective control of Manchuria. Paying mild respect to the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty, Japan did not formally annex Manchuria, but instead set up the puppet state of Manchukuo, with the former "boy emperor" of China, Henry Pu-yi, as emperor, and proceeded to treat it as a Japanese province. Salvador, Italy, and Germany were the only nations to recognize the existence of Manchukuo. The League Commission of Inquiry, headed by Lord Lytton, filed a report criticizing Japan. When the League accepted the report, Japan withdrew from the League, 1933; Japan, however, did not give up the Pacific islands over which she exercised a League mandate. The League failed in its first major test, probably because the Powers delayed too long in determining upon a course of action. The League's hesitation was caused by disturbed conditions in Europe and by the desire of certain nations to make money selling munitions to Japan.

The crisis of 1937. Having successfully defied the League, Japan in the next few years strengthened her position in Manchuria and even overran near-by provinces of China, bringing them under control. In

1936 Japan allied herself with Germany by the so-called Anti-Comintern Pact. The League was helpless, but China's resistance to Japanese encroachments on her territory began to stiffen. Once again Japan, encouraged by developments in Europe, "manufactured" an incident. On July 7, 1937, small detachments of Japanese and Chinese troops engaged in a brief skirmish near the Marco Polo Bridge outside Peiping. Japan began an undeclared war against China, hoping to crush Chinese resistance in a few months. Japan miscalculated. In a very real sense World War II began with the China-Japan war of 1937.

Once again the European powers did very little. They held a conference at Brussels, Belgium, November 1937, to decide upon a course of action. The United States was represented at this Conference by Norman Davis, "ambassador-at-large." The Brussels conference, like the League of Nations five years before, failed to agree upon a collective course of action, but it did "keep the record straight" by condemning Japan's intervention in China as contrary to treaty obligations.

The 1937 crisis in the Far East put the American neutrality law (pages 754–755) to a severe test. It illustrated the problems involved in endeavoring to maintain a strict neutrality between an aggressor and its victim. The American people sympathized with China and many boycotted Japanese goods, but others made money by selling supplies to Japan. Mr. Roosevelt, taking advantage of the technicality that Japan had not declared war on China, avoided any detailed application of the neutrality law of 1937, probably because he wanted China to get supplies by means of the Burma Road, probably because orders from Japan for war materials might stimulate needed business recovery in the United States, and probably because he regarded developments in Europe as more serious. However, in a notable speech at Chicago on October 5, 1937 — the so-called "quarantine" speech — Mr. Roosevelt declared:

> The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.

In retrospect we can see that these words of President Roosevelt were a definite warning not only to Japan, Germany, and Italy but also to his own countrymen that all was not well. But at the time he was not taken seriously by his own people, and the Axis powers apparently counted on our indifference. Meantime, the relations of the United States and Japan were strained to the breaking point. In December, 1937, Japanese bombs destroyed the United States naval vessel *Panay*, killing and wounding American sailors. Upon American protest, Japan apologized and paid an indemnity. When World War II began in Sep-

tember, 1939, the Sino-Japanese war was a stalemate. But Japan occupied large portions of Chinese territory, and it seemed doubtful that China could long continue her resistance to Japan without the help of neutrals or allies. Japan decided to use the European struggle to obtain the overlordship of a "Greater East Asia." Japanese statesmen put forth claims to Oceania, and talked much about a co-prosperity sphere in East Asia, which in their scheming included the Philippines and Australia, as well as Dutch and French possessions in the Far East. After the collapse of France in 1940 Japan secured from the defeated French government the right to occupy French Indo-China. Once entrenched, the Japanese extended their influence westward into Thailand (Siam).

Meanwhile, the United States adopted a large naval building program and kept the major portion of its fleet in the Pacific in order to check Japanese aggression. The United States, in an effort to "buy time" to get naval construction and war plants under way, pursued a policy of "appeasing" Japan by tolerating the transfer of scrap iron and aviation gasoline to Japan. But in the summer of 1941 the United States adopted a firmer policy, placed an embargo on the sale of goods to Japan, and insisted upon the right to send supplies to Russia by way of Vladivostok. Throughout 1941 it was clearly realized that developments in the Far East, or as the Japanese prefer to call the area, East Asia, might involve the United States in a "shooting war." In October, 1941, a new Japanese cabinet, headed by Admiral Tojo, bellicose and aggressive and strongly committed to close co-operation with Germany, came into power. The new Japanese government sent Mr. Kurusu as envoy extraordinary to the United States. At the time this appeared to be a final effort to arrive at a friendly understanding with the United States, but the sequel indicated that the Kurusu mission was merely a blind to throw us off guard as Japan secretly prepared for an attack. The attack finally came on December 7, 1941. On that day Japanese forces treacherously launched an air attack upon the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The Japanese government declared war on the United States, and followed up their initial surprise attacks with an aerial bombardment of the Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Netherlands East Indies, and Malaya (pages 762, 766–767). On December 11, Hitler and Mussolini declared war on the United States.

Words and Phrases

Boxer indemnity, Boxer uprising, "collective security," extraterritoriality, Four-Power Treaty, Greater East Asia, international anarchy, Jones Act, Lansing-Ishii agreement, Manchurian crisis, Nine-Power Treaties, Pearl Harbor, open door policy, Shantung, Stimson Doctrine, Washington Conference.

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. Briefly outline the form of government of Hawaii and Alaska. Explain what is meant by an "incorporated territory."
2. Why was the policy of the open door approved in word and disregarded in action?
3. Why are the Philippines referred to as a "treasure and a problem"?
4. What considerations prompted the passage of the McDuffie-Tydings Act?
5. Have experiences since 1934 affected the attitude of the Commonwealth of the Philippines toward independence?
6. "It was a natural policy of self-advantage for the United States to champion the principle of the open door." Explain.
7. What were the reasons for the Washington Conference of 1920–21?
8. Criticize or defend the policy of the Powers in securing extraterritorial rights in China.
9. Was the Four-Power Treaty an alliance?
10. To what extent did the United States co-operate with the League of Nations during the Manchurian crisis?
11. What is the Stimson Doctrine of nonrecognition?
12. Why did the United States take part in the conference at Brussels in 1937? What was accomplished?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Consult *The World Almanac, The Statesmen's Year Book*, or *Commerce Year Book* for statistics of trade of the United States with Hawaii and the Philippines. Do the statistics seem to indicate that American possession of these places yielded any commercial advantage? Compare with statistics of trade with Canada and Mexico.
2. Was the policy of the United States toward Hawaii and the Philippines any more enlightened than England's policy toward the American colonies in the eighteenth century; than England's policy toward India? Give reasons for your opinion in both cases.
3. "The American policy in the Philippines paid dividends during World War II." Explain.
4. Should Hawaii and Alaska become states of the United States? Reasons.
5. Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement with Mr. Stimson's theory that it is not a futile gesture "to keep the record straight."
6. President Franklin D. Roosevelt suggested (October, 1937) that aggressor nations, like individuals with contagious diseases, should be "quarantined." Discuss the obstacles to the execution of this theory.
7. What was the outcome of the undeclared war between Japan and China? How did it affect the foreign policies of Russia, England, and the United States? What is the relationship between foreign policies in the Far East and foreign policies in Western Europe?
8. Should the United States have pursued a policy of appeasement toward Japan in 1939–41?
9. Report on the careers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek.
10. Report on the conflict between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists.

Suggested Reading

THE GOVERNMENTS OF ALASKA AND HAWAII: Fish, *Path of Empire* (Y.C.S.), pp. 39–53; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 100–105; Hart, V, pp. 138–146; Latané, *America as a World Power* (A.N.S.), pp. 192–203; Mowry, *Territorial Growth of the United States,* pp. 82–83, 164–198; Ogg and Ray, *Introduction to American Government,* pp. 570–577.

THE PHILIPPINES: Bailey, pp. 513–525, 736–737; Bemis, pp. 464–475; Fish, *Path of Empire* (Y.C.S.), pp. 198–217; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 308–314, 589–591; Hart, V, 132–138; Latané, *America as a World Power* (A.N.S.), pp. 82–99, 153–174; Mowry, *Territorial Growth of the United States,* pp. 208–219; Ogg and Ray, *Introduction to American Government,* pp. 582–590; Romulo, C. P., *Mother America;* Schlesinger, pp. 250–252, 403–404; Commager, Nos. 412, 489 — Jones Act and Philippine Independence Act (1934).

FAR EASTERN POLICY: Bailey, pp. 526–531, 575–581, 696–698, 723–729; Bemis, pp. 479–502, 671–690, 803–830; Fish, *Path of Empire* (Y.C.S.), pp. 218–239; Biggerstaff, K., *The Far East and the United States* (Cornell University Curriculum Series); Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 323–326, 374–376, 599–605; Hart, IV, 616–618, V, 506–509; Hart, *The Monroe Doctrine,* pp. 282–298; Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900–1950,* pp. 21–54; Nevins, *The United States in a Chaotic World* (Y.C.S.), pp. 169–199, 222–237; Nevins and Hacker, eds., *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs,* pp. 297–323, 496–518; Commager, Nos. 350, 372, 420, 448, 522, 541, 560, 566 — Relations with the Far East.

CHAPTER FORTY-FOUR

World War One, 1914–1918

THE BALANCE OF POWER IS TESTED ON THE BATTLEFIELD

The outbreak of war. When the summer of 1914 began, the last thing Americans anticipated was the outbreak of a war in which they, too, would finally be involved. Yet for two years the ministers of the Great Powers had been expecting that a struggle then going on in the Balkan Peninsula might start a general conflict. People talked vaguely about a world war, but were reassured when publicists told them that such a thing would cost too much and would bankrupt every nation which took part in it. Americans, separated from Europe by a broad ocean felt only a languid interest in the danger. Even if the war broke out, they felt sure it would not involve them.

The immediate occasion for war. The outbreak of war was sudden, but its causes were deep-seated. Militarism, imperialism, nationalism, and secret diplomacy were all factors in bringing on the conflict.

The European world had become a powder magazine. It was divided into two armed camps: the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) and the Triple Entente (France, England, and Russia). All that was necessary to cause an explosion was for someone to drop a match. This was done on June 28, 1914, when the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary was murdered by a group of Serbian conspirators. Austria-Hungary decided to punish Serbia, but Russia objected. To prevent any one of their allies from being weakened, the other Powers were obliged to join in the conflict. Thus, within a week after Austria-Hungary had declared war on Serbia, most of the Great Powers of Europe were at war — England, France, Russia, Belgium, and little Serbia against Austria-Hungary and Germany.

The heritage of hate. While the war raged, and for some time thereafter, propaganda and blind passions converted nearly everyone in the Allied countries to the conviction that Germany alone was responsible for the war, that she deliberately sought and planned it. After the war, however, the publication of secret documents and memoirs revealed that several nations must share the responsibility for the conflict. France, Russia, and England, as well as Germany and Austria-Hungary, were to some extent responsible. Many of the stories of horrors and atrocities have been shown to be falsehoods calculated to arouse the civilian and military population to bend every effort to defeat the en-

emy. Unfortunately, much of the national hatred thus falsely aroused lived on to block the solution of many grave international problems. Equally hampering to the development of international peace and justice was a widespread disillusionment and cynicism provoked by revelation of the hypocrisy behind much of the war propaganda. These factors are important in understanding American public opinion in the years before the outbreak of World War II.

THE UNITED STATES DISCOVERS THAT NEUTRALITY IS PROFITABLE BUT DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN

When war broke out in Europe in 1914 few in the United States were sure what the issues were or which party in Europe was "right." President Wilson's declaration of neutrality, August 18, was taken as a matter of course. However, the American people soon discovered that the war in Europe would affect them in spite of the width of the Atlantic and the absence of entangling alliances. It was striking proof of the economic interdependence of nations which the industrial and scientific revolutions had effected. Henceforth it seemed there could be no major conflict among the Great Powers without its drawing into the vortex those who tried to remain neutral.

Effect of modern war on neutrals. Modern war not only creates an enormous demand for supplies of many kinds, but the nations at war must receive an uninterrupted supply of goods from neutral nations by land and sea or be defeated. Moreover, each warring nation tries to stop trade between its enemies and neutral nations. On what rights can the neutral insist? In general, the principles that America had tried to uphold during the opening years of the nineteenth century had come to be accepted as principles of international law (pages 182–183).

The rights of neutrals. The rights of neutrals were as follows: A belligerent had the right to attempt to prevent the delivery of contraband goods to its enemy by establishing an actual, not a "paper," blockade. By "contraband" is meant, roughly, those goods which may be used in the direct prosecution of the war — guns, munitions, and so on. The nations drew up a long list of goods which they agreed would be considered contraband. In the exercise of this right, the belligerent had the right of "visit and search"; that is, it had the privilege of boarding a neutral vessel on the high seas to determine (1) whether or not it was really a neutral, for belligerent ships sometimes fly neutral flags, and (2) whether or not it carried contraband. If it was found to be carrying contraband, the captain of the belligerent warship had two alternatives: either he could order the neutral ship to a friendly port, where the belligerent could confiscate the goods, subject to later adjustment for damages; or, if that were dangerous or impossible, he could sink the neutral vessel, after having provided for the safety of the crew

and passengers, usually taking them on board the warship. The merchant ships of a belligerent were not considered war vessels; so if encountered upon the high seas by an enemy vessel, they might be captured, but no harm was to come to their crew and passengers. The citizens of a neutral country could travel on a merchant ship of a belligerent without danger to their lives if this principle were followed.

Ignoring the rights of neutrals. The great difficulty, however, was that these rules were not followed, because they depended for their execution upon the national honor and moral conscience of each nation. The will to win caused nations to disregard the recognized rules of warfare. It was argued that these rules had been made for a different kind of war, and that new instruments of warfare — the submarine, for example — had come into use. Both England and Germany attempted to revise the rules. Germany's change of the rules involved the loss of American lives; England's, the loss of American property.

English interference with the rights of neutrals. At the beginning of the war the British fleet was powerful enough to drive the German fleet from the high seas. In September and October, 1914, it began to supervise all trade with the enemy and even with the neutral countries near the German frontier, since a cargo, once landed in a neutral country on the Continent, could usually find its way to Germany. The British and their allies published a long list of contraband articles (including foodstuffs) which neutrals must not send to the enemy. American vessels trying to carry products to Germany, either directly or through a neutral country, were seized, taken into British ports, searched, and the contraband goods sometimes confiscated.

In December, President Wilson protested to the British government against the restrictions on American trade. It looked as though the British and the American governments would become engaged in a diplomatic conflict over the rights of neutrals, as in the days before the War of 1812. This time the complaints of the United States were: (1) the "rifling" of our mail; (2) the long delays caused by searching vessels in ports; and (3) the new rules made by England to the effect that shipments from one neutral to another neutral could be seized on the ground that these "neutral" goods ultimately reached a belligerent. This theory was similar to the old doctrine of "continuous voyage," and it is significant that England and the United States had now reversed the positions they had taken in the matter of "continuous voyage" at the time of the War between the States. Two things prevented this quarrel with England from becoming dangerous: the trade of the United States expanded in spite of restrictions, and the acts of the German government more seriously interfered with neutral rights.

German interference with the rights of neutrals. At the beginning of the war the German government expected a quick military victory. The battle of the Marne, in September 1914, showed them that this

could not be. Since their fleet could not stop the trade of the enemy with neutrals, they attempted by means of propaganda in the United States to get Congress to place an embargo on the export of munitions. Failing in this course because Wilson believed this would be a violation of the neutrality of the United States, they resorted to the use of the submarine. Because of its very nature the submarine could not carry out the established principles of "visit and search," nor provide for the safety of crew and passengers. On February 4, 1915, Germany declared the waters about the British Isles a "war zone" in which submarines would destroy every enemy merchant vessel found there. Germany also declared that neither the crews nor the passengers of enemy merchant ships, although they might be citizens of a neutral country, would be safe in the war zone. This was quite a different matter from the interference of the British with the trade rights of the United States. Compensation for property losses might be made after the war, but compensation for loss of lives was impossible.

1. The sinking of the *Lusitania.* Events soon showed the German announcement to be no idle threat. British ships with Americans aboard and American vessels with their crews were destroyed. The outstanding horror of the submarine warfare was the sinking of the *Lusitania,* a British passenger and merchant ship, on May 7, 1915. The German Embassy had published advertisements in New York newspapers warning Americans not to sail on belligerent passenger ships. Eleven hundred of the passengers and crew were drowned, including 128 American men, women, and children. There has been much controversy over the sinking of the *Lusitania:* it was not armed and had no troops; however, it did carry 4200 cases of cartridges.

2. Wilson's patient attitude. In their anger the people of the United States forgot about British restrictions on neutral trade. For the first time there arose a widespread demand that the United States should declare war on Germany. Like Jefferson after the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair, Wilson after the attack on the *Lusitania* might have won from Congress support for a declaration of war against Germany. It would not, however, have represented the will of a united nation. West of the Mississippi the people were still indifferent toward the submarine issue. Wilson was determined to avoid war if possible. "The example of America," he said, "must be a special example . . . of peace, because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world, and strife is not." Unfortunately the President obscured the meaning of his high ideal by the phrase, "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight."

3. The German pledges. It was a strange and not pleasant situation in which the President now found himself. William Jennings Bryan, the Secretary of State, resigned rather than sign the second strongly worded *Lusitania* note, which he feared might lead to war.

Bryan thought that Wilson should be equally firm with Great Britain. He believed, also, that the United States should not permit its citizens to travel on belligerent ships. Pacifists and pro-Germans alike attacked the President because they thought him too severe with Germany. Nearly four months passed before Wilson secured from the German government a satisfactory pledge to abandon its submarine policy so far as it affected neutrals. But the pledge was not kept, sinkings continued, and patience was near the breaking point. Finally, the sinking of the *Sussex*, an unarmed channel passenger steamer, in March, 1916, caused injury to several Americans. Wilson threatened to sever diplomatic relations. Germany responded with the famous *Sussex* pledge: "In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance." Germany made this pledge on condition that the United States compel England to modify her blockade, but Wilson rejected this condition, saying that Germany's responsibility was "single, not joint." Germany hoped to win the war on land in 1916, and apparently wished to avoid the risk of drawing America into the conflict.

THE UNITED STATES IS DRAWN INTO THE WHIRLPOOL

Lack of preparedness. While the administration was disturbed by the problems of neutrality, it was also busily engaged near at home with troubles in Mexico, Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua (pages 677–680). The sending of the punitive expedition into Mexico in 1916 and the massing of large numbers of troops on the Mexican border was a test of the preparedness of the American Army. It exposed the weakness of the American militia system. This was probably a factor in encouraging Germany to disregard her promises to the United States.

Preparedness measures in 1916. Gradually Wilson, who had been opposed to a large Army and Navy, became converted to the idea that the United States ought to prepare for the possibility of being forced into the European war. His influence helped secure in the summer of 1916 a large appropriation for naval construction in a National Defense Act. This law also enlarged the Army, provided for munitions factories, and created a Council of National Defense to organize the nation's industries for war.

The change from a debtor to a creditor nation. World War I ushered in a boom era for the United States. Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures prospered, though the greatest demand was for munitions and other war equipment. European governments placed huge orders for arms, ammunitions, chemicals, horses, mules, and motor cars.

Steel mills, machine shops, automobile factories doubled and tripled their production. In 1914 our export of munitions was $40,000,000; in 1915, $300,000,000; and in 1916, $1,300,000,000. In 1915 the house of J. P. Morgan became the financial and purchasing agent for England, France, and Russia. The enormous export of goods was paid for by gold imports, by the sale to Americans of some four or five billion dollars' worth of stocks and bonds which represented Europeans' investments in American railroads and other enterprises, and by the floating of a series of loans in this country. It is estimated that before 1917 Americans had bought wartime securities of England, France, Russia, and Italy to the extent of about $1,500,000,000. Within two years America ceased to be Europe's debtor; instead, we recovered ownership of our industries, and in addition had become the creditor of Europe. The change of the United States from debtor to creditor was one of the results of the war.

Propaganda. Wartime prosperity and loans to the Allied governments are factors in understanding the crosscurrents of opinion that finally influenced the United States to enter the war. Propaganda of all sorts flooded the country. From the very beginning the English and the Germans tried to build up favorable opinion for their sides. By innuendo and even by falsification, they played upon the passions, emotions, and prejudices of Americans. President Wilson and those in high places were constantly under bombardment by those who were sympathetic with either side, or by those who took the attitude that for profit's sake the United States should remain neutral at all cost. Still others argued that America's financial stake in the success of the Allied cause was so great that it was necessary to underwrite their victory by American participation. *One lesson of the war for Americans is that in any great crisis there are subtle and sinister influences at work trying to make up their minds for them.*

"A peace without victory." In December, 1916, Wilson made a direct effort to bring the warring nations together to talk peace, but his efforts were not well received by either side. The next month he outlined to the Senate his ideas for a permanent peace settlement; but in the same speech he also declared that the world needed *"a peace without victory, for only peace between equals can last. . . .* Victory would mean a peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. *It would be accepted in humiliation under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest not permanently, but only as upon quicksand."*

Ruthless submarine warfare. Meanwhile, American public opinion was noticeably crystallizing against Germany. This was especially true after January 31, 1917, when the German government announced

that it would no longer adhere to the "*Sussex* pledge" but would resort to unrestricted submarine warfare. All previous pledges were thrown to the winds. (Germany attempted to justify this announcement of ruthless submarine warfare on the ground that the United States had not persuaded England to modify the blockade.) On February 3, 1917, Wilson announced before a joint session of Congress the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany.

The Zimmermann note. Within a month it was revealed that Zimmermann, German foreign minister, had urged the German minister in Mexico, in the event that the United States entered the war against Germany, to attempt an alliance with Mexico. As its share of the booty, Mexico was to be promised the restoration of the lost provinces of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. Overtures were also to be made to induce Japan to abandon the Allies and to join with Mexico in attacking the United States. Zimmermann's dispatch had been intercepted and deciphered by the British secret service. It was shown to Wilson, who released it for publication for the purpose of influencing American public opinion against Germany. Two weeks later (March 12) came news of the Russian Revolution. This may have had some influence on events, for the overthrow of the autocratic government of the Czar seemed to prove that the countries arrayed against Germany were democracies.

Overt acts. To all practical purposes the German government began a war against the United States when it reopened submarine warfare in February, 1917. Wilson proceeded with a deliberateness characteristic of one so reluctant to go to war. It was difficult for him to believe that Germany would do what she had promised — attack American ships. "Only actual overt acts on their part," he said, "can make me believe it even now." And he waited patiently for Germany to make the next move. As ship after ship was sunk in February and March, the conviction was established that the war had begun. Wilson called the Sixty-fifth Congress into special session on April 2.

War declared, April 6, 1917. When, on April 2, President Wilson went to Congress to ask for a declaration of war, the American people were ready, eager for action. The decision of Congress, nearly unanimous, was the manifest will of the nation. Public opinion had marched with the President. In the Senate the vote for war was 82 to 6, in the House 373 to 50. Of the senators voting against war, all, with one exception, were from the Mississippi Valley; of the representatives, more than half were from five states bordering the Mississippi.

Wilson's war message. In what will probably go down as the greatest speech of his career, and one of the great orations of all history, Wilson defined America's aims. As a believer in peace, Wilson interpreted the war as a crusade to insure peace.

We are now about to accept the gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. . . . *The world must be made safe for democracy.* Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensations for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when these rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. . . .

It is a fearful thing to lead this great and peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But *the right is more precious than peace,* and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

The world at war. Just before the United States entered the war, seven nations were allied against the four Central Powers, not counting the small nations of the Balkans, which had been conquered. Soon afterward, one of the greatest of the Allies, Russia, dropped out of the war as the result of internal revolutions in March and November, 1917. After the entrance of the United States, Cuba, Panama, China, Brazil, Siam, Liberia, and Greece soon followed on the side of the Allies. Somewhat later, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua declared war on Germany. Bolivia, Peru, Santo Domingo, Ecuador, and Uruguay severed diplomatic relations. But Germany took none of these things very seriously. Germany expected victory before America could become of any great value to the Allies. With Russia out of the war, it became the task of the Allies to hold Germany in check till America was ready.

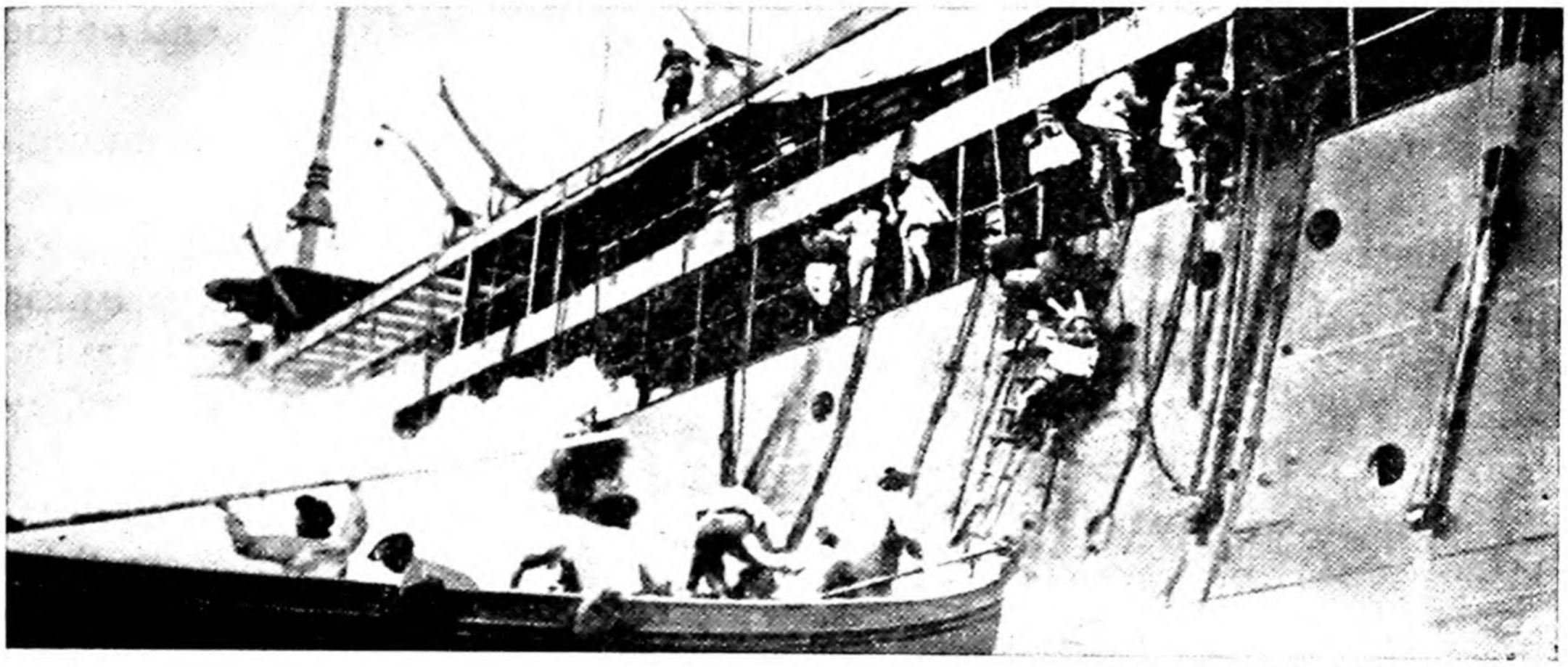
THE UNITED STATES, A NATION IN ARMS, MOBILIZES OPINION, RESOURCES, AND MEN

Preparations for an active war. The Allies were hard-pressed. If Germany did not fear the United States as an enemy, the Allies valued America's help. The Russian lines in the East were breaking, and before the end of the year had disappeared. France had spent her



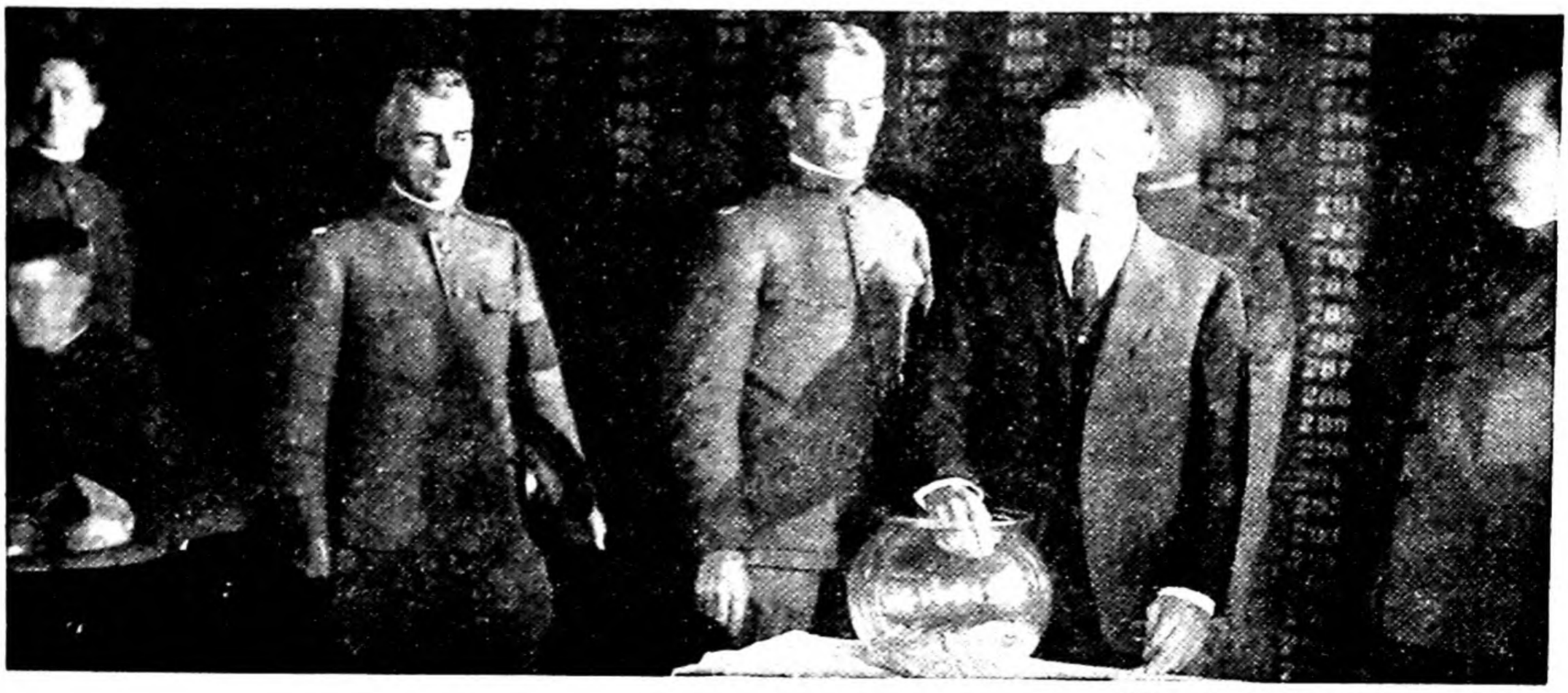
World Wide Photos

Belgian civilians move out of the pathway of advancing Germans during the German invasion of Belgium in 1914.



International News Photos

The passengers and crew of the French liner *Santay* leave the ship after it has been torpedoed by the Germans in 1917.



Courtesy National Archives

Secretary of War Newton D. Baker draws numbers for the second draft in 1918. The numbers are in the capsules in the bowl.

strength so long and so freely that there was not much left to give. Fortunately the General Staff of the Army of the United States knew these facts. Early in 1917 General Tasker H. Bliss became the chief of staff. He and his associates now had an opportunity to show the value of centralization of authority in the hands of military experts. President Wilson and Secretary of War Baker allowed them the fullest freedom in the conduct of the war.

The task of the American Navy. In modern times the Navy has been the chief reliance of the United States for defense. In 1917 it was better prepared for service than any other branch of government. The Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, and the Assistant Secretary, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had used the preceding months to prepare for the emergency now before them. Two flotillas of destroyers were sent to Queenstown, Ireland, to aid the Allies in keeping the seas free of submarines. Battleships and cruisers followed. The entire fleet in service abroad was placed under the command of Rear Admiral William S. Sims. At home destroyers were built rapidly. Before the end of the year more than eighty had been launched.

Enrolling the man power. The problem of how to recruit enough men for the Army and Navy had been seriously debated by government officials before the United States entered the war. Some had insisted that only those who volunteered should be asked to serve, warning against a repetition of the draft riots at the time of the War between the States, 1863 (page 335). Nevertheless, Congress decided on a policy of using both volunteers and conscription. A Selective Service Act (May 18, 1917) provided for an army of about a million men, the majority of whom were to be drafted. Amendments later authorized increases by drafts, and by the end of the war nearly four million men were in service. Of this large force two million reached Europe.

Training camps. The raw recruits, however numerous, were obviously of little value as soldiers until they could be trained. For this purpose sixteen training camps were built, each a complete city by itself, with several thousand inhabitants. Special attention, of course, had to be given to the training of officers. British and French officers were lent to the United States to perform on a large scale the work of Baron von Steuben and the other drillmasters during the Revolution. Before the end of the war even the colleges were turned into elementary training schools for officers.

Controlling the nation's resources for war. 1. The Council for National Defense. The most difficult task of all was to secure a supply of provisions, clothing, and munitions. The United States had been furnishing about all it could of such supplies to the Allies. Now the rival bidding between foreign agents and representatives of the United States produced confusion indescribable. The centralization of purchases and the co-ordination of production were slowly worked out by the

members of the Council of National Defense. Subcommittees and boards almost without number marshaled the industries and the resources that war called for. State and city councils of defense co-ordinated the producers and the National Council.

2. The War Industries Board. One of the committees of the Council became in time the War Industries Board. It assigned raw materials to manufacturers and regulated the delivery of the finished products to the Army and Navy, to the Allies, and to the people of the United States. It fixed prices, worked out ways of economizing materials and labor, and hastened production.

3. The Shipping Board. The transport of troops to Europe was taken care of partly by the rapid construction of new ships under the direction of the Shipping Board, and partly by the use of British vessels diverted by England to this American service.

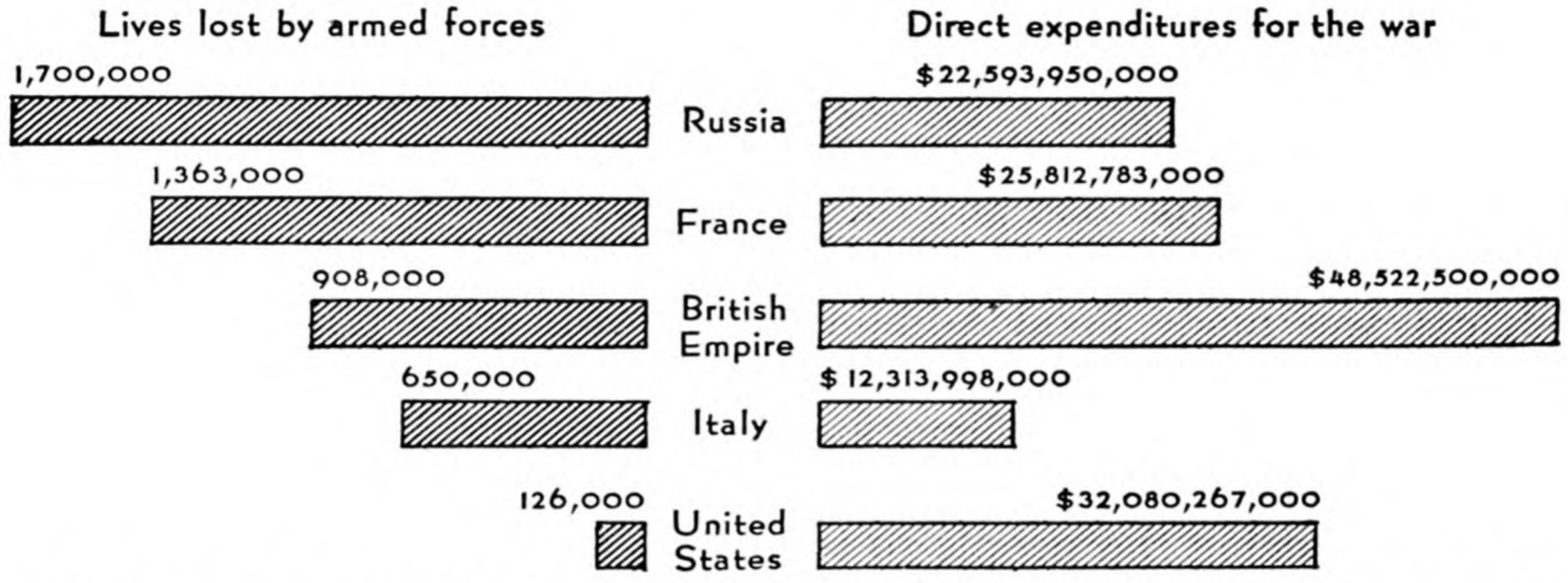
4. The control of food and fuel. Herbert Hoover, who had earned a remarkable reputation for his efficiency in organizing relief work in Belgium, was made Food Administrator, with great powers over the use of food products. Housewives were enlisted in the work of saving food, that the Allies might have a share. Similarly, a Fuel Administrator was charged with the duty of stimulating the miners to greater activity, of inducing the people to save coal, and of distributing coal in those places where it would best serve the needs of the nation. "Wheatless," "meatless," and "heatless" days became national customs. When Marshal Foch cabled to the United States, "If you don't keep up your petrol supply we shall lose the war," "gasless Sundays" were the response of the American motorists. In order to bring about proper co-ordination of the railroads, the government took charge of them and operated them as one line (pages 534–535).

5. Controlling opinion. The government undertook to mobilize opinion as well as men and materials. An unending stream of patriotic appeals poured forth from the government's printing presses, and especially from the Committee on Public Information, headed by George Creel. Seventy-five thousand volunteer four-minute speakers interrupted programs in theaters and motion-picture houses with appeals to support the war and to buy Liberty Bonds. The Committee on Public Information supplied the newspapers of the country with propaganda material, published pamphlets in different languages, prepared and distributed patriotic posters. An Espionage Act of June, 1917, and a Sedition Act of 1918 (more drastic than the laws of 1798) gave the government extraordinary power to punish those who might criticize any of its actions. Several people were arrested under these laws, notably Eugene V. Debs, four times a Socialist candidate for President.

The ablest molder of opinion was Wilson himself, who thrilled the people with the idea that the war was a crusade for democracy, a war to end wars, secret alliances, injustice, and oppression. The war fervor

inspired by Wilson spread through the world, and he began to be regarded everywhere as the spokesman for a just peace, a better and brighter world. Wilson's unusual gift of expression and the high idealism with which he inspired and encouraged the peoples of the world were a powerful factor in bringing about Germany's final surrender. Having scaled the heights, the collapse of Wilson's idealism was all the more tragic for a sadly disillusioned world.

6. Financing the war. The cost of the war was burdensome, but small in comparison with the cost of World War II, twenty years later. About two-thirds of the total cost was obtained by floating five popular



THE COST OF WORLD WAR I TO THE UNITED STATES AND FOUR OF THE ALLIES

war loans (four Liberty Loans and one Victory Loan), which brought in about $21,000,000,000. Bonds were as small as $50.00; and nearly every worker in America "did his bit" by subscribing to the government issues. About $11,000,000,000 was raised by taxation; taxes on incomes and inheritances were increased; and nearly every luxury bore a special excise tax. Of the money collected, about $10,500,000,000 was lent to the nations "associated" in the war with the United States. The money thus lent was spent in America to buy needed supplies. Prices skyrocketed, and huge profits flowed into the coffers of industry and agriculture.

7. A nation in arms. One of the most heartening aspects of the war was the teamwork of the American people. Laborers and capitalists, men, women, and children felt themselves a part of the war. Holidays were forgotten. There was an enthusiasm in work which increased the amount each one accomplished by 10, 15, or 20 per cent over that of other times. It was the people's war, and the people felt that they must win it. The President said: "It is not an army that we must shape and train for war — it is a nation."

The General Staff prepared for a war of three years, at least, and also for America's active military operations in Europe. The British and French missions which arrived in the United States in May, 1917, urged active and immediate participation, because the Allied situation

was desperate. It was decided to send a small expedition of regular Army troops to France at once, under command of General John J. Pershing. Later Pershing took command of all American troops in Europe. In June the first troops, about 12,000 in number, arrived in France, where they were trained for the new conditions of warfare.

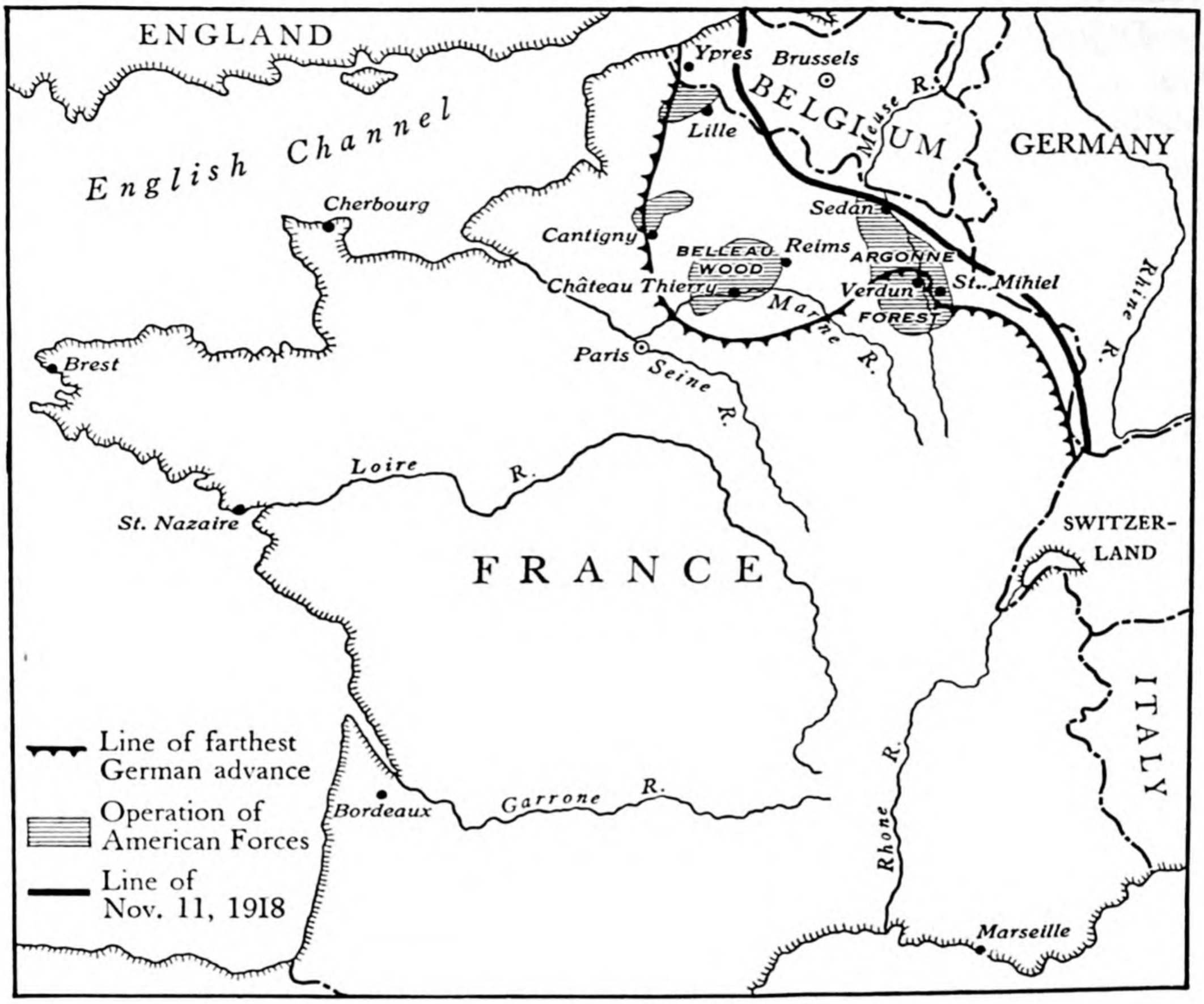
Difficulties of the Allies. When Pershing arrived in France, the war was in the stalemate that had prevailed for nearly three years. A double line of trenches from the English Channel to the Swiss Alps separated the armies of the Central Powers and the Allies on the western front. For the Allies, 1917 was another year of discouragement. The failure of their offensive, for which they had paid a terrible price in lives and material, the collapse of the Italian line before a German offensive, and finally the withdrawal from the eastern front of the Russian lines were grounds enough for despair. The year that had opened with the glad news of American entrance into the war closed in gloom.

American troops rushed to France. Although American military authorities had at first planned not to attempt large-scale operations in Europe until 1919, the need seemed too urgent to wait. On December 2, 1917, General Pershing cabled that "the Allies are very weak and we must come to their relief this year, 1918. The year after we may be too late. It is very doubtful if they can hold on until 1919 unless we give them a lot of support this year." From that date the United States hastened the shipment of men. In four months, May, June, July, and August, 1918, more than a million men were landed in Europe.

The German offensive of March, 1918. With fresh troops released from the eastern front by Russia's collapse, the Germans were ready for an offensive in the early spring. They had available an army of two hundred divisions, while the Allies had one hundred sixty-two. It was Germany's opportunity and the Germans knew it. They hoped to end the war before America arrived in force. A year had passed since the declaration of war, and the United States had given the Allies little more assistance than it would have given as a neutral. In March, 1918, the German armies attacked the British line at the point of its junction with the French in front of St. Quentin. For eight days the Germans swept the British backward, their line broken. People fled from Paris, expecting the coming of the Germans. "Defeat," says Pershing, "stared them in the face." At last the Allies accepted the centralization of the military command; General Ferdinand Foch was made commander in chief of their armies, including that of the United States. The gains of the Germans stimulated the United States to send new troops to France at a faster rate than ever.

America's active part in 1918. 1. Château-Thierry and Belleau Wood. The German offensive was successfully continued throughout April and May. When, in June and July, it was finally stopped along the Marne river, within fifty miles of Paris, newly arrived American

troops played an important part in turning the tide, notably in the battles near Belleau Wood and Château-Thierry. Having checked the German advance, Foch, on July 18 launched a counteroffensive which continued until the end came.



AMERICAN OPERATIONS ON THE WESTERN FRONT IN WORLD WAR I

2. St. Mihiel. On September 12 an American army attacked the Germans at St. Mihiel and in a two days' battle drove them back from a wedge-like salient which they had held in French territory since the beginning of the war. Seventy French villages were freed from German occupation. This was a forerunner of a greater achievement. Foch's plans called for a general offensive through the Argonne Forest.

3. The Argonne. On September 26 the attack began. The story is not of the operations of one or two armies but of many, the achievements of each benefiting the others. In five weeks of continuous fighting the American army advanced step by step through the Argonne. as the French and British in other places made similar progress. On November 1 the German line broke in the Argonne, and soon afterwards the Americans took the heights about Sedan, the goal set for 1919. By their position about Sedan the Allies held the narrow neck

of the bottle. British and French armies were driving the defeated German armies toward the neck when the end came.

The Armistice, November 11, 1918. Turkey, Bulgaria, and Austria-Hungary had already withdrawn from the war. Revolution was threatened in Germany. And now the German high command faced a great military disaster. To avoid this, they accepted the terms the Allies offered, and on November 11, World War I came to an end.

PRESIDENT WILSON STRUGGLES, BUT FAILS, TO SECURE A JUST PEACE

The war as a crusade to enforce peace. In some respects the government and people of the United States were in a better position than the European countries to plan for peace. They had not been so fully absorbed with the problem of saving themselves from conquest. The war, therefore, had not made them so bitter. The President had been considering terms of peace before the United States entered the war. In this respect he was not alone. In Great Britain, France, and the United States, societies had been formed to save mankind from another such war.

Early in the war a conference of three hundred representative men from different pursuits met in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and founded an organization to work for a League of Nations to Enforce Peace. Former President William H. Taft became its head. Its membership was large and was drawn from all political parties. In September, 1914, Theodore Roosevelt wrote an article for the *Outlook* on the lessons to be drawn from the war, and the final one was the need for "a world agreement" to "establish an efficient World League for the Peace of Righteousness." This project, so widely discussed and ably supported, Wilson made the keystone of his foreign policy.

Wilson's Fourteen Points. Toward the end of 1917 there was much talk of peace. The Bolshevik government of Russia made peace upon Germany's terms. Lloyd George stated specifically the terms of the Allies. It was a fitting time for Wilson to speak. He might thereby guide the powers to a just peace, and in the process restrain the Germans from following their own war lords through another campaign. Accordingly, on January 8, 1918, Wilson addressed Congress on the "War Aims and Peace Terms of the United States." These were summarized in fourteen points.

The first five of the Fourteen Points were an appeal to the war-weary people of Germany. If they were adopted, (1) secret alliances would cease, (2) the seas would be free from domination by any power, (3) trade barriers would be removed, (4) the burden of armaments would be lessened, and (5) colonial claims would be impartially adjusted. The German fear of British navalism and the economic boycotts threat-



International News Photos

Members of the American Expeditionary Force wave good-bye from the troopship *Mt. Vernon* as they leave for France in 1918.



Courtesy United States Army Signal Corps

Front-line soldiers in World War I lived and fought in trenches for added protection from the enemy. The trenches varied in size and construction and at best were very uncomfortable.



Brown Brothers

Woodrow Wilson, accompanied by newspaperman Ray Stannard Baker, leaves his hotel in Paris to attend a meeting of the Paris Peace Conference.

ened by the Allies would vanish. Might they not even recover some of their colonies? Eight of the points dealt with the problems of territorial adjustment. (6) Belgium would be restored, (7) Russia evacuated, (8) Alsace-Lorraine returned to France, (9–12) territorial adjustments in Italy, Poland, the Balkans, and Turkey would be along clearly recognized lines of nationality, and (13) the people of Hungary would be given autonomous development. The final point (14) was Wilson's new world policy, the keystone of the whole: "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purposes of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

German acceptance of the Fourteen Points. As soon as the German government saw that the advance on Sedan threatened its armies with utter ruin, it turned to Wilson's terms of peace with the hope of escaping from harsher ones from the Allies. In the armistice agreement the Fourteen Points, except the one regarding the "freedom of the seas," to which the British objected, became the principles upon which a final peace treaty was to be based. At the same time, the Allies obtained President Wilson's approval of a point of their own; namely, that "compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, sea, and by the air." With these very general understandings the war ceased. It remained for a Peace Conference to fit the program to the conditions of Europe.

Difficulties in the way of a just peace. 1. Secret treaties. The Peace Conference was summoned to meet in Paris on January 18, 1919. Delegates from thirty countries involved in the World War were invited. Would it be possible for such a body to carry out the Wilson program in the spirit in which it was framed? The loopholes were many, for the Fourteen Points were broad principles of peace and not its details. Probably the greatest obstacle in the way of their execution was the fact that the European Powers, by a series of secret treaties, had made bargains with one another as to how they would divide the spoils. The ideals and spirit of the "secret treaties" and the ideals and spirit of Wilson, which had buoyed the peoples of the world, were poles apart. Could they be reconciled?

2. Politics. The elections in the United States and Great Britain toward the close of 1918 weakened Wilson's influence. During the war, the political parties had dropped their differences so that their government might have the strength of a united people. Now that the crisis of war was past, Democrats and Republicans abandoned the truce and began to spar for partisan advantage. Wilson weakened his own influence, when, before the war was ended, he appealed to the people to elect a Democratic Congress. Whether or not the implication of this appeal, that the Republicans had not supported the war, was the deci-



TERRITORIAL CHANGES IN EUROPE, 1918–1923

sive factor influencing the elections of November, 1918, a Republican Congress was elected. Opposition from the Republicans was intensified when the President failed to give them adequate representation on the commission to draft the treaty of peace with Germany. In Great Britain a Parliament was chosen pledged to support Lloyd George's promise to make Germany pay to the limit of her ability. It was an ominous prospect. The American President was no longer able to say he represented the will of the majority of his countrymen. The British prime minister was committed to the impossible program of leniency by promises to Wilson and of severity by promises to his own people.

The Big Four. For five months, from January until June, 1919, the prime ministers of Great Britain, France, Italy — Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando — and the President of the United States worked as a peace congress never worked before. Their associates and a multitude of experts of all ranks and degrees of ability assisted with details. But it was chiefly a Peace Conference of the Big Four. And among the four it was more often than not a battle of three against Wilson on the interpretation of his principles.

Conflicting ambitions. A "just peace" was, after all, in many cases a matter of opinion. The French and the Belgians thought it "simple justice" that Germany pay the cost of the war. The Italians regarded the possession of Fiume, and the Japanese the acquisition of the German possessions in the Far East, as "just." Some of the decisions of the Conference were plainly violations of the Fourteen Points. The most difficult problem — that of the compensation to be given the Allies for damages to the properties of their citizens — could not be settled, and was committed to an Inter-Allied Commission to fix at a future date.

The League of Nations. In one respect Wilson's achievement was complete. He was allowed to have his main point, the League of Nations, embodied in the treaty of peace. Doubtless some who consented thought it convenient to postpone the solution of points like disarmament, the freedom of the seas, and the removal of economic barriers by referring them to the future deliberations of a league of nations. Many other questions that could not then be settled were referred to it. Thus the Covenant of the League of Nations became inseparably tied up with the terms and conditions of peace. The Peace Conference, for example, disarmed Germany; plans for disarming the victors were left to the League to prepare. The Austro-Hungarian empire was broken up, and Austria and Hungary were recognized as independent states. The difficult question of whether they might ever reunite or join another state was left for the League to decide.

The making of the Covenant. A special committee of the Peace Conference, composed of its warmest advocates, was assigned the task of writing the constitution of the League, the "Covenant," as Wilson preferred to call it. The League represented the hope of Wilson and

war-weary peoples everywhere that a new order of international justice had been established. In the bargaining at the Peace Conference, Wilson was forced to sacrifice many of his ideals in the specific clauses of the treaty. He reconciled himself to the surrender of these ideals with the thought that the League of Nations would be able to "right these wrongs" as time passed (pages 739–744).

Senate rejection of the Peace Treaty. The President, who had guided his countrymen through the war, submitted the work of the Peace Conference for the approval of the Senate. But the issue was confused by bitter personal hatreds. In September, 1919, the President went on a long, exhausting journey to the Pacific coast and back to carry the issue to the people and thus win popular support for the treaty. He was stricken with a serious illness, from which he never recovered sufficiently to carry on the struggle. While he was ill, the Senate voted to reject the treaty of peace (March, 1920, pages 536–538).

The beginning of a new era. The making of a peace treaty could not bring to an end the momentous issues created by four years of devastating war. The war disturbed old traditions; it shook the very foundations of society. So tremendous was the upheaval that the world could not soon recover. The struggle to find security and peace collapsed with the outbreak of another war in September, 1939.

Words and Phrases

Argonne, armistice, Belleau Wood, belligerent, Château-Thierry, Fourteen Points, *Lusitania*, open covenants, overt act, secret diplomacy, Selective Service Acts, St. Mihiel, *Sussex* pledge, Triple Alliance, Triple Entente, visit and search, Zimmermann note

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What is meant by the "balance of power"?
2. Why does a war between two powerful nations seriously affect neutrals?
3. Discuss fully the meaning of the statements, "Necessity knows no law" and "Might makes right."
4. How did Wilson try to keep the United States neutral on the outbreak of World War I? What causes of complaint against Great Britain did we have in the early months of the war?
5. Should the United States have gone to war with Germany after the sinking of the *Lusitania*?
6. Discuss the soundness of Wilson's declaration, "Only a peace between equals can last."
7. Why did the United States go to war with Germany?
8. Discuss Wilson's theory that World War I was a war to make the world safe for democracy.
9. Discuss the services of Wilson and the United States to the Allied cause.
10. What are the implications to Wilson's appeal to the people to elect a Democratic Congress in 1918?

11. Why was the Covenant of the League of Nations linked with the conditions of peace? Was this a wise policy?
12. How did the United States secure money to finance the war?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Compare the problems involving the rights of neutrals in the periods 1793–1812, 1861–1865, 1914–1917, and 1939–1941. (Review pages 151–158, 182–186, 340–341, 710–712, 716–721, 763–769).
2. Compare the policies of the federal government during the War between the States, World War I, and World War II with regard to each of the following: recruiting, procuring needed supplies, financing the war, treatment of veterans.
3. Does modern war justify (a) the suppression of news; (b) the arrest of those who criticize the government; (c) the spread of stories – true or false – to arouse the people to a frenzy of hate; (d) the conscription of men, of money; (e) price-fixing; (f) government control of private businesses – of transportation, of agriculture, of manufacturing, of retail stores?
4. Some have said that the chief reason for the United States entering the war was to safeguard American loans to the Allies; that is, American bankers had lent to England and her allies large sums of money which would be endangered if Germany won the war. As a special project, prepare a brief in defense or criticism of this theory.
5. Contrary to the theory mentioned in question 4, it has been suggested that the timing of events in 1917 was decisive of the outcome of the war. Had the Russian Revolution been a few weeks earlier, or the announcement of submarine warfare delayed a few weeks, America would not have entered the war. Discuss this theory and compare with question 4.
6. According to Bismarck, "Public opinion is the great enemy of efficient diplomacy." Compare this opinion with one of Wilson's Fourteen Points: "Open covenants openly arrived at." Give examples to illustrate the strength or weakness of these concepts of diplomacy.
7. Compare the type of propaganda used to influence American opinion (1914–18) with the propaganda concerning neutrality legislation in 1937, the Civil War in Spain 1937–38, isolation *vs.* collective security, conditions in the period 1939–41?
8. How may World War I be said to have marked the close of one era and the beginning of a new era?

Suggested Reading

NEUTRALITY: Bailey, pp. 610–646; Beard and Beard, II, 609–633; Bemis, pp. 584–599; Bradley, Phillips, ed., *Isolationism Reconsidered;* Buchan, *The Great War*, pp. 7–50; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 412–419; Hart, V, 544–547, 695–701, 711–715; Schlesinger, pp. 265–271; Commager, Nos. 400, 405, 408, 409 – Violations of the rights of neutrals.

CAUSES OF THE WAR: Bemis, pp. 600–610; Buchan, *The Great War*, pp. 51–80; Fay, *Origins of the World War*, I, 1–49; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 425–432; Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900–1950*, pp. 55–73; Schlesinger, pp. 271–277; Commager, Nos. 416, 417, 418 – Events leading to the War.

CONDUCT OF THE WAR: Bassett, *Makers of a New Nation* (Pageant), Chap. XII; Beard and Beard, II, 635–654; Faulkner, pp. 584–609; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 432–448; Hart, V, 286–289, 719–743, 757–761, 765–769, 775–801, 804–807; Hayes, *Brief History of the Great War*, pp. 201–224; Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, pp. 655–667; Schlesinger, pp. 277–289; Wood and Gabriel, *In Defense of Liberty* (Pageant), Chaps. XII–XVII.

TREATY OF PEACE: Bailey, pp. 648–680; Beard and Beard, II, 654–662; Bemis, pp. 611–666; Fay, *Origins of the World War*, II, 547–558; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 448–456; Hart, V, 808–823; Schlesinger, pp. 294–305; Commager, Nos. 423, 435, 436 – The Fourteen Points and the League of Nations.

CHAPTER FORTY-FIVE

The Search for Peace, 1919–1939

THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN INTERESTED IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The United States and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Throughout its history the United States has given the world a splendid example of a readiness to solve international disputes by peaceful means. Washington employed the method of negotiation and arbitration in settling our difficulties with England when he urged the Senate to ratify the Jay Treaty. Another important illustration is the settlement of the famous *Alabama* Claims dispute by the Treaty of Washington (1871), which turned the question over to an arbitration commission. Another example is the story of the relations between the United States and Canada. Between these countries are three thousand miles of undefended border – a result of the Rush-Bagot Convention of 1817. The Oregon boundary, the Maine boundary, the Alaskan boundary, and the Newfoundland fisheries disputes are illustrations of quarrels that have been solved without recourse to war.

The Hague Peace Conferences. In 1897 the Czar of Russia, influenced by the heavy tax burdens imposed by armaments, invited the nations of the world to discuss the limitation of armaments and the question of peace. The result was the first Hague Conference, 1899, which may be taken as the beginning of the modern peace movement. The Conference revealed that the nations were reluctant to reduce armaments and sought to rely upon individual preparedness as the best guarantee of peace. The chief accomplishment of this Conference was to organize the Hague Court of Arbitration.

President Theodore Roosevelt took the lead in urging the second Hague Conference, 1907, although the honor of calling it was left to the Czar. The American delegation was instructed by President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Root to work for the development of "a permanent tribunal composed of judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who are devoting their entire time to the trial and decision of international cases by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility." The Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration, as first established in 1899 and improved by the second Hague Conference, fell short of this ideal. The Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration is not,

properly speaking, a court. It is a list, or panel, of judges, named by the several countries, from which a special court of arbitration may be selected by the parties to a dispute. Furthermore, the Hague Court is particularly a court of arbitration, not of justice; that is, the special courts that may be summoned to solve a dispute need not necessarily be guided by principles of law, but may resort to compromise. The United States and Mexico were the first nations to submit a case to the Court. The Hague Conferences failed in their major purpose of bringing about a reduction in armaments. The second Conference did lead, however, to a codification of international law and to resolutions providing for the more humane conduct of war. The second Conference also gave approval to the Drago Doctrine, so called because sponsored by Louis Drago, Foreign Minister of Argentina, who first advanced the Doctrine when the United States was forcibly collecting debts in the Caribbean. The Drago Doctrine, as formulated at the Hague Conference and endorsed by the United States, declared that "the contracting powers agree not to have recourse to arms for the recovery of contract debts claimed from the government of another country as being due to its nationals" except when an offer of arbitration is refused (pages 675–678, 693).

The peace movement. The Hague Peace Conferences stirred the enthusiasm of many publicists. For the promotion of the ideal of international peace has not been the exclusive concern of statesmen. It attracted many reformers in the 1820's, 1830's, and 1840's, and has had a considerably wider appeal in more recent times. The movement received a great impetus in the twenty years immediately preceding World War I. Numerous works on the problems and difficulties of world peace were published. Andrew Carnegie, devoting much of his fortune to the promotion of peace, built the Hague Peace Palace in Holland, the Pan-American Building in Washington, and financed the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Edwin Ginn contributed a million dollars to establish the World Peace Foundation, which for more than thirty years has been carrying on educational work for peace. In France the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant labored to promote peace; in Sweden the will of the Swedish chemist, Nobel, established a series of prizes to be awarded those who had contributed to world peace. Many other thinkers throughout the world have joined in efforts to promote peace.

Treaties of arbitration and conciliation for the peaceful settlement of disputes. By *arbitration* is meant the submission of a dispute for settlement to disinterested parties. The arbitration committee makes an award which binds in honor the parties agreeing to arbitrate. By *conciliation* is meant the reference of the dispute to a committee which makes suggestions, usually in the nature of mutual compromises. The parties to the dispute may accept these compromises or not as they see

fit. Conciliation is suitable for the handling of *political* or *non-justiciable* disputes. Arbitration is a convenient method of approach to *legal*, or justiciable, disputes. By *good offices* or *mediation* is meant the friendly intervention of a third power in the hope that the opposing claims of disputants may be amicably reconciled.

The International Conferences of American States promoted arbitration as a method of settling disputes among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Secretary Hay negotiated treaties of arbitration with several countries to submit disputes to the Hague Tribunal. Senate reservations prevented these treaties from going into effect; but Secretary Root, in 1907 and 1908, concluded twenty-five arbitration treaties which provided for submission to the Hague Court of disputes of a legal nature which did not "affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting states."

With such broad exceptions almost any dispute could be kept from arbitration, but it was a beginning, and arbitration gained prestige. Secretary Bryan, early in Wilson's administration, negotiated a series of *conciliation treaties*. While the Root arbitration treaties referred to legal questions, the Bryan conciliation treaties sought a peaceful solution for the settlement of political questions. These treaties provided for a "cooling off" period of one year during which a conciliation commission would investigate and report, while the parties to the treaty agreed not to declare war or begin hostilities. These arbitration and conciliation treaties, insofar as they involved nations of the Western Hemisphere, have since been replaced, respectively, by a multilateral Inter-American Arbitration Treaty (1929) and multilateral Inter-American Conciliation Treaties (pages 692–693).

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS WAS THE GREAT HOPE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

In the darkest days of World War I, the most powerful thought stirring the hearts of men was the belief that the conflict was a "war to end war." Woodrow Wilson envisioned an association of nations (League of Nations), which he believed would substitute collective security for international anarchy and prepare the way for a lasting peace.

Objects of the League. The Covenant, or constitution, of the League of Nations is the first part of the Treaty of Versailles. The preamble to the Covenant stated:

> The High Contracting Parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security (1) by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, (2) by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, (3) by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and (4) by the mainte-

nance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

Membership and organization. Membership in the League was open to any fully self-governing state, dominion, or colony on a two-thirds vote of the Assembly; any member might withdraw after two years' notice of its intention to do so. Forty-two nations became members of the League in 1919; subsequently, sixty-three nations were members of the League. The most important nonmember was the United States. Germany and Japan resigned in 1933 and Italy in 1937.

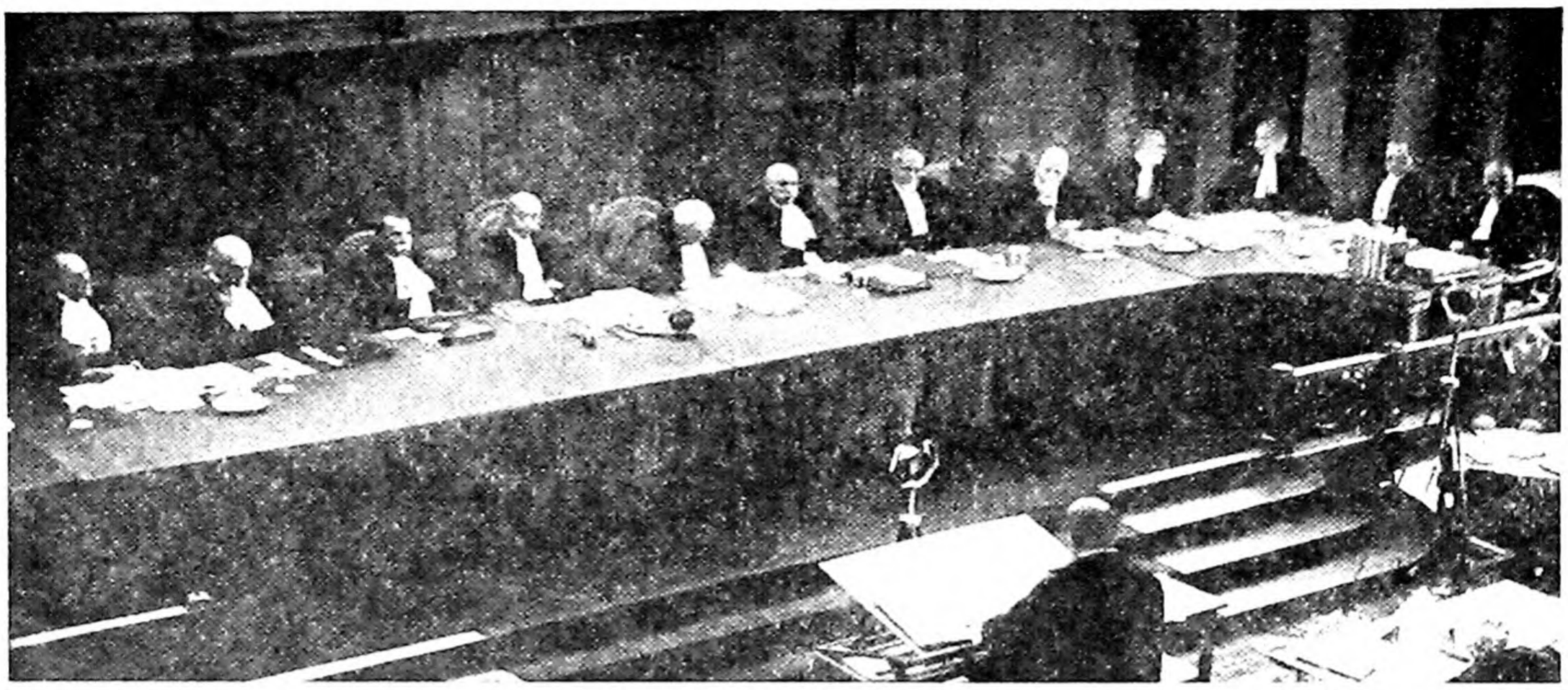
The League functioned through an Assembly, a Council, and a Secretariat. In addition to these bodies, the League created several commissions and advisory bodies and two important autonomous organizations — the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labor Organization.

The Assembly consisted of representatives of member states, each being entitled to one vote. The Assembly could not decide any question of importance without a unanimous vote. The Assembly met annually at Geneva, Switzerland, the seat of the League.

The Council, a smaller group than the Assembly, was more flexible and met more often. The make-up of the Council was changed several times. In 1937 it consisted of twelve member states, four of which — England, France, Russia, and Italy — were "permanent" members of the Council. The nonpermanent members were chosen by the Assembly for periods of three years. The Council held three stated meetings a year, in January, May, and September, but it could be summoned at any time. Except in an emergency the decisions of the Council had to have the approval of the Assembly.

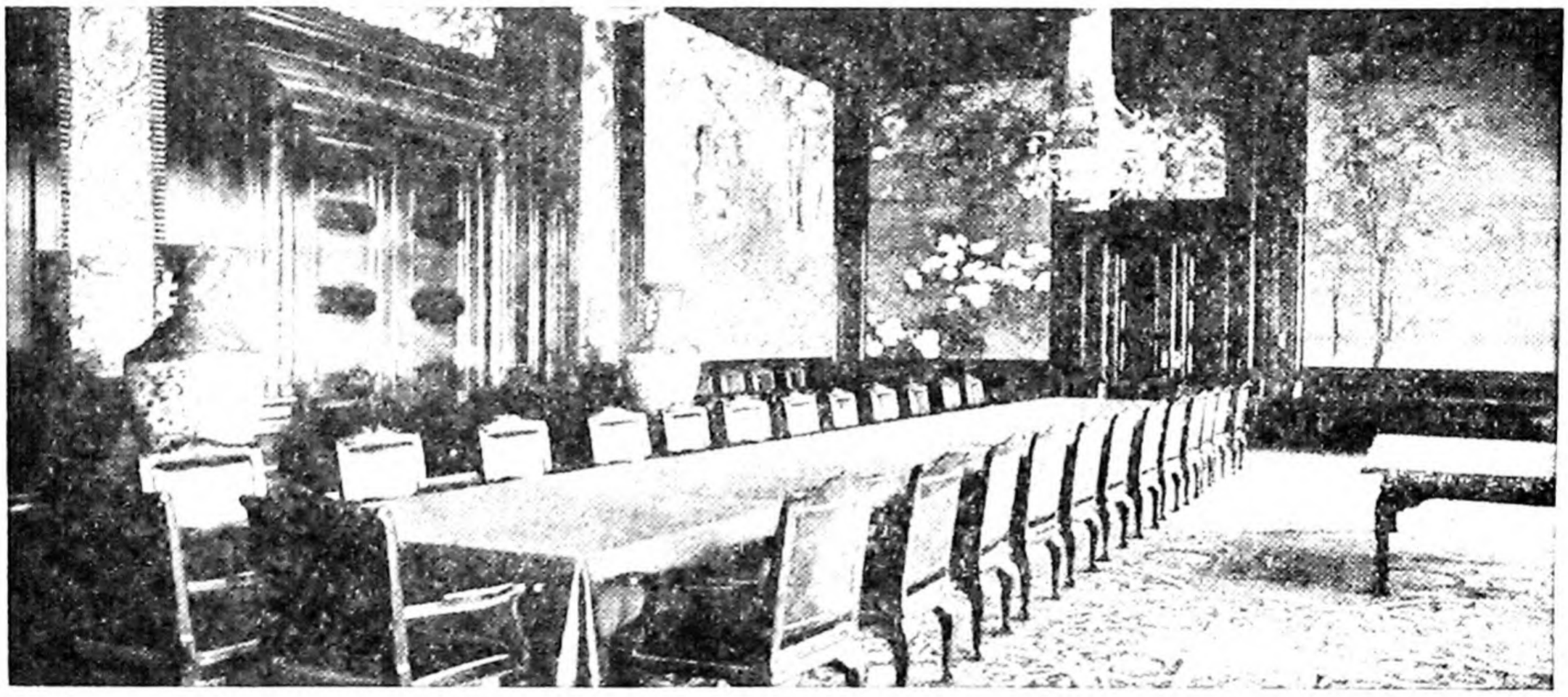
The Secretariat was the League's administrative, or civil service, staff of paid employees. Consisting of several hundred full-time workers, it was headed by a secretary-general. The Secretariat was divided into several sections; such as, economic and financial, transit, mandates, disarmament, and health. It collected information for the numerous committees of the League. It published valuable reports on many international problems, treaties, and statistics on armaments. It helped statesmen throughout the world to obtain a better understanding of the problems of other nations. In spite of the failure of the League, the work of the League Secretariat was invaluable.

Obligations of members of the League. Among the obligations of the members of the League were the following: (1) "To respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." (Article X, which Wilson called the "heart of the League.") (2) To submit disputes "to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Coun-



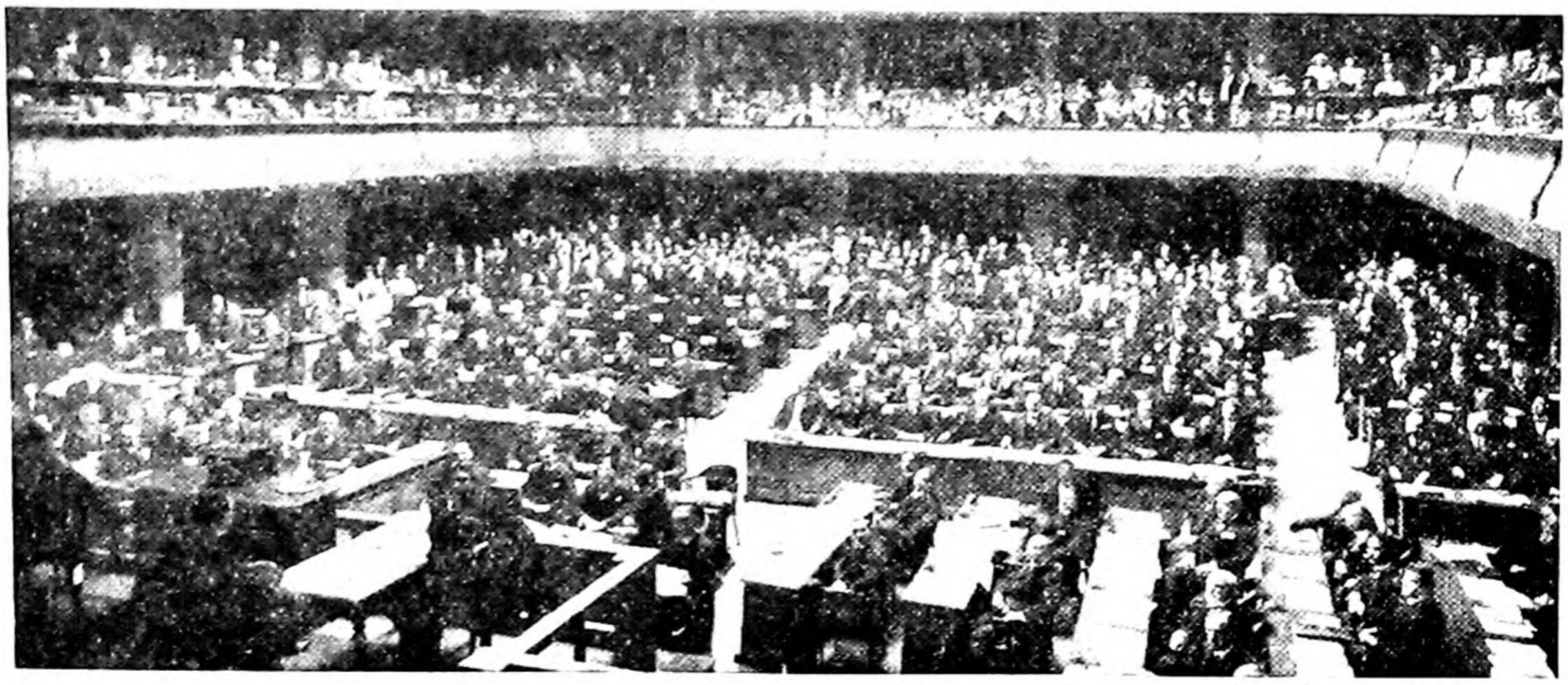
Keystone View Company

The World Court holds its sessions in The Hague Peace Palace in the Netherlands.



Ewing Galloway

The Peace Palace at The Hague (the main conference room is shown above) is a manifestation of the earnestness of those who tried to promote international peace.



Ewing Galloway

The Assembly of the League of Nations held its meetings at Geneva, Switzerland. Fifty-two nations were represented at the above meeting.

cil." (3) To submit to the League for registration and publication every treaty entered into. (4) To agree to keep within the scale of armaments which the League might set up, but only when the nation itself agreed to the limitation; that is, the League could not fix the size of armaments except through multilateral treaties. (5) To co-operate with the League in preventing the spread of disease, in controlling the traffic in opium, and in promoting humane labor conditions. (6) To sever all trade or financial relations with those nations who fail to live up to their obligations.

The prevention of war. Probably the two most important questions that can be asked about the League are: (1) What could it do to avoid a war? (2) If one of the nations to the dispute refused either to accept the jurisdiction of the League or to obey its decision, what then?

1. Elimination of the causes of war. The League promised to remove many of the causes of war — excessive armaments, secret treaties, economic friction, colonial rivalry. Furthermore, the League members agreed to respect one another's territorial integrity and political independence and to submit disputes to arbitration, to judicial settlement, or to inquiry by the Council. League members also agreed to abide by the terms of settlement. The machinery set up for the settlement of disputes proved very satisfactory in every case in which both sides honestly wanted a fair and peaceful adjustment of their differences. A number of disputes were peaceably settled by the League during the 1920's. The machinery broke down, however, when one of the parties to the dispute was not willing to accept a fair settlement.

2. Provision for sanctions. The answer to the second question is contained in Article XVI of the Covenant. This section outlined the means which might be used to bring pressure on a nation not willing to accept a peaceful settlement of a dispute. Members of the League were to break off trade or financial relations with the member which did not comply with its obligations. They also agreed to prevent "all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state whether a member of the League or not. It shall be the duty of the Council to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League." (Article XVI, Clause 2.) If the member nations did not live up to their obligations, the League was bound to fail in preventing war.

The League in eclipse. What if a powerful nation should break its promises to permit the peaceful settlements of disputes? The Sino-Japanese crises of 1931–33 and 1937–38 (pages 708–711) and the Italian-Ethiopian crisis of 1935–36 illustrate the failure of the League to function as expected. The Italian-Ethiopian crisis revealed the difficulty involved in applying sanctions.

Fifty nations did accept the League's recommended boycott of Italy; but it was a partial boycott, and did not include certain essential war materials, such as oil and gasoline. Furthermore, Germany and the United States supplied Italy with large quantities of war materials. President Roosevelt placed an embargo on the shipment of arms, but as Secretary of State Hull complained, "commodities such as oil, copper, trucks, tractors, scrap iron and scrap steel" were being sent to Italy in increased quantities. In 1934 our exports to Italy averaged about $25,000 monthly, but for the month of November, 1935, they amounted to $600,000. Mr. Hull made appeals to Americans not to send supplies to Italy, but since the government did not establish an absolute embargo, business sought profits wherever it could find them.

The failure of the League's efforts in the case of Japan and Italy caused many of its friends to argue that the League should give up all attempts to apply sanctions; they claimed that the League could be effective only when an aroused public opinion supported its ideals. But the growth of dictatorships, with censorship of the press, made it impossible for an aroused public opinion to be felt. Thus, although the world condemned Japan and severely criticized Italy, the peoples of those countries knew little of how the outside world regarded their actions. By means of propaganda and censorship Italians and Japanese were apparently convinced of the righteousness of their actions. Here, then, was a great stumbling block to the effectiveness of the League. It is also doubtful if the peoples of other nations were willing to risk the possibility of war to prevent Japanese aggression in China or Italian aggression in Africa. In the light of what happened later, we can see that the failure to check Japanese and Italian aggression exposed the weakness of the League and led directly to World War II.

The United States and the League. 1. Safeguarding the Monroe Doctrine. To meet some of the criticism directed against the League while it was being formed, President Wilson succeeded in securing the insertion in the Covenant of a provision (Article XXI) to the effect that nothing in it would be interpreted as invalidating "regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine." (Pages 690–692).

2. Senate objections to the League. When the Treaty of Versailles, containing the Covenant of the League, was submitted to the Senate for ratification, both were subjected to one of the most prolonged debates in the history of the Senate.

The chief objections may be summarized as follows: (1) Membership in the League would mean loss of national sovereignty and independence. (2) The United States might be compelled to use its armed forces because of the decisions of the Council of the League, and not by a vote of Congress as the Constitution requires. (3) The League might interfere with purely domestic questions — immigration, the tariff, naturalization. (4) Membership in the League would be a de-

parture from the traditional policy of isolation and would embroil the United States in the quarrels of Europe. (5) The provision that self-governing dominions were entitled to membership would furnish the British Empire a preponderant power. It was alleged that Great Britain, for example, had six votes in the Assembly to one for the United States. The long debate prevented ratification, but there were enough votes in the Senate to secure ratification of the League with reservations. Wilson, however, stubbornly refused to accept those reservations, and the League went down to defeat.

American interest in the League activities. Although the United States refused to join the League of Nations, it co-operated with several League agencies, particularly those concerned with humanitarian work — the prevention of disease and the suppression of the opium traffic. In the fall of 1931 the United States was given representation on the Council of the League for the special purpose of co-operating in the discussion of Japanese aggression in Manchuria (pages 708–710). In 1932 the United States took part in a General Disarmament Conference under the auspices of the League. Individual Americans assisted the League in solving many problems. A League of Nations Association, with headquarters in New York, was organized to arouse American interest in the work of the League. But the growth of dictatorships and the resumption of an international armaments race made many Americans rejoice that the Senate had triumphed over Wilson in 1920. When war again swept over the world, however, many Americans began to wonder whether war might have been prevented had the United States placed its full strength behind the League from the beginning. During World War II the United States became one of the strongest advocates of a successor to the defunct League (pages 781, 783, 788).

CAN INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BE SETTLED BY JUDICIAL DECISION INSTEAD OF BY WAR?

The World Court. In the hope that a real World Court might be established, Article XIV of the Covenant of the League of Nations provided that the Council "shall submit to the members of the League, for adoption, plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly."

In accordance with this provision a constitution for the World Court (as the Permanent Court of International Justice is commonly called) was adopted in 1920 by the Assembly of the League. Within a year a large number of states had approved it, and in January, 1922, the Court held its first sessions.

The judges. The Court, which met at the Hague Peace Palace, consisted of fifteen judges, who acted in a *personal* capacity and not as representatives of their nations. The members of the Court were elected by the Assembly and by the Council of the League from a list of persons nominated by the national groups in the Hague Court of Arbitration. The term of office was nine years, and the judges were eligible for re-election. Among those who served as judges were four Americans — John Bassett Moore, Charles Evans Hughes, Frank B. Kellogg, and Manley O. Hudson.

Jurisdiction and achievements of the Court. Whether or not a case would come before the World Court depended, in general, upon the willingness of the nations involved to submit it. However, many nations agreed in advance to submit certain types of disputes. Thus, for these nations the World Court had *compulsory* jurisdiction for certain cases; for other nations its jurisdiction was *voluntary.*

Many believe that the Court justified the high hopes of its founders. As time passed, it settled many cases satisfactorily, and the decisions of the Court were slowly building up a well-organized body of international law, which, it was hoped, might be respected by all nations.

The United States and the World Court. Presidents Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt moved cautiously in urging American membership in the World Court. The hesitancy of the United States in joining it was probably due to the bitter debates over the League. A few senators were opposed to American membership in the World Court on any terms. They used the argument that it "was the 'back door' to the League." However, in 1926 the Senate voted adherence to the World Court with reservations. The World Court and its member nations were willing to accept the American reservations, with one exception — that the World Court should not give an advisory opinion on any matter in which the United States claimed to have an interest unless the United States gave its consent. Mr. Elihu Root, who had helped to draft the original constitution of the World Court, worked hard to find a way to overcome this difficulty. His proposal is known as the *Root Formula.* It provided that if the Assembly or Council of the League asked the Court for an advisory opinion, the United States should be given an opportunity to file objections. If the League should request the World Court for an advisory opinion in spite of American objections, the United States could withdraw from the Court "without any imputation of unfriendliness." Although the Senate reservations, including the Root formula, were now acceptable to the World Court and member nations, the Senate in 1930 rejected President Hoover's recommendation that the United States join the World Court. Again in 1935, when President Roosevelt submitted the proposal, the Senate voted down American membership in the World Court — fifty-two for, thirty-six against, seven votes short of the necessary two thirds.

WAR DEBTS AND REPARATIONS PLAGUE THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE

Refusal to cancel war debts. One of the most difficult problems after World War I was the question of war debts. During the war the United States lent to its "associates" several billions of dollars. After the war some European statesmen and many economists argued that the United States should cancel the war debts on the theory that it was America's contribution to a common cause. The American government, however, took the stand that the war debts were similar to a business transaction and must be paid. The homely words of President Coolidge — "They hired the money; didn't they?" — reflected the opinion of most Americans. The United States made lenient refunding arrangements with all the debtor nations by reducing considerably the rate of interest and providing for payments over a period of sixty-two years.

The relation of war debts and reparations. The Allies made the suggestion that the amount they paid to the United States should depend upon the amount they received from Germany by way of reparations. This proposition was rejected by the United States. But a close relation existed between the two problems, for the bulk of German reparation payments ultimately reached the United States.

German ability to pay. How could Germany pay reparations? Borrowing money or taxing its people would merely be temporary expedients. In the long run, Germany could pay reparations only by selling more goods and services than it bought. But each nation desired to encourage its own industries. There was a reluctance in the Allied countries during the first years after the war to buy German-made goods. Moreover, the war and the peace treaty left Germany crippled, with her industries so handicapped that it was necessary to buy more abroad than the nation could sell. The nations of the world erected high tariff walls, which made it difficult for Germany to sell goods abroad. Thus, it became increasingly difficult for Germany to obtain money with which to make payments.

Fixing the amount of German reparations. A Reparations Commission created by the Peace Conference fixed the total amount of German reparation at about $33,000,000,000. Germany protested that it could not pay that much. The French, in a futile effort to compel payment, marched an army into the Ruhr Valley, the "Pittsburgh district" of Germany, declaring they would run the coke furnaces and the steel mills for their own profit unless the Germans would pay. The resultant European tangle seemed to grow worse instead of better.

A new attitude was assumed in 1923, when a committee of experts (headed by the American, Charles G. Dawes) endeavored to determine how much Germany *could* pay. The so-called "Dawes Plan" was accepted by Germany and proved workable until 1929. At that time a

new committee (headed by Owen D. Young, also an American) made a new plan, fixing the total amount at about $30,000,000,000 and allowing Germany fifty-nine years in which to pay. (The Young Plan also created the Bank of International Settlements.) Germany's payments under these plans were made possible by heavy borrowing in foreign countries on the part of German corporations.

The Hoover moratorium of 1931. In general, the Young Plan was regarded as a definite settlement of the question of reparations, but the world-wide depression of 1929 brought the whole question to the forefront again. In 1931, on the suggestion of President Hoover, a one-year *moratorium* (or postponement) of reparation and debt payments was declared. When Congress convened in December, 1931, it ratified the moratorium, but several politicians used the opportunity to state their opposition to the cancellation of the war debts.

The Lausanne Accord, 1932. When the Hoover moratorium expired in 1932, Germany's ability to pay had not improved. The European Powers in conference at Lausanne (July, 1932) practically scrapped the Young Plan and the whole reparation problem by agreeing to accept $714,000,000, payable in bonds three years after the signing of the agreement. This sum, in final settlement of all reparation claims, was less than two annual payments under the Young Plan. But the European Powers declared that the final ratification of the Lausanne Accord depended upon the negotiation of satisfactory debt arrangements with the United States. This meant that if the United States would cancel the debts owed by Britain, France, Italy, and the other Allies, they in turn would cancel all but a tiny fraction of the bill for reparations.

European default on war-debt payments. The United States refused to approve this linking of war debts and reparation payments. The end of the moratorium year found the debtor nations asking for a revision of war debts, but the outgoing Hoover administration and the incoming Roosevelt administration failed to come to any satisfactory agreement with them. In December, 1932, England paid the amount due, while France and a few other nations deferred payment. In 1933 France and several nations again defaulted, while England and others made "token" payments of a small percentage of the amount due. President Roosevelt declared that he was ready to negotiate new funding arrangements with the debtor nations *separately* but not *collectively*. By 1934 all the debtor nations except Finland had defaulted. No serious attempts have been made since to settle the question of the war debts. Finland, alone of all the nations, continued to pay the amount due. Meanwhile, Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933 put an end to reparation payments.

The Johnson Act, 1934. The sorry outcome of this muddle undoubtedly held tremendous consequences for the future. Americans argued that if the European nations could find money to spend on armaments,

they could find money to pay their just debts. In 1934 Congress passed the Johnson Act, which prohibited "financial transactions with any foreign government in default in the payment of its obligations or any part thereof to the United States." This meant, of course, that loans could not be made to foreign countries to help revive American export trade. The Johnson Act, however, exempted corporations created by Congress, and an Export-Import Bank was chartered through which the government endeavored to help foreign trade.

This Debt Default Act was also interpreted as applying to Soviet Russia, which had been recognized by President Roosevelt in 1933 after he had received assurances that Russia would not spread communist propaganda, that American citizens in Russia would enjoy the same freedom of conscience and religious worship that they enjoy at home, and that negotiations would adjust the question of debts and claims between Russia and the United States. However, this question of debts was not adjusted. Under the Lend-Lease Act of 1941 about fifty billion dollars was lent to our allies.

THE NATIONS CONTINUE THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND SECURITY

The League of Nations and the World Court, despite their obvious failure, were extremely important developments for the modern world. They were the great experimental agencies fashioned to accomplish Wilson's ideal of collective security. But their failure illustrates that it is not sufficient simply to create instrumentalities for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Something more is needed. The problem of peace is intimately linked with that of security. Nations may agree to arbitrate or to disarm, but there always arises the question — what guarantee have they that the treaty will not be broken? There usually goes along with promises to avoid war some demand for adequate guarantees.

The Geneva Protocol. Many statesmen argued, therefore, that it would be necessary to solve the problem of security before they could accomplish much in persuading the nations to reduce armaments. The most ambitious proposal to give nations the security they demanded was the so-called Geneva Protocol, approved by the Assembly of the League in 1924. By this the nations were to agree to submit *disputes of all kinds* to settlement either by arbitration or by the World Court. Probably the most noteworthy accomplishment of the Geneva Protocol was the attempted definition of an aggressor, since no nation which resorts to war looks upon itself as an aggressor. The Geneva Protocol defined as an aggressor *any nation which refuses to submit a dispute to pacific settlement.* Each of the signatory states was to support the agreement by going to war against the aggressor, "in the degree which its geographical position and its particular situation as regards arma-

ments allow." England objected to the Geneva Protocol on the ground that because of her far-flung empire, it imposed too great a burden upon her. She suggested that regional security pacts be made instead.

The Locarno Agreements. As a result of England's protest, the Geneva Protocol did not go into effect. Its fundamental ideas bore fruit, however, in the Locarno Agreements of 1925, which applied the ideas of the Geneva Protocol to *special* danger zones. The fundamental principles of the seven Locarno treaties can be obtained by recounting one of them. France and Germany, for example, mutually promised that they would in "no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other." How was this promise guaranteed? Great Britain and Italy were the guarantors of this agreement, promising that they would come to the assistance of whichever nation happened to be attacked. The Locarno Agreements prepared the way for the admission of Germany into the League of Nations.

The Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact. On April 6, 1927, Aristide Briand, Foreign Minister of France, on the tenth anniversary of America's entry into World War I, suggested that France would be willing to enter into an agreement with the United States to outlaw war. The American Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, expressing sympathy with the idea, suggested that all of the nations might be willing to sign such a treaty. An exchange of notes between the leading nations led to an agreement, variously called the Kellogg Peace Pact, the Pact of Paris, or the Multilateral Treaty for the Renunciation of War.

The nations agreeing to the Pact of Paris condemned recourse to war as a means of settling disputes, and renounced war "as an instrument of national policy." They solemnly promised that they would always seek to find a peaceful solution of all disputes or conflicts.

While this treaty was originally signed by fifteen nations in Paris, August 27, 1928, all the nations of the world were invited to agree to it and most of them did so.

The weakness of the Kellogg Pact. The various notes exchanged among the nations who were parties to the treaty placed some limitations upon it. For example, it was understood that the treaty did not renounce recourse to (1) war in self-defense; (2) war against the nation that breaks the treaty; (3) war undertaken in the fulfillment of obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Locarno treaties, or treaties of neutrality. Significantly, the multilateral treaty did not attempt to answer the question — suppose some nation does resort to war, what then? To many, the silence of the treaty on this point was its greatest weakness; they pointed out that the treaty was no more than the expression of a pious hope. On the other hand, others regarded the Pact of Paris as the greatest single step in the advancement of peace since the establishment of the League of Nations. These friends of the treaty argued that permanent peace depends fundamen-

tally upon public opinion; that unless the peoples of the world compel their governments to live up to the ideal of peace, specific sanctions are of no more value than silence. But the treaty did not stand in the way of Japan's ambitions in China or of Italy's ambitions in Ethiopia. Thus, less than ten years after the treaty was hailed so enthusiastically, it was a dead letter except in the Western Hemisphere, where the ideas of the Kellogg Pact became the basis for multilateral treaties (pages 692–693).

FOR A TIME TREATIES LIMIT THE SIZE OF NAVIES, BUT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD AGAIN PREPARE FOR WAR

Because sovereign nations always seek security and are unwilling to leave themselves defenseless, slow progress was made in the effort to disarm or even to limit armaments.

The limitation of navies at the Washington Conference. In 1921 nine world powers were invited to a conference at Washington to discuss the limitation of navies and Far Eastern affairs (pages 706–707). The United States took the initiative in inducing the leading naval powers to agree to a curtailment of their navies. Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State and Chairman of the American delegation, astonished the delegates by boldly presenting a detailed plan for the scrapping of ships. In the Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty drafted at this conference, England, the United States, France, Japan, and Italy agreed to scrap a total of seventy *capital ships* "built or building"; there was, with minor exceptions, to be no new construction of capital ships until 1931. After 1931 the nations could undertake the replacement of capital ships, keeping within certain ratios. Because of the ratios thus fixed, the treaty is often referred to as the 5 : 5 : 3 treaty. (The *capital* ship tonnage allowed was: England 525,000, the United States 525,000; Japan 315,000, France 175,000, Italy 175,000, or a ratio of 5 : 5 : 3 : 1.67 : 1.67.)

The Geneva Conference, 1927. In the years following the Washington Conference, there was considerable rivalry among the nations in the building of *auxiliary* naval craft. President Coolidge, in the hope that the principles of the Washington Conference might be extended to all naval craft, issued a call for a naval conference at Geneva in 1927. Italy and France declined to take part, so that the Geneva Conference became a three-power conference of the United States, Japan, and England. This meeting revealed an apparently hopeless disagreement between England and the United States. The Conference was deadlocked, and adjourned without reaching an agreement.

Groups opposed to disarmament. A few years later it became known that a lobbyist, William B. Shearer, in the employ of three shipbuilding companies, had spread propaganda to bring about the failure of the Geneva Conference. Whether the activities of propagandists prevented an agreement it is impossible to say, but in this case we have

still another illustration of the conflicting interests involved in the solution of some of the major problems of governments.

Many persons believe that the failure of the Geneva Conference was partly due to the influence of naval experts who played an important part in the deliberations. In general, military and naval officials, as well as munitions manufacturers, advocate big armies and navies as the surest guarantors of peace.

The London Naval Conference. Another conference on naval limitation was held in London in 1930. It was generally agreed that England and the United States should have naval parity; that is, equality with regard to navies. For about forty years English naval policy had been dominated by the two-navy theory; namely, that the navy of England should equal in strength the combined forces of any other two navies. When the conference began, neither England nor the United States was prepared to lay down definite proposals such as Hughes had made at the Washington Conference. When it became impossible to reconcile the conflicting claims of France and Italy, and when England insisted upon the maintenance of her two-navy standard so far as European nations were concerned, a treaty was finally formulated to which only England, the United States, and Japan agreed. The essential features of the treaty were as follows:

(1) The naval holiday for the construction of capital ships was extended through 1936. (2) A clause in the treaty asserted that the "submarine must conform to the rules of international law to which surface vessels are subject." (3) England extended to the United States the principle of naval equality. (4) The ratio among England, the United States, and Japan was fixed at 10 : 10 : 7, instead of 5 : 5 : 3, for submarines, cruisers, and destroyers. The treaty was weakened by the insertion of a safeguarding clause, or "escalator clause." This clause permitted England, for example, to exceed the tonnage limits of the treaty if her national security was threatened by the naval building of powers who did not sign the treaty. The conference was a failure in that it did not reduce navies; instead it fixed ratios which allowed for further building. Incidentally, the treaty gave definite advantages to England and particularly to Japan. By giving in to the Japanese on submarines and light cruisers, we gave them an opportunity to achieve considerable naval strength in the Pacific. Furthermore, by agreeing to stop all work on naval bases in the Orient, we gave Japan another advantage which we subsequently regretted.

The London Conference of 1935–36. In December, 1934, Japan announced that she would not adhere to the London Treaty beyond its time limit, December, 1936. By a second London Naval Conference in 1935–36, England, France, and the United States agreed to a treaty by which they would keep the various classes of ships in their navies within a certain tonnage and the guns within a certain size. This agree-

ment, however, did not affect the number of ships that they might build. Thus, in 1937, the naval armament race was on once again.

DISILLUSIONED, THE UNITED STATES TURNED TO ISOLATION AND NEUTRALITY

A distraught world: alarms and arms. The high hopes for the League, the World Court, the Kellogg Pact, naval limitation, general disarmament were dashed to the ground during the economic depression. Militarism and economic nationalism were again in the saddle. Men predicted that another disastrous war was in the offing.

In the fall of 1935, against the protest of the League of Nations, Italy began a war of conquest in Ethiopia. The League declared Italy the aggressor and voted to apply sanctions, but this did not prevent the conquest. Just as England was endeavoring to bring collective pressure to bear upon Italy, Hitler frightened the European powers by announcing that Germany would occupy the Rhineland, a region that had been demilitarized by the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler gave as the reason for his action the fact that France had concluded an alliance with Soviet Russia. Hitler's action was not only contrary to the Treaty of Versailles but also violated the Locarno Agreements.

Nor was this all. In the summer of 1936 a civil war broke out in Spain — a conflict which was popularly referred to as a struggle between "Loyalists" and "Rebels" or "Nationalists" — the "Leftists" and "Rightists." The problem soon arose as to whether neutrals should sell war supplies to the warring factions. In spite of a nonintervention agreement made with other nations, both Italy and Germany gave help to the "Rightists"; thereupon, Russia helped the "Leftists." But, comparatively, Russian help was on a very small scale. An international war, disguised as a Spanish civil conflict, was being waged on Spanish soil. Late in 1936 Germany and Japan concluded an agreement, called the Anti-Comintern Pact, to work together to stamp out communism. This pact was interpreted by observers as an alliance against Russia. In the fall of 1937 Italy became a party to their agreement.

As in 1912 and 1913, the nations of Europe jockeyed for diplomatic position and strength, and meantime feverishly rushed military preparations. The attempt of Japan to establish her control over nearly all of China in 1937 and 1938, and Hitler's absorption of Austria into the German Reich in 1938, as well as his demand for the return of Germany's colonies, disturbed the statesmen of the world. The situation became tense in September, 1938, when Hitler, by threats of war, compelled England and France, by the so-called *Munich settlement,* to agree to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

Investigation of the sale of munitions. These developments among the other nations of the world had a profound effect on the people of



Acme

An Italian mule train brings in supplies to the Italian army in Ethiopia in 1935. The Italian war against Ethiopia tested the League of Nations and was a prelude to World War II.



Acme

Newspapermen, sheltered behind a sandbag barricade, at Puigcerda, Spain, in 1939, watch the advance of Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War.



Press Association, Inc.

"Peace strikes," such as this one on the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles, and pacifist agitation in the 1930's encouraged Hitler to believe that the United States would not intervene to stop his aggression.

the United States. Disillusioned at the tragic results of a war that was fought "to end war" and "to make the world safe for democracy," Americans were demanding that the United States should keep aloof and under no circumstances take part in a European conflict. The sentiment for peace waxed strong. It was stimulated by the Senate committee (headed by Senator Nye) which investigated the sale of munitions in World War I. At public hearings testimony was given which revealed that the profits of munitions manufacturers had been enormous, that munitions concerns fomented "wars and rumors of wars" and had no conscientious scruples as to the sale of their wares. The Nye committee also investigated the activities of the house of Morgan as the financial agent of England and the Allied Powers during World War I, in an effort to discover the connection between war loans to the Allied Powers and America's entry into the conflict. Liberals, pacifists, and others used this investigation to popularize the idea that we had been drawn into the war because our banks had lent billions to the Allies, and because our munitions makers were making money out of the war.

Neutrality Acts, 1935 and 1937. Influenced by these considerations the American people struggled to find a way which would keep the United States at peace. In August, 1935, Congress passed a temporary Neutrality Resolution, which placed a mandatory embargo upon the shipment of arms, ammunition, or implements of war to a belligerent, or to any neutral who purchased them for transshipment to a belligerent. This law prevented the shipment of arms to Italy in her war against Ethiopia, but it did not prevent the shipment of materials which were just as important to a warring nation as arms and munitions. The law of 1935 was a temporary one, and it was amended slightly in 1936. In 1937 Congress enacted a "permanent" Neutrality Law, with the following provisions:

(1) Upon proclamation by the President that a state of war exists, the shipment of arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the United States to any belligerent or to any neutral for transshipment to a belligerent was forbidden. (2) The law gave the President *discretionary* power to extend the arms embargo to *other materials* needed for war, such as oil and steel. (3) The law contained the so-called *cash-and-carry* principle, to remain in effect two years; namely, that the President could issue a proclamation requiring belligerents trading with the United States to pay for goods in American ports and to transport them in their own ships. (4) The law also contained the provision of the Johnson Act that it was unlawful to deal in the securities of belligerents or to make loans to them. The cash-and-carry provisions of this law expired in May, 1939.

Although the President urged Congress to revise and improve this "neutrality" act in the fateful summer of 1939, Congress adjourned without heeding the President's advice. These "neutrality" laws

marked a complete departure from the issues for which we contended in the War of 1812 and World War I. They reversed American theories about the rights of neutrals and the "freedom of the seas." There was much doubt at the time whether this or any neutrality legislation could keep the United States at peace in the event of a prolonged conflict between major powers (pages 667–668, 716–717).

The failure of the search for peace. For nearly twenty years the statesmen of various countries had been struggling to find the road to peace and security. They experimented with the League of Nations and the World Court; with Locarno treaties and the Pact of Paris; with attempts to limit navies and armaments; with economic sanctions. The world lost this struggle, becoming engulfed in World War II.

During this period the United States rejected the League of Nations and the World Court, and refused to deal adequately with reparations and war debts. On the other hand, it took the lead in efforts to limit navies, and expressed a wish to "outlaw" war by getting the other nations to sign the Pact of Paris. Books, pamphlets, speeches, plays, and movies criticized American participation in World War I; leagues against war were organized; the "Oxford" oath against war became popular in some quarters; "peace strikes" were fostered in our high schools and colleges; in response to the agitation of pacifist groups, Congress almost proposed an amendment to the Constitution calling for a popular referendum on a declaration of war. The neutrality law of 1937 represents the high-water mark of American isolationism.

The United States had seemingly turned its back on world affairs, Japan became boldly aggressive in the Far East, Italy seized Ethiopia, and Hitler consolidated his power in central Europe. Apparently convinced that the United States had done with Europe forever, and that this time the resources of the United States would not be used against Germany, Hitler prepared for the conquest of Europe. The isolationist temper of American public opinion from 1933 to 1939 bears no little responsibility for the breakdown of every effort to stop the dictators in their reckless bid for world domination, for the appeasement of Hitler at Munich (1938), and for the tragedy of World War II.

Words and Phrases

arbitration, Article X, conciliation, Covenant, Dawes Plan, economic nationalism, Geneva Protocol, Johnson Act, Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, Lausanne Accord, Locarno Agreements, mediation, naval limitation, Neutrality Act, optional clause, Pact of Paris, reparations, Root Formula, sanctions, security, war debts, Young Plan

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What were the purposes and accomplishments of the Hague Peace conferences?
2. Illustrate the use of arbitration by the United States.

3. Describe the organization of the League of Nations and the means by which it hoped to solve the problem of peace. Compare with the Constitution of the United Nations (pages 788–793).
4. What arguments were used in the Senate against the United States joining the League? Discuss the validity of these arguments from the point of view of conditions in 1920; conditions today.
5. What was the chief strength of the League? What were its chief weaknesses? How would you propose to remedy the weaknesses?
6. Describe the organization of the World Court.
7. State the reasons why you believe the United States should or should not have joined the World Court.
8. What was the problem of war debts and reparations? Should the United States have cancelled the war debts? Should the European powers have cancelled reparations? Should the question of war debts and reparations have been kept separate? Reasons.
9. Explain how the problem of peace is connected with the problem of security. Should nations first seek to solve the problem of security?
10. What was accomplished by the Washington and London conferences? Give reasons for your agreement or disagreement with those who claim that they accomplished little of practical value.
11. State the provisions of the Pact of Paris (Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, pages 749–750).
12. State the provisions of the Neutrality Resolutions of 1937. Debate the wisdom of neutrality legislation of this character (pages 754–755).

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Investigate and report on the means used by Canada and the United States to settle various disputes; that is, the Alaskan boundary controversy, the North Atlantic fisheries controversy, the regulation and use of boundary waters, the St. Lawrence deep-waterway project.
2. It is sometimes argued that the Kellogg-Briand Pact needed "implementation"; that is, the Pact should have included some provision for the punishment of a nation which violated it. (Investigate and report on the action of the Brussels Conference of 1937 on the Japanese invasion of China.) What sort of sanction, or guarantees to prevent war, if any, would you suggest? How is this problem to be handled by the United Nations (pages 788–789, 791)?
3. "In the last analysis, it is science which has brought us peace, or at least the possibilities of peace, by making war no longer a pertinent, controllable instrument." (This opinion was written prior to World War II.) Discuss fully the meaning of the phrase, "war is no longer a controllable instrument." Give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with this statement.
4. Not a few people believed that efforts to achieve world peace through the League, World Court, security pacts, or disarmament conferences were futile. Defend or attack this point of view. What improvements in these measures were made to achieve a durable peace after World War II?
5. Should the nations of the world be willing to use economic sanctions and even to risk war to restrain an "aggressor" nation?

6. It has been said that the United States is better fitted than most other nations to maintain a policy of self-contained economic nationalism and isolation. Give your reasons for supporting or rejecting this theory. What changes in our internal economy would have been necessary if we had wholeheartedly chosen the policy of isolation?
7. Investigate and report on the activities of the World Court, the International Labor Organization, the methods used to prevent ratification of the World Court by the American Senate in 1935, and the reasons for the delay in recognizing Soviet Russia.
8. Investigate and report on the international problems growing out of the Spanish Civil War and the victory of Generalissimo Franco. What was the policy of Generalissimo Franco during World War II? What was the policy of the United Nations toward Franco after World War II?

Suggested Reading

THE HAGUE CONFERENCES: Bemis, pp. 423–429, 524–525; Hart, V, 203–213, 695–699; Latané, *From Isolation to Leadership,* pp. 71–76; Latané, *America as a World Power* (A.N.S.), pp. 244–254.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE WORLD COURT: Beard and Beard, *American Leviathan,* pp. 743–749; Bemis, pp. 643–658, 726–728; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 452–456, 492–495, 589–591; Hart, V, 523–524, 858–870, 880–881; Commager, No. 457 — The United States and the World Court.

WAR DEBTS AND REPARATIONS: Bemis, pp. 660–664, 705–719; Hart, V, 885–889; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 497–500; Nevins, *The United States in a Chaotic World* (Y.C.S.), pp. 82–94; Nevins and Hacker, eds., *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs,* pp. 203–214; Keynes, *Economic Consequences of the War.*

POSTWAR PEACE ACTIVITIES: Bailey, pp. 681–699, 718–730; Beard, C. A., *American Foreign Policy in the Making;* Bemis, pp. 690–726, 830–844; Blakeslee, *Recent Foreign Policy of the United States,* pp. 197–224, 304–361; Moore, *American Diplomacy,* pp. 306–338; Nevins, *The United States in a Chaotic World* (Y.C.S.), pp. 95–168, 222–237; *The New Deal and World Affairs* (Y.C.S.), pp. 41–104; Nevins and Hacker, eds., *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs,* pp. 227–243, 375–409; Commager, Nos. 447, 449, 466, 467, 492 — Treaties of Arbitration, Conciliation, and the Limitation of Armaments.

CHAPTER FORTY-SIX

World War Two, 1939–1945

HITLER MAKES A DESPERATE GAMBLE FOR A "NEW ORDER" AND WORLD POWER

Storm signals. Benito Mussolini came to power in Italy in 1922. He organized a one-party government – the Fascist party. In January, 1933, Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany. He, too, organized a one-party government – the National Socialist, or Nazi, party. He stifled opposition, killed or imprisoned his opponents, destroyed representative government, and ruled as a dictator. Hitler started a propaganda campaign to convince the German people that they were a master race and that they should avenge the "ruthless diktat" of Versailles and achieve mastery of Europe.

In whipping up the passions of the German people Hitler frankly resorted to lies. He used two scapegoats – Bolshevism and the Jewish people. He posed as the champion who would destroy revolutionary Bolshevism, or Communism. He began a merciless program of persecution of the Jews. He drove them out of business and the professions; he encouraged mass demonstrations against them, herded and starved them in concentration camps, confiscated their property, forced them out of the country.

Once he had achieved power, Hitler, step by step, proceeded to tear up the treaty of Versailles. He rearmed Germany, reoccupied the Rhineland, and annexed Austria. In September, 1938, at Munich, he secured the approval of the British and French governments for the annexation of the Sudetenland (part of Czechoslovakia). Britain and France yielded, hoping, in the phrase of Prime Minister Chamberlain, for "peace in our time." However, the policy of appeasement pursued at Munich did not satisfy Hitler. In March, 1939, German troops occupied Czechoslovakia, thus violating the pledges Hitler made at Munich. Meantime, Italy, Germany's Axis partner, conquered Ethiopia and in 1939 annexed Albania. Shortly after these Axis triumphs Hitler began to press his demands upon Poland for the return of Danzig and the "Corridor" to Germany.

The Russo-German agreement, August, 1939. Following the appeasement of Hitler at Munich, both England and France hurried an expanded rearmament program. Both nations began to woo the smaller nations as active allies. Urged on by France, England sought

to win Russia as an ally, or at least to make sure that she would be a sympathetic neutral. England and France were too slow or too divided in their counsels. On August 23, 1939, Germany and Russia concluded a nonaggression pact. Having made his eastern front secure, Hitler delivered an ultimatum to Poland. He rejected all pleas that he seek a peaceable settlement of his claims. Early in the morning of September 1, 1939, the German armies invaded Poland. Two days later England and France delared war on Germany. Within two weeks Polish resistance was nearly wiped out, and Germany and Russia proceeded to divide Poland between them.

The first months of the war. Until April, 1940, the war on the western front was a stalemate. It appeared that the Anglo-French-German conflict would be a war of attrition (a wearing down). At the very outset of the war, President Roosevelt prevailed upon Congress to revise the neutrality laws (pages 754–755, 762–763) so that England and France could buy supplies in the United States.

During this period of comparative quiet, Russia negotiated mutual assistance pacts with the Baltic states — Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. By these treaties Russia acquired important naval and air bases and promised to recognize the independence and sovereignty of the Baltic states. Finland refused to enter this Russian sphere of influence and, on November 30, 1939, was invaded by Russia. Finland resisted strongly, but in March, 1940, the first Russo-Finnish war came to an end, with Finland yielding to Russia more territory and better terms than Russia had demanded when the war began.

Blitzkrieg, April–June, 1940. On April 9, 1940, Germany invaded Norway and Denmark, quickly overcoming all resistance. One month later Germany hurled her strength against the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. Within forty days they were crushed. The astounding success of the German blitzkrieg was due to surprise, speed, and the weakness and unpreparedness of the French. Shortly before France sued for peace, Italy ended her "belligerent neutrality" and went into the war on the side of Germany.

The Axis powers apparently expected that, with France beaten, Britain would also sue for peace. But Britain, relying on the protection of the English Channel, the resources of her Empire, her still powerful navy, and the possibility of obtaining military supplies from the United States, decided to fight on. The English were inspired during their hour of peril by the stirring words of Winston Churchill, who had succeeded Mr. Chamberlain as prime minister (May 11, 1940). Germany endeavored to "soften" England and destroy her morale by bombing London and other industrial and shipping centers. British pilots fought and finally beat off the German Air Force. "Never in the field of human conflict," said Mr. Churchill, "was so much owed by so many to so few." For more than a year, England's single-handed

resistance to Hitler was the one thing that prevented a complete German victory.

"Vichy" France. The policies pursued by defeated France were a cause of great concern to England. The French government established at Vichy controlled about one third of the area and population of France. Under the leadership of Marshal Pétain, the Vichy government imitated the totalitarian policy of Germany, organized a one-party government, silenced criticism, and discriminated against the Jews. It also co-operated with Hitler. Pierre Laval and Admiral Darlan, who exercised more power in "Vichy" France than the aged Pétain, were especially inclined to co-operate with the Nazis. Some young men escaped from France to join the Free French forces led by General Charles de Gaulle. The Free French fought with the English in North Africa and elsewhere.

The war in Africa and the Balkans. Late in October, 1940, Italy invaded Greece. The Greeks not only forced the Italians out of territory occupied in the first weeks of the invasion, but also recaptured part of Albania from the Italians. While the Greeks were achieving these temporary victories, the English, in December, 1940, and January, 1941, routed an Italian army in northern Africa and made some progress against Italian forces in Eritrea, Somaliland, and Ethiopia. Germany abandoned whatever plans she may have had for an invasion of England and sent troops, tanks, and airplanes to Africa. Within a few months Germany wiped out the gains which the British had made. The Germans were unable to carry the war into Egypt and could not save Italy from a disastrous defeat in Ethiopia.

Meanwhile, the Germans obtained control of the Balkans. Hungary and Rumania accepted Nazi domination without protest. In March, 1941, Bulgaria was drawn into Hitler's web and German troops occupied the country. In Yugoslavia the people revolted when their government began to co-operate with Hitler. The result was a speedy invasion by the Nazis. In April, 1941, Hitler conquered both Yugoslavia and Greece despite British efforts to aid the Greeks. By the landing of airborne troops, Germany also drove the British from the island of Crete. After defeat in Greece and Crete, the British, expecting a German thrust toward Suez, engaged in a five-weeks' fight to obtain control of French Syria. A little later they gained control of Iran.

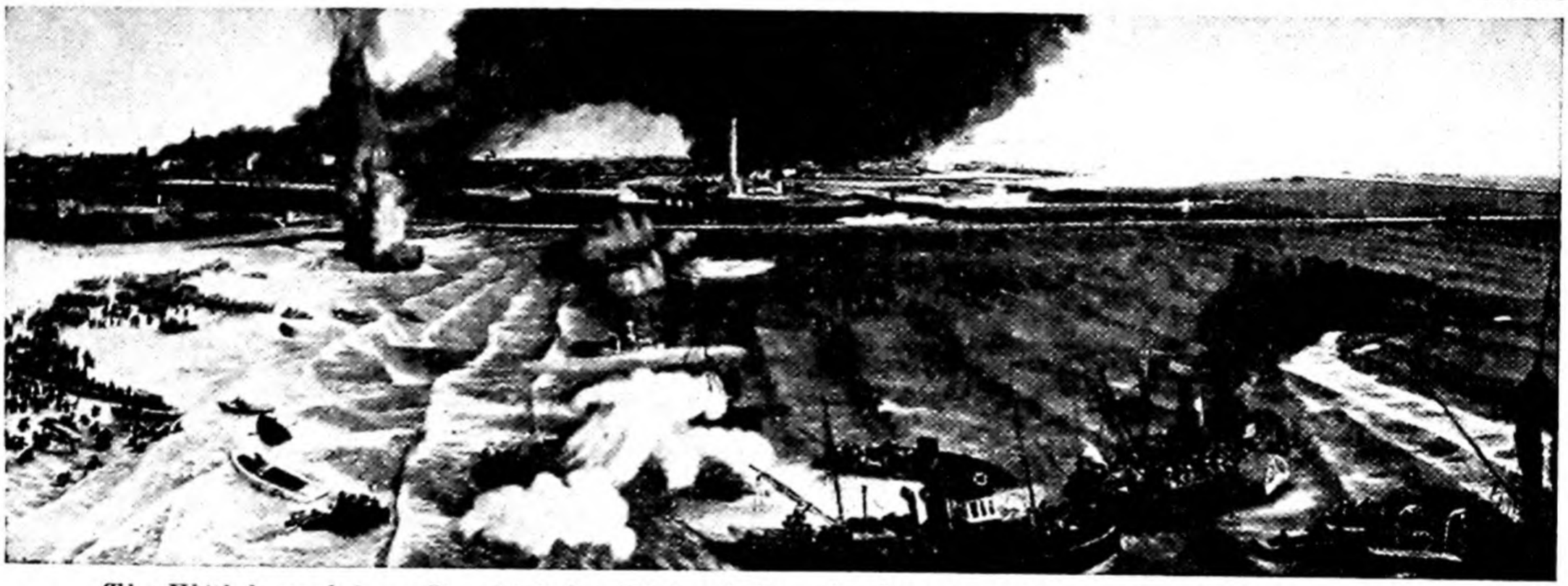
GERMANY INVADES RUSSIA, JUNE, 1941

Blitzkrieg in Russia. Russia's pact with Germany in August, 1939, had given Germany the "all clear" signal. Russia profited from her co-operation with Germany. She acquired half of Poland, secured Bessarabia from Rumania, obtained territory from Finland, and added Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to the Soviet Union. All these gains

In October, 1936, Hitler formed an alliance with Mussolini which resulted in the so-called "Rome-Berlin Axis." Here Mussolini (*left*) is being escorted by Hitler to the railroad station after the two dictators had finished a conference in Berlin in 1937.



Acme



The Withdrawal from Dunkirk, by Richard Eurich. Courtesy Museum of Modern Art, New York.

All types of boats were used for the rescue of British troops from Dunkirk after the fall of France. The retreat was made under relentless enemy bombardment.



International News Photos

The "all clear" siren after a raid by the German Air Force was the signal for weary London civilians to begin to clear up debris.

were wiped out in a few weeks when, on June 22, 1941, Hitler suddenly hurled his armies against Russia. Finland thereupon became involved in a second war against Russia. By September, 1941, Germany conquered the Ukraine and threatened Leningrad. England promptly accepted Russia as an ally and promised to give all the help she could.

Russia halts the German drive, December, 1941. The German thrust into Russia continued with unabated fury. The Russians retreated, suffering terrible losses. By November the German army occupied the Crimea, laid siege to Sebastopol, and was only sixty miles from Moscow. Late in November the German drive halted. To the surprise of those who had excepted her speedy collapse, Russia struck back. For the first time in two years of war the Germans met with serious reverses.

At this point in the war Japan determined that the time was opportune to achieve undisputed mastery of "Greater East Asia" (pages 711–712). Japan treacherously attacked Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, and the United States entered the war.

THE UNITED STATES DECIDES THAT IT CANNOT TOLERATE A GERMAN VICTORY

Shifts in American opinion. When war began in September, 1939, a majority of the American people thought that the war did not concern them and that they would not become involved. Yet two years and three months later, on December 8, 1941, the Congress of the United States declared war on Japan, with only one dissenting vote. This overwhelming vote was due in part to the Japanese attack on the previous day; it was also due to the fact that the United States entered the war by way of the Far East. But even toward the war in Europe there had been a remarkable shift in American public opinion. Briefly, the shift of opinion went through the following stages: first, a willingness to sell war supplies to England and France; second, a desire to help England *short of war;* third, "all-out" aid *even at the risk of war;* fourth, acceptance of the principle that the United States was really in the fight, though there had been no declaration of war; fifth, active participation as a belligerent.

President Roosevelt foresaw the war and its dangers. During the summer of 1939 he urged Congress not to adjourn without revising the neutrality laws (pages 754–755). Congress, however, did not heed his advice. When war began, President Roosevelt called Congress into special session and asked for the revision of the neutrality legislation.

The Neutrality Act of November, 1939. This law repealed the embargo on the shipment of military supplies to belligerents and in place of the embargo restored the "cash-and-carry" or "come-and-get-it" provision of the earlier law, which had expired on May 1, 1939. Under

the "cash-and-carry" rule, munitions could be sold to a belligerent if "all right, title, or interest in the goods had been transferred to some foreign government or agency."

Preparation for defense. Slowly the United States became, in Roosevelt's phrase, the "arsenal of democracy." The German blitzkrieg in the spring of 1940 stunned the American people. With startling suddenness, they realized their own unpreparedness. President Roosevelt asked Congress for billions of dollars to build a "two-ocean" navy, to improve our fortifications, and to buy pursuit planes, bombers, and tanks. The President named two Republicans to his cabinet and put them in charge of the preparedness program. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State under Mr. Hoover, became Secretary of War, and Frank Knox, Republican vice-presidential candidate in 1936, became Secretary of the Navy.

The destroyer-naval base deal, September, 1940. The British navy was hard pressed and had more and more difficulty in convoying the ships that carried war supplies from the United States. In September, 1940, Mr. Roosevelt announced that England had given the United States, as a "free gift," ninety-nine-year leases to naval and air bases on Newfoundland and Bermuda and that, in exchange for fifty over-age destroyers, England had given the United States the right to establish naval bases in six other British possessions in the Western Hemisphere. These bases helped the United States to protect the Panama Canal and the Atlantic coastline, while the destroyers enabled England to strengthen its convoy system (page 664).

Peacetime conscription. Mr. Roosevelt summoned the National Guard and the Reserve Corps to active duty in September, 1940. The same month Congress passed the Selective Service and Training Act, the first peacetime draft in the history of the country. Under the terms of this act, all men between the ages of 21 and 36 were registered on October 16, 1940. For a five-year period, but at the rate of not more than 900,000 in any one year, the 16,000,000 men who registered were subject to call for a year's military training. Military camps were hastily constructed in various parts of the country, many of them on the same sites that had been utilized in World War I. In the summer of 1941, just a few months before Pearl Harbor, Congress, by the close majority of one vote in the House of Representatives, authorized keeping trainees in the service for an additional eighteen months.

The Lend-Lease Act, March, 1941. Great Britain's ability to pay cash for enormous quantities of war materials was reaching a limit. Besides, under terrific aerial bombardment, her own productive capacity had been severely cut. To help England get needed supplies, administration forces in Congress introduced a so-called Lend-Lease Bill. This bill gave the President the power to sell, transfer, exchange, lease, lend, or dispose of any defense article (which was so broadly defined as

to include almost anything) to any country whose defense the President considered vital to the defense of the United States. Opponents of the bill argued that it made Roosevelt a dictator, that it was unconstitutional, and that it virtually put the United States into the war against Germany. Advocates of the measure claimed that "all-out" aid to England, helping her to carry on the war against Germany, was the only hope for keeping the United States out of war. Wendell Willkie and other Republican leaders threw themselves into the fight for the bill, which became a law on March 11, 1941.

The passage of the Lend-Lease Act marked the turning of the tide against isolationism. It was also one of the most important single items that led to the complete defeat of Germany. Lend-lease meant that the United States was definitely committed to saving England from defeat. The slogan "All aid to England short of war" had become "All aid to England even at the risk of war."

The debate on American policy. Throughout the period from September, 1939, to March, 1941, and indeed to December, 1941, there were many who argued that the United States should declare war against Germany. As time passed, this group became larger, bolder, and more insistent. There were others, however, who opposed the measures being taken to aid England, claiming that "it was not our war" and that we should look to our own defenses. Until Germany invaded Russia in the summer of 1941, the Communist party and Communist front organizations also criticized the policy of extending help to England, claiming that the war was "another imperialist war." Between these extremes was a third group who thought that the United States should avoid war as long as possible, but that it should contribute to the defeat of Hitler by furnishing supplies to England.

The debate was bewildering. The attitude of many liberals made it more so. Some who had been outstanding pacifists now urged war. Many radicals had championed peace strikes, had supported the neutrality legislation of 1937, and had even advocated a popular referendum on a declaration of war. Until June, 1941, when Germany attacked Russia, many of them criticized American aid to England and championed isolationism. Mr. Earl Browder, at that time the general secretary of the Communist party, indicated that the Communists organized and supported various organizations which he referred to as "transmission belts." The term "fellow travelers" became popular to describe those who, wittingly or unwittingly, had become the respectable front for Communist propaganda. In company with a great many others, Communists, fellow travelers, and transmission belt groups had vigorously criticized Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, Japan's invasion of China, and the intervention of Hitler and Mussolini in the Spanish Civil War. Consequently, when the Communist party's fellow travelers remained silent or defended the August, 1939, treaty between

Russian Communism and German Nazism and the Russian invasion of Finland, they lost their prestige and their following.

Confusion in the ranks of the leftists continued throughout 1940 and 1941 as many of their former leaders seesawed back and forth in supporting or attacking Roosevelt, isolationism, the draft, help to England, and a number of other issues. The confusion did not end in June, 1941, when Germany turned about and attacked Russia. Many of those who had been criticizing England, objecting to Roosevelt's policies, and condemning the war as imperialistic, suddenly changed their tune and became active champions of America's immediate entrance into the war.

Roosevelt's leadership. The President carefully refrained from making any statements favoring an outright declaration of war. By his actions, however, he left no doubt that the United States would give the utmost material help to the British. After passage of the Lend-Lease Act, Roosevelt issued a proclamation of national emergency; stated that in spite of submarines the lend-lease program would be carried out; instructed the Navy to patrol the western Atlantic; took Greenland under the protection of the United States; sent American troops to occupy Iceland; and strengthened our fortifications in the Philippines, Hawaii, and elsewhere. In August, 1941, the President met with Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, for a three-day conference off the coast of Newfoundland.

The Atlantic Charter. The historic meeting of the two men might well be regarded as a turning point in the war. One result of the conference was the publication of a statement of the peace aims of Great Britain and the United States. This document, called the Atlantic Charter, was widely acclaimed by the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States as an expression of their ideals and purposes. The eight-point peace program of the charter may be summarized as follows: (1) Britain and the United States desire "no aggrandizement, territorial or other"; (2) "they desire no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned"; (3) "they respect the right of all peoples to choose their form of government," and "wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them"; (4) "they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations," to obtain for "all states, great or small, victor or vanquished" access to the trade and to the raw materials of the world; (5) they desire to foster international collaboration to secure improved labor standards and social security; (6) they hope to establish a peace which will give to all peoples freedom from fear and want; (7) they will support the freedom of the seas for all countries; and (8) they wish to bring about the disarmament of aggressive nations, "pending

the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security."

In the weeks following the Atlantic conference the activity of American ships in the North Atlantic increased; on September 4, the *U.S.S. Greer*, en route to Iceland, was attacked. A week later Roosevelt declared that Nazi submarines were the rattlesnakes of the Atlantic, and that he had given "shooting orders" to the Navy. The United States and Germany were engaged in an undeclared naval war.

Armed merchant ships and convoys, November, 1941. After the Lend-Lease Act of March, 1941, a debate over a proposal to arm merchant ships was carried on in the newspapers and over the radio. This debate finally reached the Halls of Congress, and the House of Representatives approved a bill for the arming of merchant ships. Willkie, the titular leader of the Republican party, claimed that the bill did not go far enough and urged the establishment of a naval convoy system to guarantee the delivery of lend-lease goods. The Senate approved the House bill with an amendment permitting American ships to sail into the ports of the belligerents.

While the House and Senate bills were under debate, the Navy announced that the *U.S.S. Kearny* had been torpedoed and badly damaged on October 17, and that the *U.S.S. Reuben James* had been sunk on October 31. These announcements affected the course of the debate. The House of Representatives agreed to the Senate version of the bill permitting the arming of merchant ships and the delivery of war supplies to friendly ports by American ships (November 13, 1941). The close vote in the Senate, 50 to 37, and in the House of Representatives, 212 to 194, reflects the point of view of large sections of the country just a few weeks before America entered the war. Events had brought about important changes in American public opinion.

Negotiations with Japan. Japan's tripartite pact with Germany and Italy, announced in September, 1940, gave warning that Japan intended to use the European war to her own advantage. For some time the United States continued to sell scrap iron and aviation gasoline to Japan. However, in 1941 the United States imposed an embargo on the shipment of scrap iron and gasoline to Japan, and also "froze" Japanese assets in the United States. Japan sent Mr. Kurusu to Washington to assist the Japanese ambassador in a last-minute effort to adjust the differences between the United States and Japan (pages 711–712). On November 26, 1941, Mr. Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, gave the Japanese envoys America's final proposals. The United States requested a multilateral, nonaggression pact; a pledge by Japan to respect the territorial integrity of French Indo-China; the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Indo-China; a promise from Japan not to support any government in China other than the National Government at Chungking; and the promise that agreements with any third

power would not conflict with the establishment of peace in the Pacific. The United States promised to negotiate a favorable trade agreement with Japan.

Pearl Harbor. The sequel to these proposals of the United States came on December 7, 1941, when Pearl Harbor was suddenly attacked by the naval and air forces of Japan. In asking Congress for a declaration of war the President stated that "one hour after Japanese squadrons had commenced bombing Oahu, the Japanese ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message." Congress responded to the President's message with a declaration of war against Japan, December 8, 1941. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, and on the same day Congress declared war on Germany and Italy.

The serious blow struck by Japan at the American naval base at Pearl Harbor apparently caught our forces by surprise, although eleven months before Mr. Joseph C. Grew, our Ambassador to Japan, had sent warnings to the State Department that we should be prepared for such an attack. A large number of ships were sunk or seriously damaged; planes, military equipment, and airfields were destroyed; several thousand persons were killed and wounded. President Roosevelt removed Admiral Kimmel and General Short from their commands and appointed a commission headed by Associate Justice Roberts to investigate the causes which led to the catastrophe. The Roberts report sharply criticized the lack of adequate precautions against a surprise attack and the lack of co-operation between the commanders of the Navy and the Army. The report indicated that both officers had received warning from Washington to be on the alert. However, neither Admiral Kimmel nor General Short was courtmartialed, and in November, 1944, they received partial exoneration when the Secretaries of War and Navy announced that they would not be brought to trial.

Throughout the war the full details of the story behind the Pearl Harbor disaster were a matter of speculation and debate. In 1945, therefore, Congress appointed a committee to investigate and report on the disaster. The committee disclosed that the United States had cracked the Japanese secret code and had known in advance of an intended Japanese surprise attack but had not learned the precise point of attack. Thus the investigation revealed that to Mr. Roosevelt and the high command of the Army and Navy the Japanese attack was not the sudden, unanticipated surprise which the American people had thought it. It was revealed, too, that in 1944 General Marshall had prevailed upon Governor Dewey not to make political capital of his "inside information" concerning Pearl Harbor, because the Army and the Navy did not wish Japan to learn that we had any knowledge of their secret code.

THE ENGLISH AND AMERICANS SECURE CONTROL OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND KNOCK ITALY OUT OF THE WAR

The African front: El Alamein. When Japan attacked the United States in December, 1941, Mr. Churchill feared that the United States might decide to bend all its energies to defeat Japan. He flew to Washington for a conference with Mr. Roosevelt and learned that it would be an essential part of America's over-all strategy to defeat Germany first. The bulk of American troops and supplies were therefore concentrated in the European theater of operations. Our rapidly expanding Navy was given the task of holding Japan in check until the defeat of Germany.

At the time these important decisions were being made, the German threat to England and to Russia was extremely serious. Although the British had succeeded in defeating the Germans and Italians in North Africa for the second time, in January, 1942, the Germans struck back and forced the British to retreat to the Egyptian border. By midsummer the Germans had reached El Alamein, only seventy-five miles from Alexandria. The Suez Canal was threatened. But the Germans were unable to deliver the knock-out blow. The English lines held at El Alamein. In October, 1942, General Montgomery, in command of the British Eighth Army, launched an offensive, cracked the El Alamein line, and forced the Germans once again to retreat across North Africa.

Allied landings in North Africa. In November, 1942, a joint British and American expedition, under command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, successfully landed large forces at several points in French Morocco and Algeria. The Germans immediately occupied all of France and rushed reinforcements to Tunisia. Germany tried to secure control of the French fleet at Toulon, but the French scuttled their fleet rather than have it used by the Nazis.

The Casablanca conference, January, 1943. The landings in North Africa brought about a political crisis when it became known that General Eisenhower, in order to safeguard the landings in North Africa, had recognized Admiral Darlan, one of the Vichy collaborationists, as leader of the French in North Africa. In response to Darlan's orders French resistance to the American expeditionary force ended abruptly, but General de Gaulle, leader of the Fighting French, protested against this Allied flirtation with those who had been doing Hitler's work.

In order to solve this political problem and to plan Allied strategy, President Roosevelt flew to Africa for a ten-day conference at Casablanca with Prime Minister Churchill. This conference united the various French groups at least temporarily. The Casablanca conference determined Allied strategy for 1943 and announced that the United Nations would demand the unconditional surrender of the Axis nations.



TERRITORY HELD BY THE ROME–BERLIN AXIS, 1942

Sicily and Italy. The fighting for Tunisia ended with an Allied victory on May 7, 1943. Two months later the American Seventh Army, under command of General Patton, and the British Eighth Army, under command of General Montgomery, invaded Sicily and conquered it by the end of August, 1943. Meantime, Mussolini was driven from power in Italy, and a temporary government was set up under Marshal Badoglio. On September 3 the British landed on the toe of Italy, and on September 8 Americans, under command of General Clark, landed at Salerno. On the same day it was announced that Italy had surrendered unconditionally to the Allies. The bulk of the Italian navy surrendered, and the United Nations at last had control of the Mediterranean.

The Salerno landings were difficult. There was hard fighting for days, but the Americans held the beachhead and went on to capture Naples, October 1, 1943. The British forces, advancing from the south, joined with the Americans to move up the Italian peninsula. For several months the Allies were checked at Cassino. In January, 1944, American and British troops, aided by their navies, landed behind the German lines at Anzio, some thirty miles south of Rome. Again there was desperate fighting; again the Allies held on; but for months the terrain and bad weather hindered Allied advance. In May, 1944, the Allies smashed the German defenses at Cassino, and then moved up the Italian peninsula, capturing Rome on June 4 and reaching Florence in August, 1944. The Germans checked the Allied advance just south of the Po River. Again there was a long stalemate in Italy, which lasted into 1945. Allied strategy had achieved its major purpose by freeing the Mediterranean and by pinning down twenty to thirty Nazi divisions, which Germany needed on the western and eastern fronts. When the Po Valley line was cracked by the English and Americans in April, 1945, the end came quickly. The Italians behind the lines rose in revolt and captured and executed Mussolini (April 29, 1945); the German armies in northern Italy surrendered to the Allies on May 2, 1945.

THE RUSSIANS STOP THE GERMANS AT STALINGRAD; A SECOND FRONT IS OPENED; AND THE WAR IN EUROPE COMES TO AN END

Stalingrad, 1942–43. The Russians recovered some territory during the severe winter of 1941–42, but the Germans launched a furious offensive in the spring of 1942. The Crimean Peninsula fell into German hands. Then the Germans pushed eastward toward Stalingrad in an attempt to gain control of the Volga River. They also drove southeastward, trying to reach the oil resources of the Caucasus. By September they had reached Stalingrad, which they blasted to ruins, and in the Caucasus were close to the Grozny oil fields. In a very real

sense the war reached its climax at Stalingrad. Struggling desperately, the Russians begged for the immediate opening of a second front in western Europe. England and the United States were not ready to start a large-scale invasion of western Europe at that time, but in October, 1942, the British cracked the German line at El Alamein, and in November the United Nations landed in North Africa. These efforts diverted German planes and pilots from the Russian front and thus were of some help to the Russians. The Russian lines held at Stalingrad, and after suffering a disastrous defeat, the German army at Stalingrad surrendered on February 2, 1943. This Russian victory will probably rank as one of the most decisive military engagements in history.

The Russian offensives of 1943 and 1944. Through the early months of 1943 the Russians drove the Germans back and back. On July 5, 1943, the Germans started a third summer offensive, but it soon petered out, and on July 12 the Russians began a much stronger offensive against the Germans. Along a thousand-mile front the Russians attacked in the center, then in the north, then in the south, and kept repeating the process. The German army suffered no such disastrous defeat as that at Stalingrad, but slowly fell back, sustaining severe losses in men and equipment.

One year later, in June, 1944, the Russians launched so strong an offensive that within a few weeks they completed the task of driving the Germans from Russian soil, penetrated Poland as far as Warsaw, and reached the Gulf of Riga and the border of East Prussia. Finland ended its second war with Russia in September, 1944. To the south the Russians entered Rumania, capturing the Ploesti oil fields and the capital, Bucharest. Rumania declared war on Germany in August, 1944, and Bulgaria surrendered to the United Nations in September, 1944. In January, 1945, the Russians surrounded Budapest, and Hungary signed an armistice with the United Nations. The German hold on the Balkans had been broken.

The Second Front: Normandy, June 6, 1944. General Dwight D. Eisenhower and General Sir Bernard L. Montgomery, of the famous British Eighth Army, were shifted from the Mediterranean theater of war to England to plan the details of an invasion of western Europe. Eisenhower was in supreme command. For months Eisenhower planned and organized, while the British and American air forces prepared the way by bombing German industries, railroads, and bridges, and by practically destroying German air power.

Invasion day, or D-Day, finally came on June 6, 1944. The place chosen was the Normandy coast. The Allies commanded the sea and the air. A beachhead was securely established and gradually expanded. Within a month the Allies had captured the port of Cherbourg and were successfully meeting German counterattacks. The

Germans tried to hold the Allies in the Cherbourg peninsula. The Americans finally broke through the German lines and opened up a war of movement. In August, 1944, the Americans and British, with the help of the French Forces of the Interior (the underground, or the Maquis) swept over the Brittany peninsula, liberated Paris (August 25), and rolled on to the Belgian frontier and the German border. On August 15 the American Seventh Army landed in southern France, quickly captured Marseilles and Toulon, and raced up the valley of the Rhone to join their comrades in arms who were moving across northern France.

The battle for Germany. The battle for France was quickly won. As the war entered its sixth year, the battle for Germany began. In spite of new German weapons — the rocket bomb and the jet-propelled plane — most people in the United States and England believed that the European war might end in 1944. On December 16, 1944, a German counterattack broke through the lines of the American First Army and penetrated deeply into Belgium and Luxembourg. For a tense three weeks it was feared that in this "Battle of the Bulge" the Germans would be able to destroy completely the American lines of communication. The Germans were finally checked, and by the end of January, 1945, the territory they had seized in their desperate gamble had been reconquered. However, the German offensive had temporarily thrown the Americans off balance and upset Eisenhower's plans.

On January 12, 1945, the Russians started an offensive in the East, cracking the German lines and achieving phenomenal success. Before the end of January the Russians had liberated nearly all of Poland, isolated East Prussia from the rest of Germany, invaded German Silesia, encircled Posen, and, penetrating into Brandenburg province, reached positions less than sixty miles from Berlin.

On February 23, 1945, the Allies breached the Roer River line and moved toward the Rhine. On March 7 a railroad bridge across the Rhine at Remagen was captured and thousands of Allied troops were across the Rhine before the bridge was destroyed. Within the next few weeks the Allied armies blitzkrieged through Germany in various directions, capturing thousands of prisoners, occupying large cities, and liberating thousands of Allied prisoners. While Allied armies were dashing eastward across Germany, the Russians besieged and captured Vienna and started an attack upon Berlin. From the west, east, and south the Allies closed in on Germany. On April 26 the American and Russian armies met; a few days later Germany announced that Hitler was dead. Admiral Doenitz, who temporarily succeeded Hitler, and several German generals finally signed articles of surrender. May 8, 1945, was officially proclaimed as V-E Day. Many leaders of the Nazi party and several German generals were captured, held as war criminals, and brought to trial in November, 1945. Some,

including the infamous Himmler, the feared and hated leader of the Gestapo, committed suicide.

The U-boat war. Until the fall of 1943 German U-boats took an alarming toll of Allied shipping. Sinkings were particularly heavy throughout 1942, and for a time it seemed that the U-boats might be



ALLIED THRUSTS ON THE EUROPEAN FRONT

able to stop the flow of goods from the "arsenal of democracy" to the fighting fronts. But by the autumn of 1943 the U-boat had been brought under control. This was due in part to a greatly strengthened convoy system, aided by escort carriers; in part to air attacks on U-boat construction centers and bases; and in part to improved methods of detecting and fighting submarines. The conquest of the U-boats (approximately seven hundred were sunk) lacks some of the drama and glamour of great land battles, yet it is one of the most important victories won by the United Nations. Consequently, American-built cargo ships were able to deliver great quantities of American-made military equipment and supplies to all the fighting fronts.

The air front. In 1941 Germany used most of its air power to sustain offensives in Russia and North Africa. England slowly recovered from the bombings of 1940 and, with the help of the United States, gradually built up her air strength. By the summer of 1942 England's growing air power began to show itself. There was constant bombing of industrial areas in Germany and occupied Europe. In the fall of 1942 and the spring of 1943 the tempo of the bombings increased. As 1943 wore on, the British and Americans achieved superiority in the skies over western Europe. Each passing month the air offensive mounted in intensity and in accuracy, thanks to the scientific research which led to the development of radar. Air power had prepared the way for Allied victories in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy; it was used remorselessly to prepare the way for the invasion of France and to assist the American, English, and Russian armies as they closed in on Germany itself. In 1944 Germany was called upon to do on a grand scale the very thing that Hitler had promised the German people would not be necessary — to fight a two-front war. Hitler's dream of world empire was shattered and Germany was in ruins.

THE UNITED STATES WITHDRAWS FROM, AND RETURNS TO, THE PHILIPPINES, 1942–45

Japan's conquests in East Asia. On December 7 and 8 Japan struck at Wake Island, Guam, the Philippines, Malaya, and elsewhere. With the American fleet crippled at Pearl Harbor, the enemy had the initiative and used it to good advantage. In a blitzkrieg that rivaled Germany's drive in 1940, Japan obtained mastery of the rich resources of the Netherlands East Indies and the entire southwest Pacific.

Bataan. Japan captured Wake Island after a heroic defense by a small American garrison. Japan invaded the Philippines and besieged the American and Filipino forces under command of General Douglas MacArthur, who withdrew to Bataan Peninsula. There MacArthur's outnumbered forces had the protection of suitable terrain and the island fortress of Corregidor at the entrance to Manila Bay. There was no hope for relief, but the gallant stand at Bataan gave the Navy precious time in which to recover. In March, 1942, acting under orders from President Roosevelt, General MacArthur and a few others escaped to Australia, where MacArthur became commander in chief of the Southwest Pacific Command. In May, 1942, Lieutenant General Wainwright surrendered at Corregidor, and the Philippine Archipelago came into Japanese possession. Japan's air and naval control of the entire South China Sea and the East Indies placed her in a strong strategic position.

Midway and Guadalcanal, 1942. Distances in the Pacific are enormous. Nearly two months passed after Pearl Harbor before supplies

and planes began to trickle to Australia, which was in imminent danger of invasion. Meanwhile, the American Navy made a surprise raid on the Marshall and Gilbert islands, and in April, 1942, bombed Tokyo from carrier-based planes. In May, 1942, the American Navy outfought the Japanese in the Battle of the Coral Sea, and in June, 1942, the Navy achieved a smashing victory in the Battle of Midway. This battle stopped Japanese expansion across the Pacific and was later referred to by President Roosevelt as one of the most decisive engagements in naval history.

In August, 1942, the Navy landed Marines on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. For months it was uncertain whether they would be able to secure control of the island, but in February, 1943, the Japanese evacuated Guadalcanal, and the United States was in a position to begin a slow, two-year return to the positions it lost at the beginning of the war.

Island hopping: New Guinea, Tarawa, Saipan, 1943–44. From bases in Guadalcanal and the eastern end of New Guinea, the United Nations bombed near-by Japanese strongholds. Gradually United Nations forces occupied island after island (Bougainville, New Georgia, New Britain, and others) and seized position after position along the northern coast of New Guinea. By these tactics several islands held by the Japanese were by-passed or neutralized. While General MacArthur was increasing the number of bases held by the United Nations in the South Pacific, the Japanese were driven out of the Aleutians (May, 1943) and Admiral Nimitz, with the help of a rapidly expanding Navy, was crowding the Japanese in the central Pacific.

In November, 1943, in a bloody three-day struggle, American soldiers and marines, aided by a strong naval task force, stormed ashore on the islands of Makin and Tarawa in the Gilbert group. Next the Americans invaded the Marshall Islands (February, 1944) and a few months later moved in on the Marianas, first capturing the island of Saipan and then reconquering the island of Guam. The conquest of the Marianas gave the Navy control of air and sea bases fifteen hundred miles from Japan. Before the end of 1944 giant superfortresses — the B–29's — began pounding away at the Japanese homeland from bases established at Saipan. The outward push of the Japanese had been checked in 1942 at Midway and at Guadalcanal; by the end of 1944 American forces — land, sea, and air — were poised to strike either toward the Philippines or toward Japan itself.

MacArthur returns to the Philippines, October, 1944. In October, 1944, the Navy landed an American army on the island of Leyte in the central Philippines. The actual landing of the troops was preceded by daring, carrier-based air attacks, supported by strong naval task forces, in the waters around Formosa and the Philippines. The Japanese navy suffered serious losses. Land fighting dragged on for two

months, but before the end of the year Leyte was securely in American possession. In January, 1945, MacArthur, brilliantly supported by the Navy, landed troops at Lingayen Gulf on the island of Luzon. By the first of March, 1945, Bataan, Corregidor, and Manila were once again in American possession. Two months after the end of the war in Europe the entire Philippine Archipelago had been reconquered (July, 1945) and was developed as a forward base for American troops, planes, and ships.

Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Carrier-based planes, with the help of powerful naval task forces, carried the war to the Japanese homeland. On February 18 Marines stormed ashore on the island of Iwo Jima, 750 miles from Tokyo. In April, 1945, the Navy, the Marines, and the infantry moved even closer to Japan. This time troops were put ashore on Okinawa, one of the Ryukyu chain of islands only some three hundred miles from Japan. Again there were weeks of desperate and costly fighting, but once again American forces were successful. After three years of war, when our major efforts were being directed against Germany, our naval and air forces had achieved mastery of the Pacific.

The fighting in North Burma and China. While the United States was obtaining control of the central and southwest Pacific, difficult fighting was going on in North Burma and China. The Chinese, who had been fighting the Japanese since 1937, were hard pressed. Japanese forces closed the Burma Road and controlled most of the China coast. In 1944 Japanese armies met with some success in a drive to separate North and South China, and even forced Americans to abandon some of their forward air bases in China. (Because Russia did not enter the war with Japan until August 8, 1945, it was impossible to establish air bases on Russian territory.) General Stilwell, in command of all American forces in China, trained Chinese troops and planned the construction of a new highway to move supplies from India to the interior of China. He was recalled to Washington late in 1944, but soon after, the "Stilwell" highway, or Ledo-Burma Road, was in operation. Late in 1944 units of the British fleet were transferred to the Indian Ocean, and in the spring of 1945 the English recaptured Mandalay and Rangoon and drove the Japanese out of most of Burma.

In China itself, there were serious financial and political difficulties. Chiang Kai-shek had always opposed the Chinese Communists. The Communists fought against the Japanese in northern China, but did not co-operate with the Chinese Nationalist armies. The Communists hesitated to support Chiang Kai-shek unless he granted them important political concessions. This rivalry between the Communists under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the forces under Chiang Kai-shek was a factor in weakening the effectiveness of China's resistance.

With the end of the European war (May, 1945) the Americans,

the English, and the Chinese were able to use a steadily mounting weight of men and material to close in on Japan itself. Airplanes from Saipan and Okinawa rained destruction on the Japanese homeland. Carrier-based airplanes of the Navy joined in the attack. American submarines destroyed Japanese shipping. The American Third Fleet sailed in and around the waters of the Japanese homeland at will. The



ALLIED THRUSTS IN THE PACIFIC

Japanese navy had been knocked out as a fighting force. Japanese air power was growing weaker and weaker; even the "kamikaze" attacks (suicide dive bombers) could not hold back American planes and ships.

The Potsdam Conference. While pressing home this relentless attack, the United States, England, and China on July 26, 1945, during the Conference of the Big Three, published the terms of surrender they would impose upon Japan. These terms called for the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, the occupation of the Japanese homeland, the punishment of war criminals, the limitation of Japanese sovereignty to the four islands of the Japanese Archipelago, and the

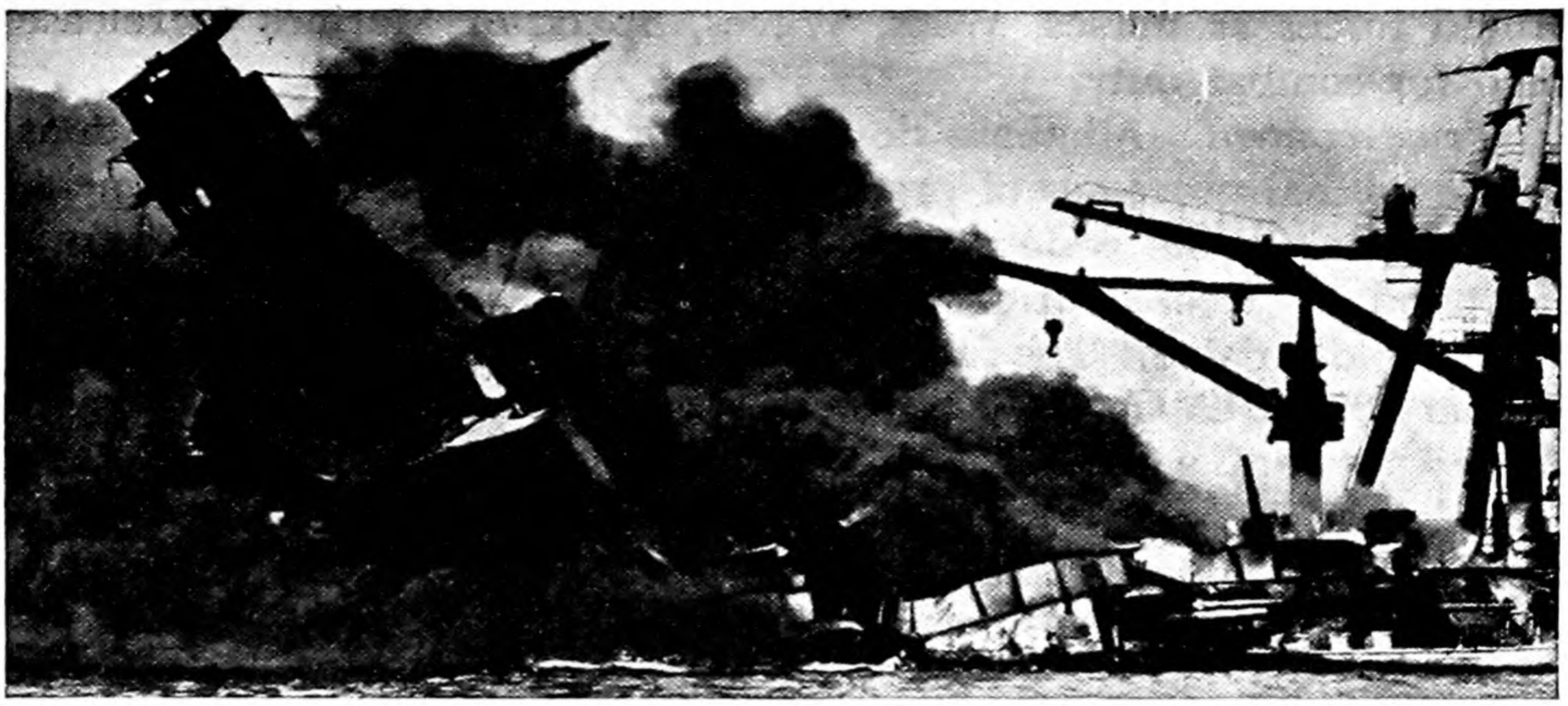
loss by the Japanese of all possessions in the Pacific and in Asia won by aggression.

The Japanese surrender. Events followed swiftly upon the publication of these demands. On August 6, 1945, the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima (pages 394–395); on August 8 Russia declared war on Japan and moved swiftly across Manchuria; on August 9 a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. On August 10 the Japanese government declared that it would accept the Potsdam terms of surrender provided the Potsdam ultimatum did not prejudice the prerogatives of the Japanese Emperor. The United Nations replied that the Emperor could remain as sovereign of Japan, but that he would be compelled to carry out the orders of the Supreme Commander of the Allied forces. Japan accepted this condition, and General MacArthur was designated as Supreme Commander. On September 2, 1945 — V-J Day — Japanese officials signed the formal surrender terms on board the battleship *U.S.S. Missouri* anchored in Tokyo Bay. After six years, World War II was at an end.

THE HOME FRONT IS MOBILIZED FOR VICTORY

Enlarging the Army and Navy. Shortly after the declaration of war against Japan, Congress amended the peacetime conscription act to provide for the registration of all men between eighteen and sixty-four. Those between the ages of twenty and forty-four were subject to military service. In November, 1942, Congress revised the law to allow the drafting of men eighteen and nineteen years of age. Congress also provided for the voluntary enlistment of women as regular members of the Army (Wacs), Navy (Waves), Marine Corps, and Coast Guard (Spars). Our total casualties were more than a million men; of this number about 275,000 were killed.

Shortages and rationing. Even before the United States entered the war, raw-material shortages and increasing prices caused serious difficulties. After Pearl Harbor these difficulties grew worse. The sale of tires was stopped and tires were later subject to strict rationing; on January 31, 1942, there was a complete stoppage of automobile production, and the great automobile industry devoted all its energies to war production. Many other industries were also converted to war production. As production increased month by month, unemployment ceased, wages increased, and family incomes expanded. Consumer's goods became scarce. Sugar, coffee, gasoline, and fuel oil were among the first commodities to be rationed. Shoes were rationed in February, 1943, and a point rationing system for canned goods, meat, and butter went into effect on March 1, 1943. Labor shortages developed in industry and on the farms. Millions of women replaced men in industry. Thousands of other women joined the



H. Armstrong Roberts

The once mighty battleship *U.S.S. Arizona* was sent to the bottom in the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941.



Official United States Coast Guard Photo

A huge armada of landing craft, destroyers, cruisers, and battleships carried troops and supplies to the shores of Okinawa when American forces invaded that Japanese-held island.

Jungle fighting in the Pacific theater of war meant pushing through thick tropical undergrowth while keeping constantly on the alert for Japanese snipers.



Press Association Inc.

armed forces as nurses, Wacs, Waves, Spars, or Marines to release men for combat duty.

Price control. All these developments led to serious dislocations in the normal processes of production, distribution, and employment. In 1941, while the country remained technically at peace, Congress hesitated to "freeze" prices, wages, and rents, although all of these were rapidly rising. The fact of war, however, brought action, and on January 30, 1942, Congress enacted a price control measure. Extraordinary powers were given to the Office of Price Administration. "Black markets" developed and the fear of a runaway inflation was always present. But in the main the O.P.A. succeeded in preventing prices from getting completely out of hand.

Production. Meanwhile American mines, shipyards, factories, and steel mills turned out large quantities of war materials, which, in spite of the U-boats, moved in an ever-increasing volume to the fighting fronts. In the single year 1942 American industry produced more than 8 million tons of ships, 48 thousand planes, and 56 thousand tanks; 1943 production almost doubled that of 1942. If modern war is a battle of supplies, then the war may truly be said to have been won in American shipyards, steel mills, mines, factories, and farms.

Taxation. The national debt soared to dizzy heights as Congress appropriated billions upon billions for airplanes, ships, tanks, and guns. Taxes of all kinds were increased not only to provide necessary revenue, but also to drain off excessive purchasing power and thus keep prices from getting completely out of control. In 1943 Congress approved a pay-as-you-go plan for the federal income tax, and directed employers to withhold a portion of each employee's wages to apply upon his income tax. The total government debt (1946) approximated the incomprehensible and staggering sum of 280 billion dollars.

Crosscurrents of opinion. Throughout the war, there were numerous complaints about its varied phases. Critics directed their fire against those charged with synthetic rubber production, oil production, rationing, price control, the allocation of lend-lease materials, and against government red tape and "directives." The arguments over foreign policy were more significant. There was criticism of the policy of the State Department toward Spain, "Vichy" France, the French leaders in North Africa, and toward Argentina. Also a matter of debate was the attitude of Britain and the United States toward Stalin and the Soviet Union, and the attitude of Stalin toward Japan, China, and political factions in Yugoslavia and Poland.

There were many proposals on how to deal with Germany and Japan and how to establish a satisfactory international organization. On all these questions there were so many commentators, writers, and others who were confident they knew the right answer that the average citizen was bewildered.

The United Nations. Political and diplomatic offensives have a bearing on the outcome of war no less important than military offensives. Beginning with the Atlantic Conference, Great Britain and the United States worked in close collaboration. Military and economic representatives of both countries frequently conferred with one another. Anglo-American war activities were co-ordinated through a series of special agencies, such as the Combined Chiefs of Staff, Combined Raw Materials Board, Combined Food Board, and Combined Shipping Adjustment Board. Some of these boards were later called upon to carry out a good deal of the humanitarian work of UNRRA — the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. UNRRA spent nearly four billion dollars before it wound up its affairs in 1947.

Similar efficient machinery for the pooling of efforts and resources was lacking in Anglo-American relations with China and Russia, although lend-lease materials flowed to those countries in ever-increasing volume. Russia tended to play a lone hand. For instance, she maintained diplomatic relations with Japan until one week before the end of the war. Furthermore, Russia did not permit foreign military and economic observers to study and report on the methods by which she stopped the Germans and finally hurled them back from Russian soil.

At the Casablanca Conference (January, 1943) Roosevelt and Churchill made plans for the North African and Italian campaigns (pages 768, 770). At the Quebec Conference (August, 1943) representatives of China were present, and plans for the campaign in the Pacific were discussed. Russia did not take part in either of these conferences. In October, 1943, a conference of the foreign secretaries of Great Britain (Mr. Eden), the United States (Mr. Hull), and Russia (Mr. Molotov) was held at Moscow. The Moscow Conference published a *Joint Four-Nation Declaration*, which was signed in behalf of China by the Chinese ambassador in Moscow. The four nations agreed to act jointly in all matters concerning the winning of the war and recognized the necessity of establishing an international organization for the maintenance of peace. At this conference Stalin indicated to Hull that Russia would enter the war against Japan.

The Cairo and Teheran Conferences, 1943. The Moscow Conference of foreign ministers laid the groundwork for conferences held later in the year at Cairo, Egypt, and Teheran, Iran (Persia).

At the Cairo Conference (November 22–26, 1943) President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek agreed upon future military operations against Japan. They declared that "Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese,

such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China." It was also agreed that Korea should become independent "in due course."

Following the Cairo Conference, Roosevelt and Churchill went on to Teheran, Iran, where they met Stalin. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek returned to China.

At the Teheran Conference (November 28–December 1, 1943) Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin announced that they had "reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south." (This was a promise of the western second front which Russia had been demanding.) The three leaders announced that they "shall seek the co-operation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance."

The Connally Resolution. At about the same time as the Moscow and Teheran conferences, the House of Representatives, through the Fulbright Resolution, and the Senate, through the Connally Resolution, pledged the United States to co-operate with other nations after the war. The Connally Resolution (1943) declared: "That the Senate recognize the necessity of there being established at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." The approval of this resolution by the Senate (85 to 5) and of the comparable one by the House was intended to assure the rest of the world that the *United States would actively participate in some sort of international organization.*

Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks. Other conferences held during 1943 and 1944 indicate that the United Nations were making determined efforts to solve the problem of peacetime co-operation. At Hot Springs, Virginia, in 1943, a conference of the United Nations proposed a Food and Agricultural Organization to pool knowledge and technical resources in order to raise living standards everywhere and to improve the world's agricultural production. In 1945 Congress approved membership in this organization.

At Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July, 1944, a conference of representatives of the United Nations formulated plans to stabilize international currencies and to promote foreign trade and reconstruction. This conference proposed the creation of an International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The purpose of the Fund is to prevent wide fluctuations in the exchange rates of national currencies. The main function of the World Bank is to lend money for reconstruction and to guarantee loans made by governments and private investors to develop economic re-

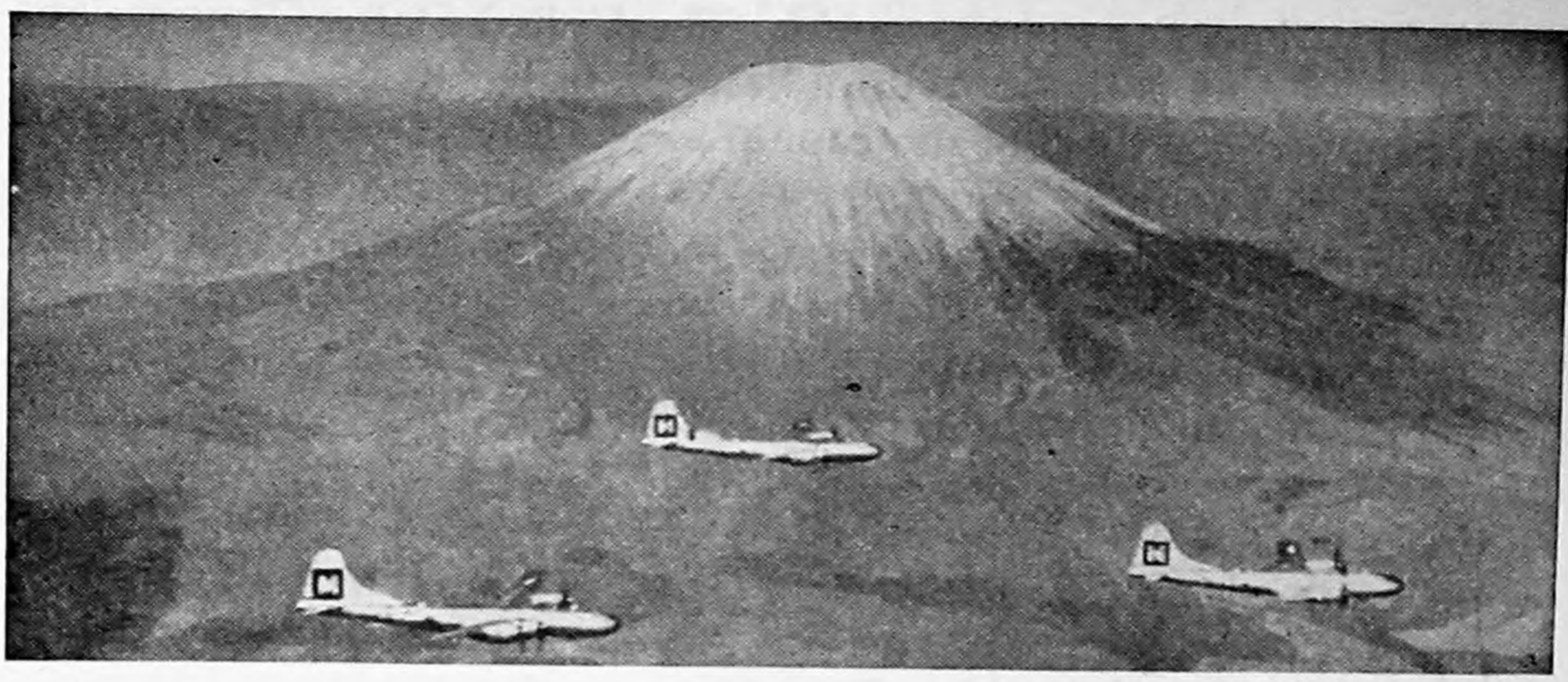
sources in various parts of the world. The United States Congress approved the Fund and the World Bank in July, 1945. The United States supplied one third of the capital for each organization.

During the summer and fall of 1944, representatives of Russia, England, China, and the United States met at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C., to prepare a draft for a new world organization to take the place of the old League of Nations. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals became the basis of discussion for the San Francisco Conference (1945) which finally drafted the Charter for the United Nations.

In November, 1944, a conference at Chicago discussed the problems of international air travel in the postwar world. Russia declined to take part in this conference on the ground that Spain, Switzerland, and other countries alleged to be friendly to the Axis would be present. This conference drafted a proposed treaty which was not approved by the big air powers. But later (1946) the Senate ratified a treaty creating an International Civil Aviation Organization with headquarters at Montreal. The ICAO, an agency of the United Nations, establishes rules for the supervision and safety of air navigation.

The problem of Poland. These evidences of international cooperation were disturbed in 1944 by a series of pronouncements from Russia. As the Soviet armies advanced into prewar Poland, Russia stated that it would not recognize the boundaries of prewar Poland, but the boundaries that Russia had worked out with Germany at the time of the partition of Poland in 1939. The Polish government-in-exile (London) protested, but Russia ignored the protests and sponsored a government for Poland on Polish soil at Lublin. The friction that began to develop among Russia, England, and the United States foreshadowed future difficulties. The Polish issue became more serious when Russian armies liberated Poland. Moscow officially recognized the Lublin government, which was subservient to Moscow and which transferred its headquarters to Warsaw. The Polish government-in-exile, though recognized by England and the United States, became a government without a country.

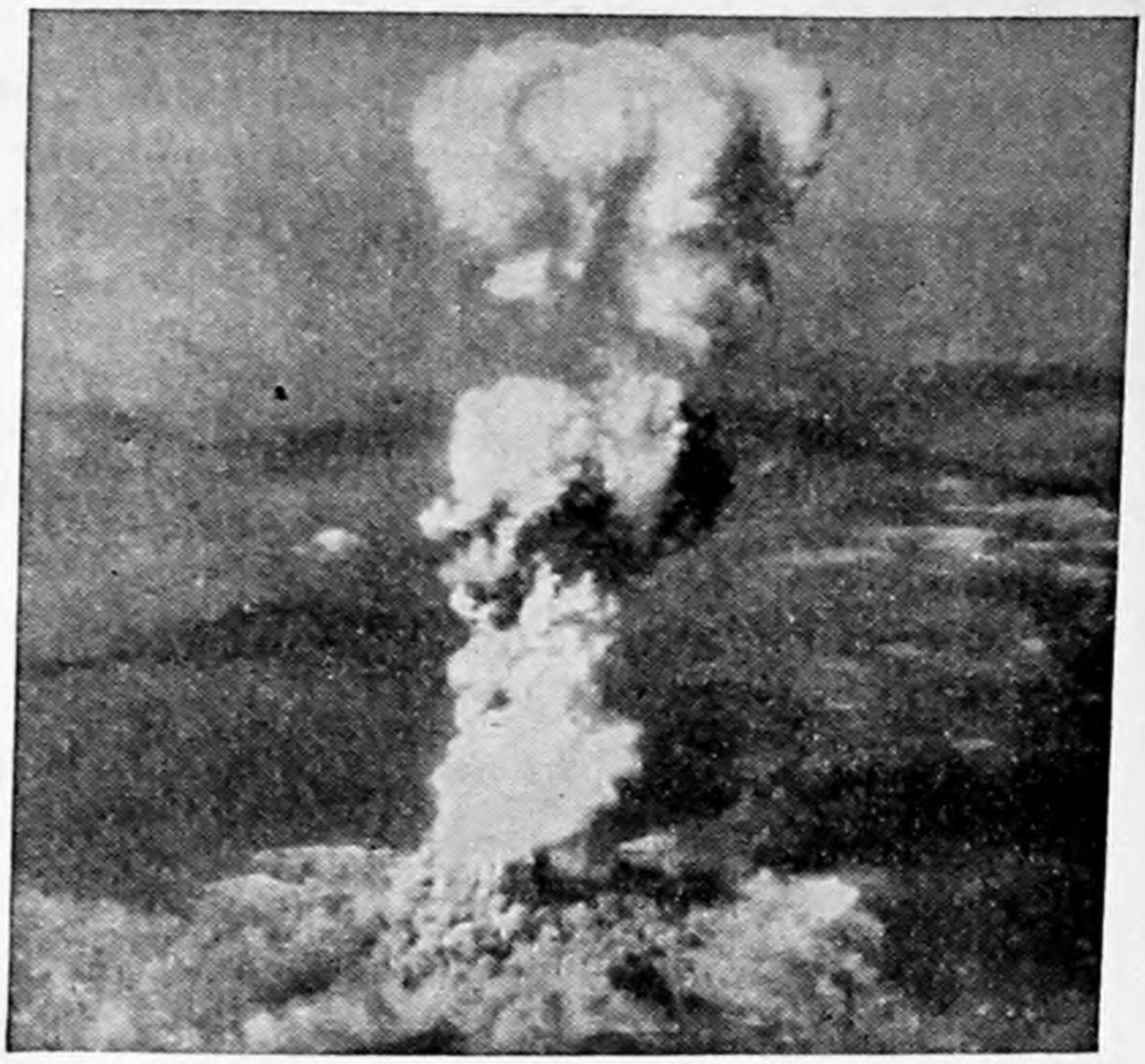
Debate on the Polish question throughout 1944 and 1945 led to criticism of communism and Russian policies. Some American magazines, newspapers, and radio commentators were bitter in their comments. At the same time the Russian newspaper *Pravda* (organ of the Communist party in Russia) sharply criticized statements that appeared in the American press. On the other hand, there were Americans who argued that these difficulties might be resolved amicably. It was pointed out that during the war Russia gave evidence of abandoning the extremes of Communist policy. Thus, in 1943, the rights and privileges of the Russian Orthodox Church were re-established, and the Comintern (Third International) was dissolved. Russia also abolished the "International" as a national anthem. In addition the



Press Association Inc.

American B–29 superfortresses flying in formation over Fujiyama are symbolic of the destruction rained on Japan from the air.

A spiraling column of smoke billowed 20,000 feet above Hiroshima, Japan, after the first atomic bomb was dropped by a United States B–29 superfortress. The dropping of this bomb ushered in the atomic age and with it the promise of either world destruction or world peace.



Press Association Inc.



Press Association Inc.

With millions of men in the armed services during World War II, American women rallied to work at factory benches and on assembly lines. These women workers in an airplane factory are polishing glass noses for planes.

Soviet Union announced that it would abandon its earlier efforts to encourage a world-wide revolution of the proletariat.

In the United States the Communist organization for a brief period followed Russia's lead and announced that it would no longer function as a political party. However, in 1945, after the defeat of Germany, there was evidence that Russia was reverting to the fundamental Communist theory of promoting revolution throughout the world. The Communists in this country shifted the "party line," abandoned their wartime policy of co-operation with "capitalistic democracy," once again functioned as a political party, and in 1946 removed Earl Browder as their leader. Mr. William Z. Foster succeeded Browder as leader of the American Communists. The shift in the party line of the American Communists was precipitated by a sharp criticism of their policy by M. Jacques Duclos, a leader of the French Communists.

Other sources of friction. While the Polish question was under debate, developments in other areas were an added cause of friction among the Allies. After Italy's collapse disagreement arose between England and the United States as to how far they would go in interfering with the governments of liberated countries. In Greece, revolutionary forces of alleged Communist sympathies refused to surrender their arms. England landed troops in Greece to maintain order. Churchill declared that Britain would not tolerate the seizure of power by armed revolutionaries. The action brought an outpouring of criticism in the United States, for many feared that the principles of the Atlantic Charter were being forgotten and ignored.

Other developments aroused similar fears. The countries of eastern Europe — Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary — were liberated and occupied by Russian troops and came within the Russian sphere of influence. Russia also indicated she wanted special economic concessions in Iran. It was hoped that these and other problems — such as the policy to be pursued toward a nearly defeated Germany and the part to be taken by Russia in the war with Japan — could be adjusted at a meeting of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. In February, 1945, this meeting finally took place.

The Yalta (or Crimean) Conference, February 4–11, 1945. The second and last meeting of Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill was held at Yalta in the Crimea in early February, 1945. The declaration published at the conclusion of the conference indicated that the Big Three had reached agreement on several points: (1) military plans for the final defeat of Germany; (2) common policies for enforcing unconditional surrender terms; (3) a conference of the United Nations, to be held at San Francisco on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter for a world security organization; (4) the creation of a new Polish provisional government to take the place of the Lublin government recognized by Russia and the London government recognized by Great Britain and the United States (page 783); (5) the eastern frontier of

Poland, which would follow, with minor exceptions, the Curzon line, but Poland was to receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west as compensation for loss of territory in the east.

Gradually it became known that the Big Three, both at Teheran and at Yalta, had reached other agreements which were not revealed at the time of the formal announcements. Not until March, 1947, did the State Department publish the full text of all the decisions.

The secret agreements at Teheran dealt with the prospective date of the Normandy invasion (then set for May, 1944), the decision to support Yugoslav guerrillas, and efforts to get Turkey into the war. The secret agreements reached at Yalta dealt with the voting formula in the United Nations, details concerning German reparations and occupation zones, and the price that Stalin would exact for participation in the war against Japan "two or three months after Germany has surrendered." Roosevelt and Churchill promised that the southern part of Sakhalin and the Kuriles would be given to Russia, that the status quo in Outer Mongolia would be maintained, that the port of Dairen would be internationalized, that the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port would be safeguarded, that Russia could establish a naval base at Port Arthur, and that in Manchuria the Chinese Eastern Railroad and the South Manchurian Railroad would be jointly operated by a Soviet-Chinese company. (In a Sino-Soviet treaty of friendship signed in August, 1945, China accepted the concessions to Russia concerning Outer Mongolia, the ports, and the railroads.) The conferences of the Big Three at Teheran and Yalta became the subject of bitter criticism and stout defense in the postwar years.

Two months after the Yalta Conference President Roosevelt died. His successor, President Harry S. Truman, announced that the San Francisco Conference to draft a charter for the United Nations would be held according to schedule. Two weeks after the opening of the conference, Germany surrendered and the United Nations turned to the task not only of establishing a World Security Organization, but also of prosecuting the war against Japan and of dealing with troublesome problems in a devastated and disorganized Europe.

The Berlin (or Potsdam) Conference. To lay the groundwork for the solution of some of these problems, a Big Three conference was held at Potsdam, a suburb of Berlin, July 17–August 2, 1945. President Truman represented the United States. England was represented by Mr. Churchill at the early sessions of the conference, and by Mr. Clement Attlee, leader of the Labor Party, at the later sessions. Mr. Attlee succeeded Mr. Churchill as Prime Minister and as the spokesman for England after his party's overwhelming victory in the July elections.

The report of the "Tripartite Conference of Berlin" outlined the political and economic principles which would control the peace settlement in Europe. (1) It was agreed to establish a Council of For-

eign Ministers (China, England, France, Russia, and the United States) to draft treaties of peace for Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland. (2) As agreed upon at Yalta, Germany was to be disarmed and demilitarized, and the German General Staff, the National Socialist Party, and all affiliated organizations were to be destroyed. War criminals were to be punished; all discriminatory laws were to be repealed; German industrial equipment suitable for war purposes was to be destroyed or removed from Germany. During the period of military occupation, there was to be no central German government, but Allied policies in the various zones of occupation would be uniform. (3) The conference reached agreement on reparations. Each of the three nations was to fill its own claims, largely by taking German goods and equipment from its own zone of occupation. Russia agreed to settle the reparation claims of Poland from its share of reparations. (4) Pending a final settlement of boundary lines, it was agreed that Poland's western boundary would extend from the Baltic to Czechoslovakia along the Oder and Neisse rivers, that Poland would receive Danzig and most of East Prussia, but that the city of Königsberg and a slice of East Prussia would go to Russia. (5) The conference also agreed to transfer "in an orderly and humane manner" the German population remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. (6) It was indicated that Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Finland, and states which remained neutral during the war might apply for membership in the United Nations. It was clearly stated, however, that the Spanish government of Generalissimo Franco could not seek membership in the United Nations.

The report of the conference was silent on many important problems. It said nothing about the use of "slave labor" as a form of reparations; it said nothing about Yugoslavia or Greece; and it referred territorial settlements with Italy to the Council of Foreign Ministers. The report expressed the hope that representatives of the press would enjoy full freedom to report on developments in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, but did not comment on the enjoyment of such freedom elsewhere. The report made no mention of Russia's attitude toward the war with Japan, but it did state that there were "meetings between the Chiefs of Staff of the three governments on military matters of common interest." This phrase apparently concealed important military decisions, for a week later (August 8, 1945) Russia declared war on Japan, thus carrying out the promise made by Stalin at Teheran and committed to writing in the secret agreement at Yalta. A few days later Japan surrendered and the war in Asia came to an end.

Difficult beginnings. The first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers ended in failure (September, 1945). Other meetings of the Council also failed to work out preliminary peace settlements. More than a year after Germany's defeat, the Council turned the job of

drafting peace treaties for Italy, the Balkans, and Finland over to a conference of twenty-one nations (Paris, July 29, 1946). The wartime fears that England, Russia, and the United States were finding it difficult to achieve their aim of working in harmony returned. These fears mounted in intensity as the months passed.

In the midst of these postwar difficulties and uncertainties, the United Nations started to function. Enough nations had ratified the United Nations Charter to bring about its establishment by October 24, 1945. The first meeting of the General Assembly was held in London early in 1946. The Security Council held regular meetings throughout 1946, in temporary quarters, first at Hunter College, New York City, and later at Lake Success, Long Island.

THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE UNITED NATIONS

Twenty-six years after Woodrow Wilson failed to secure Senate approval of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Senate ratified by a vote of 89 to 2 (July 28, 1945) the Charter of the United Nations. At long last the United States pledged itself to co-operate actively with other nations in the maintenance of peace.

Objects of the United Nations. The Charter of the United Nations was formulated at the United Nations Conference on International Organization held at San Francisco from April 25 to June 26, 1945. The purposes expressed in the Charter are: (1) to maintain international peace and security; (2) to take effective collective measures to remove threats to peace and to suppress acts of aggression; (3) to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples; (4) to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character; (5) to promote respect for human rights and the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

The members of the United Nations agreed to act in accordance with the following principles: (1) the sovereign equality of all members; (2) the execution in good faith of all the obligations assumed; (3) the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; (4) the abandonment of the threat or the use of force in dealing with other nations; (5) the promise to help the United Nations in any action it might take to maintain peace and security. The member nations agreed to register all treaties with the Secretariat. However, obligations under the Charter would take precedence over any other international obligation. The Charter stated that the United Nations would not intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

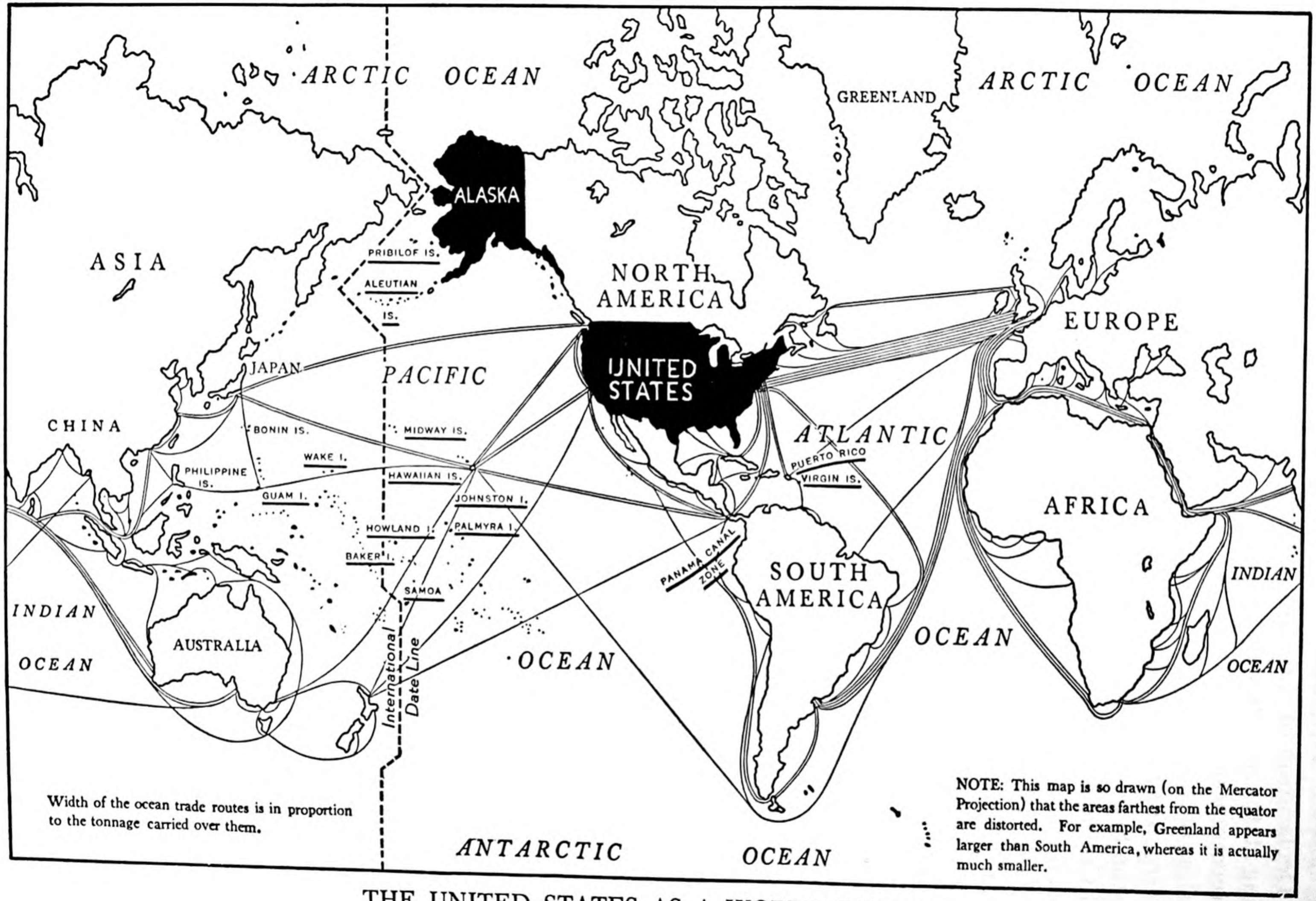
Membership. The original members of the United Nations were

those states which participated in the San Francisco Conference on International Organization, or those which had previously signed the Declaration of the United Nations, January 1, 1942. Other peace-loving states may become members by a vote of the General Assembly on recommendation of the Security Council. By 1952 the total membership was sixty.

Organs of the United Nations. The agencies of the United Nations are the Security Council, the General Assembly, an Economic and Social Council, an International Court of Justice, a Trusteeship Council, a Secretariat, and several specialized agencies.

The Security Council. The important governing and directing organ of the United Nations is the Security Council. The United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and France are *permanent* members of the Security Council. These nations are commonly referred to as the "Big Five." The General Assembly elects six other *nonpermanent* members. The term of these members is two years; a retiring nonpermanent member is not immediately eligible for re-election. Each member of the Security Council has one vote. Decisions on procedural matters require the approval of seven members; decisions on all other matters require the approval of seven members, *including the concurring vote of the permanent members.* This provision gives each of the Big Five a veto on all important actions. The veto power was the subject of much controversy. It was inserted in the Charter on the insistence of Stalin, who had secured the assent of Roosevelt and Churchill at the Yalta Conference.

The Security Council holds periodic meetings, and each member on the Security Council is to be represented at all times at the seat of the United Nations in New York City. (The first United States representative was Edward Stettinius, chairman of the San Francisco Conference, who resigned as Secretary of State to take the position. Subsequent representatives have been Warren R. Austin from Vermont, and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., from Massachusetts.) The Security Council has the power to investigate any situation which might lead to international friction. It may determine what action to take to prevent or hold in check any breach of the peace or act of aggression. It may direct parties to a dispute to solve the difficulty by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, judicial settlement, or by resort to regional agencies or arrangements. Before directing the use of armed force, the Security Council may call upon all of the United Nations to make use of these other measures: the severance of diplomatic relations and the complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of all means of communication. If these measures are inadequate, then the Security Council may use air, sea, or land forces to maintain or restore international peace. The Security Council has



THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER

at its disposal a *Military Staff Committee* consisting of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council.

Nothing in the Charter prevents the existence of regional arrangements or agencies, such as those contemplated by the Act of Chapultepec and the North Atlantic Treaty (pages 697 and 831). The Charter declares that the United Nations will encourage the peaceful settlement of disputes through regional arrangements and that the Security Council may use regional agencies for enforcement action. However, no enforcement action may be taken under regional arrangements without the authority of the Security Council.

The General Assembly. The General Assembly is made up of all members of the United Nations. Each member nation has *one* vote, but may have five representatives. The General Assembly, which meets annually, may consider any question relating to the maintenance of peace and may make recommendations to the Security Council. The General Assembly is forbidden to make recommendations concerning any matter pending before the Security Council. However, in practice, when the Security Council is deadlocked, a majority of the Security Council may remove the item from the schedule of the Security Council, thus permitting the Assembly to act on the matter. The precedent has been established that when the Security Council votes to remove an item from its schedule, the veto does not apply.

The General Assembly is directed to initiate and to make recommendations concerning the codification of international law. Decisions in the General Assembly on certain specified items, such as the election of nonpermanent members of the Security Council, the admission and expulsion of members, and recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, are to be made by a two-thirds vote.

In 1947 the General Assembly created the Interim Committee of the General Assembly. This has come to be known as the Little Assembly. The purpose of the Little Assembly is to function for the General Assembly between annual sessions and to conduct preliminary investigations. Russia has refused to recognize the Little Assembly, considering its creation to be a violation of the Charter.

In November, 1950, the General Assembly adopted a resolution known as *United Action for Peace.* This resolution provided that whenever there is an act of aggression or a threat to peace, if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility to maintain peace, the General Assembly may consider the matter immediately. If the Assembly is not in session, it may be called to meet in a special emergency session within twenty-four hours upon the request of any seven members of the Security Council. The resolution also created a *Peace*

Observation Committee, to observe and report on any area where international tension existed, and a *Collective Measures Committee*, to report on the methods and resources, including armed forces, which might be made available to the United Nations.

The Economic and Social Council. The Economic and Social Council consists of eighteen members elected by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. The term of office is three years. The function of the Economic and Social Council is to promote: (1) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions which help economic and social progress; (2) solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems, and international cultural and educational co-operation; and (3) universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. The Economic and Social Council co-ordinates the activities of several important *specialized agencies.* These agencies have their headquarters in different parts of the world. Among them are the International Labor Organization (ILO), at Geneva; the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), at Rome; the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), at Paris; the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), at Montreal; the Universal Postal Union (UPU), at Berne; the World Health Organization (WHO), at Geneva; the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, at Washington. A wide variety of special committees and missions of the United Nations and its subsidiaries function effectively in many scattered parts of the world. The activities of the Security Council and the General Assembly attract public attention, but the less dramatic day-to-day activities of the United Nations are world-wide in scope and far-reaching in importance.

The International Court of Justice. The International Court of Justice, with headquarters at The Hague, is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The statute of the Court, which is an essential part of the Charter, is based on the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court consists of fifteen independent judges elected for a term of nine years by the General Assembly and Security Council, voting independently. The judges are eligible for re-election. No two judges may be nationals of the same state.

The jurisdiction of the Court extends to all questions which states refer to it and to all matters provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. States may bind themselves in advance to accept the jurisdiction of the Court in special cases, either by signing a treaty which provides for reference to the Court or by making a special statement. If a party to a dispute fails to obey the decision of the Court, the other party may call upon the Security Council to take appropriate steps to compel obedience. (When the Senate of the United States declared



UNITED STATES LEND–LEASE SUPPLIES, 1941

its adherence to the Court, it did so with the provision that the Court would not have jurisdiction in disputes which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States as determined by the United States, August, 1946.) The agencies of the United Nations may request the Court for an advisory opinion (see page 745).

The international trusteeship system. The Charter declares that the members of the United Nations responsible for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote the well-being of these territories. The international trusteeship system is administered by a *Trusteeship Council* organized to apply to (1) territories held under the mandate system of the League of Nations, (2) territories detached from enemy states as a result of World War II, (3) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration. A trusteeship agreement must state the terms under which the trust territory is to be administered and what authority is to administer it. The administering authority may be one or more states or the United Nations itself. Supervision of the trust agreement is the function of the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly, unless the agreement designates the territory as a *strategic* area. In such cases the supervising authority is the Security Council.

The Secretariat. The Secretariat consists of a Secretary-General and such administrative staff as the organization may require. The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. In February, 1946, Trygve Lie of Norway became the first Secretary-General. In April, 1953, he was succeeded by Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden. The Secretariat employs more than three thousand workers. The budget for the United Nations in 1951 was approximately forty-eight million dollars.

Amendments. Amendments to the Charter require a two-thirds vote of the Assembly and ratification by two thirds of the member nations, including all of the Big Five. A conference to review the Charter may be called by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly and by the vote of any seven members of the Security Council. If such a conference is not held before the tenth annual session of the Assembly, the proposal to call such a conference is to be placed on the agenda of the tenth session.

The United Nations in action. As was stated earlier, the United Nations came into formal existence a few months after the close of the war in 1945 – on October 24, a day now celebrated as United Nations' Day. The organization began to function in a confused and critical era. Throughout the world, turbulent social and economic forces were in motion. Tensions and doubts disturbed not only the statesmen, but also the peoples of the world. World War II had been devastating; inevitably its effects were broad and deep. Nations and peoples could

not easily find solutions to a host of new problems, quickly re-establish old arrangements, or readily discover new patterns of thought and action to take the place of those that had been uprooted and destroyed. There was, indeed, "a world to reconstruct." In this task, the United Nations was a necessary and powerful instrument.

Words and Phrases

Anzio, Atlantic Charter, Bataan, "Battle of the Bulge," blitzkrieg, Burma Road, Casablanca, Cassino, Corregidor, D-Day, destroyer-naval base deal, Dunkirk, El Alamein, Guadalcanal, Hiroshima, Iwo Jima, Lend-Lease, Lublin government, Midway, Munich, Okinawa, Pearl Harbor, Russo-German pact, Saipan, Security Council, Stalingrad, Tarawa, Teheran, trusteeship system, veto power, "Vichy" France, Yalta

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What was the Munich settlement? How was it defended and criticized at the time?
2. What were some of the results of the Russo-German agreement of August, 1939?
3. What were the reasons for, and the results of, the first Russo-Finnish war, 1939–1940?
4. Briefly describe the German blitzkrieg of 1940; England's resistance, 1940–1941; the fighting in the Balkans and Africa, 1941–1942.
5. How did the political campaign of 1940 tend to influence American public opinion?
6. What were the provisions of the Atlantic Charter? Compare with Wilson's Fourteen Points (pages 729–731).
7. What was the Lend-Lease Act, March, 1941? How did it contribute to final victory? (Consult Stettinius, *Lend-Lease, Weapon for Victory.*)
8. Outline the major events which indicate a shift in American public opinion toward the war.
9. Describe the major elements in the over-all strategy of defense and attack leading to the defeat of Italy and Germany; to the defeat of Japan.
10. What is the significance of the approval of the Connally Resolution by the American Senate (1943)?
11. Briefly describe the Russian policy toward Poland, 1943–1945; compare with the British policy toward Greece.
12. Why are the battles of Stalingrad and Midway regarded as decisive?
13. During the war, what were some of the evidences of unsatisfactory relations among the "Big Five"?
14. What were the terms of the agreements – public and secret – entered into at Yalta?
15. What was the purpose of the Berlin, or Potsdam, Conference, 1945? What general policies were determined at this conference? To what extent have they been carried out?
16. Describe the purposes and organization of the United Nations. State the composition and function of the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council.

17. Explain the "veto" power. Should the Charter of the United Nations be amended to eliminate the veto power?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Briefly explain the reasons for Hitler's rise to power.
2. Report on the suggested explanations – official and otherwise – for the Russo-German pact, 1939, and for Hitler's invasion of Russia, June, 1941.
3. After further study, report on the nature and results of Russo-German collaboration, August, 1939–June, 1941.
4. Prior to June, 1941, what was the "party line" of the Communist party concerning the war? What was the "party line" from June, 1941, to September, 1945?
5. Investigate and report on the contemporary enthusiasm for the Atlantic Charter and on the apparent disregard of the Charter after 1942. Was this disregard of the Charter apparent or real?
6. Outline the important developments in our relations with Japan, 1939–1941. (Consult Millis, *This Is Pearl!*)
7. Investigate and report on the findings of the congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor disaster. Investigate and report on the extent to which the Pearl Harbor attack was a "surprise" attack. (Consult Millis, *This Is Pearl!*)
8. Evaluate the services of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. To what extent did the wartime conferences of the "Big Three" (Teheran and Yalta) contribute to victory? To what extent did the conferences contribute to the development of postwar problems? (Consult Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, and Stettinius, *Roosevelt and the Russians; the Yalta Conference;* also Commager, *Documents.*)
9. Evaluate the contributions of England, Russia, the United States, and China to the winning of the war.
10. Investigate and report on the outstanding scientific developments during the war. (Consult Baxter, *Scientists against Time,* and Smyth, H. D., *Atomic Energy for Military Purposes.*)
11. Should the United States have used the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki? (Consult Stimson, Henry L., "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Harper's Magazine,* February, 1947.)

Suggested Reading

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CONFLICT: Bailey, pp. 755–764; Bemis, pp. 831–843; Benns, F. Lee, *Europe's Return to War;* Brogan, *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Y.C.S.); Churchill, Winston, *The Gathering Storm,* pp. 52–405; Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 583–589; Nevins, *The New Deal and World Affairs* (Y.C.S.); Nevins and Hacker, eds., *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs,* pp. 388–430, 518–535; Schlesinger, pp. 402–429; Sherwood, Robert E., *Roosevelt and Hopkins,* pp. 123–152, 230–349. For important documents, consult Langsam, Walter C., ed., *Documents and Readings in the History of Europe since 1918;* see also Commager.

NEUTRALITY AND LEND-LEASE: Bailey, pp. 764–776; Bemis, pp. 844–

862; Churchill, Winston, *Their Finest Hour*, pp. 553–573, *The Grand Alliance*, pp. 419–476; Nevins and Hacker, eds., *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs*, pp. 453–496; Sherwood, Robert E., *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, pp. 221–403; Stettinius, Edward R., *Lend-Lease, Weapon for Victory;* Commager, No. 527 – Neutrality Act 1939; No. 538 – Lend-Lease Act; No. 540 – the Atlantic Charter.

THE WAR IN THE WEST: Churchill, Winston, *The Grand Alliance; The Hinge of Fate; Closing the Ring;* Eisenhower, Dwight, D., *Report of the Supreme Commander from the Day of Invasion to the Day of Victory; Crusade in Europe;* Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 605–612; Marshall, George C., *The Winning of the War in Europe and the Pacific;* Pratt, *War for the World* (Y.C.S.); Schlesinger, pp. 444–450; Sherwood, Robert E., *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, pp. 439–590; Commager, No. 565 – the Surrender of Germany.

THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC: Churchill, Winston, *The Hinge of Fate; Closing the Ring;* Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 602–605; Marshall, George C., *The Winning of the War in Europe and the Pacific;* Pratt, *War for the World* (Y.C.S.); Schlesinger, pp. 450–455.

THE HOME FRONT: Hacker and Kendrick, pp. 618–637; Faulkner, pp. 703–714; Janeway, *The Struggle for Survival* (Y.C.S.); Nelson, Donald M., *Arsenal of Democracy, the Story of American War Production;* Nevins and Hacker, eds., *The United States and its Place in World Affairs*, pp. 535–561; Schlesinger, pp. 429–440.

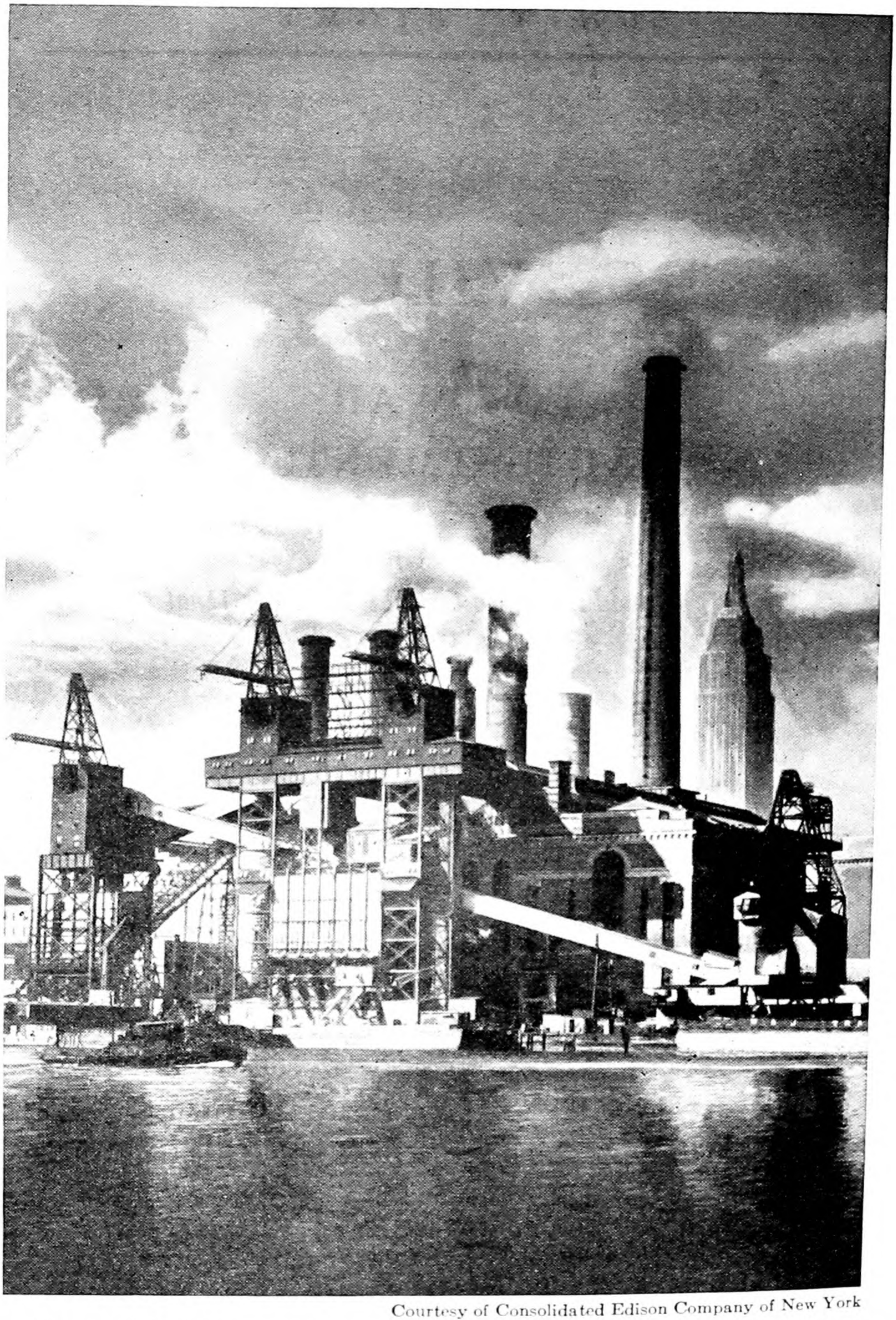
THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER: Arne, Sigrid, *United Nations Primer;* Bailey, pp. 842–851; Bemis, pp. 863–875; Chase, E. P., *The United Nations in Action;* Evatt, Herbert V., *The United Nations;* Nevins, *New Deal and World Affairs* (Y.C.S.), pp. 287–314; *Prefaces to Peace*, a symposium containing Willkie, Wendell L., *One World,* Hoover, H., and Gibson, H., *The Problem of Lasting Peace,* Wallace, Henry A., *The Price of Free World Victory*, and Welles, Sumner, *Blueprint for Peace;* Sherwood, Robert E., *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, pp. 883–916. Consult Langsam, *Documents*, for the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice. For continuing sources of a rich variety of informational materials – books, pamphlets, films, posters, etc. – consult the following: The American Association for the United Nations, 45 East 65th Street, New York; The National Education Association, Committee on International Relations, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.; The United Nations, Department of Public Information, New York, N.Y.; and the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

VIII

POSTWAR ADJUSTMENTS

CHAPTERS

47 President Truman and the Fair Deal
48 The "Cold War"



Courtesy of Consolidated Edison Company of New York

Postwar United States made remarkable progress both in various fields of scientific research and in industrial production and distribution, as exemplified by this waterside generating station.

CHAPTER FORTY-SEVEN

President Truman and the Fair Deal

WITH THE WAR'S END, THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD FACED NEW CONDITIONS AND NEW PROBLEMS

New international conditions. Six years of destructive war violently disturbed political, social, and economic arrangements throughout the world. The channels of international trade were clogged; national currencies were disorganized and unstable.

Russia emerged from the war as the dominant military and industrial power in Europe; within a few years it became clear that Russia was also a dominant power in Asia. Central and Eastern Europe, in ruins and disorganized, gradually came under her influence. France and Italy were weak and torn asunder by factional quarrels. The political and economic structure of the British Empire was in process of change. England recognized the independence of the republics of India and Pakistan; the British withdrew from Palestine; and the new State of Israel came into existence. England's influence in Egypt and the Near East was lessening. Her old position of world leadership was challenged by the United States as well as by Russia.

In the Far East the war had cost Japan her position of power. In China, the long and ruinous conflict between the Chinese Nationalists and Communists continued; by 1949, the Communists had forced the remnants of the Nationalist Army to seek refuge on the island of Formosa.

Colonial populations in Asia, in the Pacific, and in Africa were restless and in revolt. There were rising "new nationalisms" and a ground swell of demands for justice, human rights, and democracy almost everywhere. The Netherlands recognized the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. In French Indo-China, the Communists and factions supported by France struggled for control.

These conditions had important effects on American policies. The nations of Western Europe were dependent on the United States for financial and military aid. This the United States supplied in abundant measure. The American people were gradually becoming conscious of the great power they had achieved. Slowly they endeavored

to formulate a foreign policy to meet the needs of the rapidly changing international scene.

Domestic changes. The nations of the world were bankrupt or heavily in debt. Heavy taxation weakened measurably the influential position of the middle class; political power seemed to be in the process of transfer from the middle class to the masses. Deep-rooted social and economic dissatisfactions fostered the growth of radical or left-wing economic and political ideas. In many countries Communist influence seemed to be on the increase; other countries inaugurated a program of "moderate socialist" reforms. England, for example, under the control of a Labor government from 1945 to 1951, nationalized banking, coal, transportation, and health services.

Within the United States mass production techniques made astonishing progress, bringing about important changes in the methods of production and distribution and in the relations between labor and management. The federal government exercised a more powerful influence on the economic system than ever before — in borrowing, in spending, in allocating raw materials, in controlling wages, prices, and credit, and in protecting the social and economic welfare of the people. Scientific progress was phenomenal, appearing spectacularly in airplane design, in the development of jet propulsion and guided missiles, in automatic machinery, in medical and chemical discoveries, and in the field of atomic research.

THE NATION DEMOBILIZES AND SPEEDILY CONVERTS TO PEACETIME PRODUCTION

Demobilization. During the war the United States had increased its debt from forty-nine billions to two hundred and fifty-eight billions; it had built an industrial organization which turned out unprecedented quantities of war materials; it had raised an army of more than fifteen million men and women and it had imposed upon the people a variety of wartime controls. Before the close of 1945, about six and a half million soldiers had been returned to civilian life, and by the end of 1946, the process of demobilization was completed. The government canceled war contracts, arranged for the sale of surplus war materials, and placed a large portion of our naval vessels in "moth balls."

The G.I. Bill of Rights. Some Americans feared that the sudden stoppage of war production and the return of millions of veterans to civilian life might lead to mass unemployment and depression. Their fears proved to be groundless. To help the veterans, Congress enacted the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. This "G.I. Bill of Rights," as it was popularly called, provided unemployment benefits for veterans, loans to help them get started in farming or in business or to buy homes, and tuition fees and maintenance for those veterans

who desired to go to college or take apprenticeship training.

"Reconversion prosperity." Industry, which had done an amazing job in producing war materials, did an equally amazing job in speeding the task of conversion to peacetime production. Returning veterans and workers discharged from war plants were quickly absorbed in peacetime industries. There was a steady demand for consumer goods of all kinds. An accumulation of wartime savings was available to be spent on a variety of articles as they came from the assembly lines. Prices moved upward; inflation became a serious domestic problem, and political battles raged over the wisdom of retaining or abandoning wartime controls. Labor waged a series of strikes, national and local.

The congressional elections of 1946. The economic condition of the country influenced politics. Democrats and Republicans argued over the best way to deal with the problems of price controls, inflation, taxation, government spending, and labor. In the congressional campaigns of 1946 the Republicans appealed to the voters with the promise to cut governmental expenditures, reduce taxes, hold prices in check, and restrain the "arrogant monopoly" of labor. They used the slogan, "Had Enough? Vote Republican."

The Republicans captured control of Congress. As a result President Truman had to deal with a Congress controlled by the opposition (1947–1948). There was also discontent within the Democratic party. Liberals within the party were disappointed when Mr. Ickes resigned from the Cabinet in protest over Mr. Truman's nomination of Mr. Pauley to be Under-Secretary of the Navy. Others were dissatisfied because Mr. Truman requested the resignation of Mr. Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce after he had criticized the foreign policy of the administration in a public address. Southern Democrats were in revolt because Mr. Truman urged Congress to enact a federal Fair Employment Practices Act and an anti-poll tax law.

The Twenty-second Amendment. In March, 1947, the Republican Eightieth Congress submitted the Twenty-second Amendment to the states for ratification. This amendment provides that "No person shall be elected to the office of President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President, shall be elected to the office of President more than once." Ratification of this amendment by three fourths of the states was completed in February, 1951.

The Presidential Succession Act. In 1947 Congress, responding favorably to a suggestion of President Truman, modified the Presidential Succession Act of 1886. The new law provided that in the event of the death or incapacity of the President and Vice-President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives would succeed to the

presidency. Next in line of succession would be the president pro tempore of the Senate, and then the Cabinet members, beginning with the Secretary of State (pages 119–120). The chief argument for the change was the thought that an elected official should have priority over an appointive official in the line of succession to the presidency.

Congressional reorganization. In 1946 Congress passed a Congressional Reorganization Act which increased the salaries of members of Congress, required the registration of lobbyists, considerably reduced the number of congressional committees, and provided each committee with funds to employ four experts.

The Hoover Commission. In 1947 Congress created the Commission on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch. This bipartisan commission, under the chairmanship of former President Herbert Hoover, published a series of extensive studies and recommendations early in 1949. Congress authorized the President to inaugurate the reforms recommended, but either the House or the Senate by majority vote could disapprove any of the President's plans within sixty days of its submission to Congress. President Truman put into effect several changes recommended by the Commission. One interesting recommendation — namely the organization of a Department of Welfare — was rejected by the Senate. However, in 1953, Congress did create the new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The Department of National Defense. In 1947 Congress provided for the merger of the Army, Navy, and Air Force under a single Cabinet officer. The Hoover Commission criticized this Armed Forces Unification Act, claiming there were unfortunate interservice rivalries. In August, 1949, Congress reorganized the National Military Establishment as the Department of National Defense. The new unification law provided for a Secretary of Defense with authority over all branches of the military service. Under the Cabinet officer are three secretaries in charge of three departments — the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, and the Department of the Air Force.

The Taft-Hartley Act, or the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947. This law provoked more controversy than any other legislation of the postwar years. The main purpose of the law, according to its supporters, was to give industry and management equality with labor. It supplants the Wagner Labor Relations Act (pages 584–585), which, it was argued, gave labor unions such broad privileges that they were able to "dictate to management."

The Taft-Hartley Act reorganized the National Labor Relations Board (N.L.R.B.) and increased its membership. While the Wagner Act had condemned unfair employer methods, the Taft-Hartley Act also condemned unfair union methods. The N.L.R.B. was given the power to deal with *complaints against labor unions by employers and workers;* formerly the N.L.R.B. could only deal with complaints *by*

unions against employers. The new law forbade labor unions to engage in six practices which were characterized as "unfair": to restrain or coerce workers or employers in determining a collective bargaining agency; to compel or persuade employers to discriminate against any worker; to refuse to bargain collectively; to fix excessive fees for admission to union membership; to engage in jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts; to adopt policies which encouraged "featherbedding" or "stand-by" work.

The Taft-Hartley Act outlawed strikes by employees of the United States and of government-owned corporations. It outlawed the closed shop — that is, one which makes union membership a condition of employment. The union shop — that is, one which requires a person to join a union after employment — is permitted. (In 1951, an amendment to the law permitted employers to sign union-shop agreements without holding elections.)

The law required labor unions to file a notice of intention to modify or terminate a contract sixty days before its expiration. During this "cooling off" period, strikes are forbidden. In the event of a strike in a key industry, such as coal or transportation, the President has the power to proclaim an emergency and to direct the Attorney General to petition the courts for an eighty-day injunction.

Another section of the law required labor unions which desired the right to appeal to the N.L.R.B. to file important information with the Department of Labor. This information includes the names and compensation of union officers; the union's constitution, the amount of initiation fees, dues, receipts, disbursements; methods of disciplining members; and the details of insurance benefits. Finally, the officers of labor unions desiring to use the N.L.R.B. were required to file affidavits that they were not members of the Communist party and that they did not believe in and were not members of any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the government by force. This section of the law (upheld by the Supreme Court as constitutional) intensified internal disputes in a number of unions. Before the passage of the law some labor unions had undertaken to purge themselves of leaders who were suspected of being Communists or of following the Communist party line. The law speeded up this purging process.

Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act over the President's veto. Mr. Truman repeatedly criticized the law and made it an issue in the presidential campaign of 1948. Labor leaders attacked it as a "slave labor law." Mr. Taft, the law's chief sponsor, admitted the law needed clarification and modification, but he stoutly defended the basic principles of it. Mr. Truman was unable to secure repeal of the law, though the Democratic party had a majority in Congress from 1949 through 1952. The law again became an issue in the presidential election of 1952. Hence, as time passed, the phrase "Taft-Hartley"

became an important political symbol, a sort of slogan, arousing bitter partisanship. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Congress may try to enact another comprehensive Labor-Management Relations Act, which will amend or clarify some of the features of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Increase in union influence. Whatever the merits or defects of the law, labor unions continued to grow in numbers and in strength, winning repeated wage increases and other benefits for their workers. Labor unions developed capable leaders, like Mr. William Green of the A.F. of L., Mr. Philip Murray of the C.I.O., Mr. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, Mr. Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers. Both Mr. Green and Mr. Murray died in November, 1952. Mr. George Meany was elected President of the A.F. of L. and Mr. Reuther became President of the C.I.O. These labor leaders and others associated with them have as much influence in shaping domestic, and even foreign, policy as many senators and representatives. The emergence in the twentieth century of the powerful labor leader as an important force in politics and economics is comparable to the rise in influence of the businessman in the nineteenth century. Some observers have referred to the present as an age of "Big Business," "Big Labor," and "Big Government."

It is significant that in addition to wage increases labor unions have in recent years been demanding and securing "fringe benefits," such as paid holidays and vacations, sickness and accident benefits, and pension systems. The settlement of the steel strike in 1949 provided for a company-financed pension system which set a pattern for other industries. Some labor leaders are urging that certain industries provide a guaranteed annual wage.

During the steel strike of 1952, Mr. Truman, declining to take advantage of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, ordered the government seizure of steel mills, claiming that the President had "inherent power" to take such a step when the nation's economy and defense program were in danger. The Supreme Court ruled that Mr. Truman's action was unconstitutional because Congress had not provided for such an exercise of executive authority (see pages 121–122).

The presidential election of 1948. Republican success in the Congressional elections of 1946 convinced many leaders in the Democratic party that Mr. Truman could not carry the party to victory. A group of these leaders organized a movement to "draft" General Eisenhower, who had accepted the presidency of Columbia University. When he refused to become a candidate, some Democrats continued to argue that it would be better to take their chances of success with a candidate other than Mr. Truman. However, the Democratic Convention of 1948 nominated Mr. Truman for President and Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky for Vice-President. A number of Southern Democrats, referred to as "Dixiecrats," bolted the conven-

tion. Subsequently they nominated Governor Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Governor Wright of Mississippi for Vice-President. An extreme liberal faction, led by Mr. Henry Wallace, held a separate convention. Taking the name Progressive, they nominated Mr. Wallace for President and Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho for Vice-President. The Communist party endorsed Mr. Wallace; the Socialist party again nominated Mr. Norman Thomas.

The Republicans were confident of success. Consequently there was a spirited contest for the nomination, which finally went for the second time to Governor Dewey of New York. Governor Earl Warren of California was nominated for the vice-presidency.

Although the leaders in his own party were lukewarm, Mr. Truman was confident and waged a vigorous campaign. In a gallant and practically single-handed fight, Mr. Truman condemned the Eightieth Congress as the "worst ever," promised repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and advocated civil rights legislation, farm price supports, the extension of social security benefits, and federal aid to housing and education. Mr. Truman had the active support of three groups which, it may be expected, will continue to play an important part in the politics of the nation and of some states and cities — namely, the Political Action Committee (P.A.C.) of the C.I.O., Labor's League for Political Education of the A.F. of L., and the Americans for Democratic Action (A.D.A.), a group of anti-Communist liberals.

All pre-election polls predicted Mr. Truman's defeat, but he emerged triumphant. In addition the Democrats even recaptured control of Congress. The unexpected results of the campaign have been attributed to several factors — the failure of Mr. Wallace to lure many votes away from the Democrats, the cautious campaign of the overconfident Mr. Dewey, and the vigorous "whistle-stop" campaign of Mr. Truman. The popular vote was Truman, 24,105,000; Dewey, 21,970,000; Thurmond, 1,169,000; Wallace, 1,157,000; and Thomas, 139,000. It was the first time since 1916 that the winning candidate did not have a majority of the popular vote. The electoral vote was Truman, 303 from 28 states; Dewey, 189 from 16 states; Thurmond, 39 from 4 states plus 1 from Tennessee.

MR. TRUMAN'S "FAIR DEAL" EXTENDS FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WELFARE

The "Fair Deal" program. In January, 1949, President Truman gave the label "Fair Deal" to the four-year term to which he had been elected, declaring that "every segment of our population and every individual has the right to expect from his government a fair deal."

Although the Democrats controlled the Eighty-first Congress (1949–1950) and the Eighty-second Congress (1951–1952), Mr. Truman was

not able to get Congressional approval of many of the measures he advocated. Mr. Truman's failures in Congress were attributed to a coalition of Republicans, Southern Democrats, and a few conservative Democrats from other regions. The President's steady support of "civil rights legislation" (pages 811–813) alienated many Southern Democrats; still others in the South and elsewhere were opposed to what many critics of the Fair Deal began to describe as the "welfare state." A filibuster in the Senate by Southern Democrats effectively blocked Mr. Truman's "civil rights program." Enough Southern or conservative Democrats joined with Republicans to prevent the enactment of many other administration measures. The following items in the Fair Deal program were not carried out: repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act; creation of valley authorities, similar to the T.V.A., for the Columbia and Missouri rivers; admission of Alaska and Hawaii as states; approval of the St. Lawrence Seaway; passage of laws to provide federal aid to education, a universal military training program, an improved farm support program, and a national health insurance program. Congress also illustrated its independence of the President by overriding his veto of a new immigration law (page 607) and of a law designed to curb Communist activities (pages 816–817).

In spite of these set-backs, however, the accomplishments of the Fair Deal were substantial. The minimum wage rate set by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 at forty cents an hour was raised to seventy-five cents. Congress, at the urging of the President, corrected weaknesses in the Displaced Persons Act and doubled the number of persons to be admitted (page 607). Federal rent controls were retained in modified form; the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program was continued. Although the President's National Health Insurance program, characterized by the American Medical Association as "socialized medicine," went down to defeat, Congress did appropriate funds for hospital construction, medical research, and a National Science Foundation (page 624). Congress, by laws in 1949 and 1950, subsidized slum clearance and authorized a public housing program (page 624) as well as a loan and mortgage system to encourage private construction. One of the most notable achievements of the administration was the improvement and extension of the social security system (pages 623–624).

Throughout the four-year term to which Mr. Truman was elected, prosperity was general. During the spring of 1950 a mild recession occurred, with the number of unemployed increasing slightly. The outbreak of the Korean war in June, 1950, put an end to the temporary recession. Government expenditures for war materials and the expansion of defense industries stimulated prosperity in the latter half of 1950 and throughout 1951 and 1952. During this prosperous period, prices, taxes, and wages increased. Inflation became a real danger,

and the administration was harassed and ineffective in its efforts to check it and to stabilize prices.

President Truman's administration was plagued by the unearthing of scandals which touched some members of the administration. There was unsavory evidence of "influence peddling" on the part of individuals who collected "5 per cent fees" and substantial gifts for efforts to secure government contracts or favors for friends. Investigation also revealed certain officials in the Internal Revenue Bureau who were guilty of wrongdoing in the handling of income tax cases. Several officials were dismissed; others were permitted to resign; some were brought to trial. Senator Kefauver of Tennessee won a national reputation as head of a Senate Crime Investigating Committee to uncover the connection between organized gambling, crime, and politics. Prosecuting attorneys in many cities and states were kept busy seeking indictments and convictions of those whose activities had been exposed by the committee.

Early in 1952 President Truman announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election. In spite of setbacks and scandals, the Democratic party was generally satisfied with its accomplishments, both foreign and domestic, under the Truman Fair Deal. It appealed to the country in the 1952 elections on the ground that under President Truman it had attempted a liberal and progressive program.

THE FAIR DEAL PROVOKES CONTROVERSY ON UNRESOLVED ISSUES WHICH SHARPLY DIVIDE THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTIES

Unresolved and continuing issues. Some phases of the Fair Deal program which were not enacted into law were fundamental issues that had been long in developing. Opinions throughout the country were sharply divided, with the divisions appearing within both the Democratic and the Republican parties. Several of the issues reappeared in the presidential campaign of 1952 and are likely to be the subject of debate and congressional action during the decade of the 1950's. (1) What should the federal government do about labor-management relations? Should the Taft-Hartley law be amended or repealed? (2) How can the federal government cope with the rising cost of living? What federal or local controls, if any, should be established over prices, wages, production, and credit? How can the government debt and taxes be reduced? (This issue is, of course, closely related to foreign policy and government expenditures for foreign aid and military defense.) (3) To what extent and how shall the government embark on a program of federal aid to education? (4) What should be the policy of the federal government toward civil rights legislation? (5) What should be the policy of the government toward communism on both the domestic and international fronts?

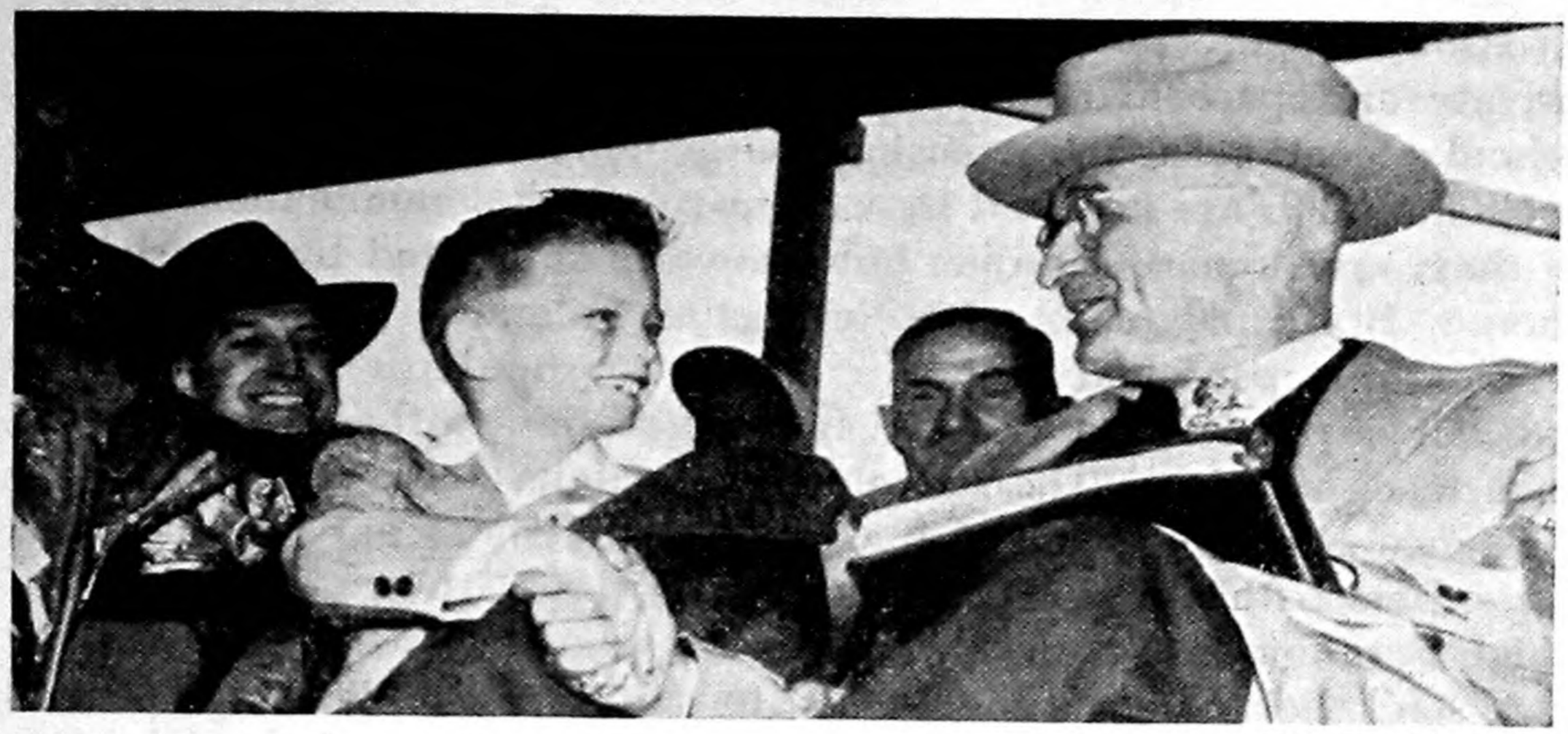
During the postwar years these issues have been presented to the American people in many forms. Each of these questions can be divided into numerous specific issues. Indeed, as the country makes up its mind, it will probably do so piecemeal, on particular issues.

Some of these continuing problems merit further consideration and a review of the government action that has been attempted.

The problem of federal aid to education. The financing of education has been regarded as primarily the function of the local community and the individual states. Most states use their taxing powers to obtain funds to help local communities support their schools. The purpose of state aid is to help poorer sections or sparsely settled communities to maintain schools that will measure up to the minimum standards set by the state. The drafting of large numbers of citizens into the armed forces during World War I and World War II revealed the uneven educational standards that prevailed throughout the country. Many leaders of opinion and many organizations argued that the federal government should step in to help the less favored states, so that throughout the country the educational opportunities available to children would be more nearly equalized.

Throughout the country more schools, more teachers, and more school supplies are needed. In the first place, the increase in the national birth rate during the 1940's led to a rapid increase in the number of children attending the first years of the elementary schools. Secondly, the war led to a curtailment of new school building. Finally, there has been a shortage of teachers, partly because teachers' salaries have remained inadequate. The problem of crowded schools, inadequate and outmoded facilities, and poorly trained teachers had been a serious one in different parts of the country long before World War II. In the postwar years, however, the crisis became acute, and the proposal that the federal government should furnish financial help to education gained more and more favor. This proposal raised a series of questions. Would federal aid to education mean federal control of education? Should tax funds be withdrawn from wealthier states or sections which spent large sums for education to finance poorer states or sections? Should the federal government allocate funds to states which maintained segregated schools? What formula would the federal government use in distributing its funds to the states?

Federal aid to education raises the issue of the separation of church and state. Finally, after years of debate a compromise which it appeared would be satisfactory to a majority of Congress was worked out. Among other things, this plan provided federal funds for auxiliary services, such as bus transportation, medical and health services, and lunch programs. But a new controversy developed, which temporarily, at least, blocked federal action. Many individuals and groups questioned the advisability of providing federal aid of any kind to nonpublic schools.



Wide World Photos

President Truman on a "nonpolitical" speaking tour of the country to expound his Fair Deal program takes time out at a railroad siding at Ottumwa, Iowa (May 8, 1950), to shake hands with nine-year-old Bobby Cowell.

President-elect Eisenhower chats with three of the most decorated Korean soldiers during his December, 1952, tour of Korea.



Wide World Photos

One California market meets customer resistance to the high price of American meats by offering frozen foreign beef at bargain prices.



Wide World Photos

Alongside the public schools have grown up a large number of private and parochial schools which provide elementary and high school education for an increasingly large number of children. The parochial schools are financed by various religious denominations. Most of them are Roman Catholic, but many are supported by Jewish, Lutheran, Episcopalian, Quaker, and other religious groups. On the whole these parochial schools conform to standards established by state departments of education; but in addition to the usual subjects, they teach religion. The schools are privately financed, so that their existence eases the financial burden of many states and communities. Some persons have argued, however, that the existence of these parochial, or religious, schools and of private schools to which the wealthy may send their children has tended to perpetuate religious differences and class distinctions. On the other hand, it is argued that children attending these schools should not be discriminated against in the matter of auxiliary services.

Hence the problem of federal aid to education has raised this question: Would the principle of separation of church and state, as it is expressed in the First Amendment, be violated if federal funds helped pay the transportation of children to and from a parochial school? The compromise formula on this issue would permit each state to decide how federal funds should be used for auxiliary services. But this compromise was not satisfactory to those who wanted the law to specify that federal funds must be limited to those attending public schools. Congress, as a result of this controversy, failed to take action on any of the various federal aid bills that were proposed. It is doubtful if the failure of Congress to act on federal aid to education during the Truman administration marks the end of the controversy.

The question of the separation of church and state has come before the Supreme Court in a variety of ways. Oregon once had a law requiring all children between the ages of eight and sixteen to attend public schools. In 1925 the Supreme Court (Pierce *vs.* the Society of Sisters) declared the Oregon law unconstitutional on the ground that it was contrary to the provision in the Fourteenth Amendment which forbids a state to deprive a person of liberty without due process of law. The court held that the law was an unreasonable interference with the liberty of the parents to direct the education of their children.

Many religious leaders, disturbed over the fact that the public schools did not and by their very nature could not teach religion or religious doctrines, urged that children should be released from attendance at school one hour a week to receive religious instruction in their own faith. Some form of released-time program is authorized by several state laws and is practiced in many communities. In Champaign, Illinois, the program permitted the different religious denominations to use the school building during the released hour to instruct

in their own faith those children whose parents requested such instruction. In the case of McCullom *vs.* the Board of Education (1948) the Supreme Court (8 to 1) declared this practice unconstitutional on the ground that school property was thus devoted to a religious purpose and hence the practice was contrary to the principle of separation of church and state as expressed in the First Amendment. However, in 1952 the Supreme Court (Zorach *vs.* Clauson) ruled that the released-time program in New York was constitutional. New York children were not instructed in their religion on school property, but in churches or private property located near the school building.

The policies of states and communities with regard to bus transportation also vary. Many provide free or reduced-fare transportation to school children regardless of the type of school they attend. In 1947, in Everson *vs.* the Board of Education, the Supreme Court (5 to 4) ruled that the action of a New Jersey town in reimbursing parents for bus fares did not violate the Constitution. The issue of the separation of church and state has many aspects (for example, church property is tax exempt, and the federal government provides chaplains for the armed services). There are many who criticize the completely secular character of public education. There are others who criticize the released-time programs and the growth of parochial and private schools as divisive. They oppose the efforts of religious leaders to use the public schools in any way, direct or indirect, to inculcate religious teachings. In a few localities, Bible reading and assembly prayers and hymns have been criticized. It is not unlikely that the delicate issues involved in these cases and in the working out of a program of federal aid to education may come before the Supreme Court for final determination.

The problem of civil rights legislation. During World War II, President Roosevelt, by executive order, set up a Fair Employment Practices Committee (page 449). The function of this committee was to provide to minority groups, especially Negroes, equal opportunities for work in factories having war contracts. The committee accomplished a good deal and demonstrated that the employment of whites and Negroes and people of different religious and racial backgrounds in the same factory did not cause the friction that many had anticipated. The committee was discontinued after the war. In 1945 New York passed the Ives-Quinn law which set up a Fair Employment Practices Committee for that state. This committee had marked success and ten other states have set up similar committees.

In 1947 a distinguished committee appointed by President Truman to review the treatment accorded minority groups submitted a significant report on civil rights. Their report, circulated widely under the title "To Secure These Rights," was a frank review of discriminatory practices of employers and labor unions and of restrictions in voting

and the ownership of property. The report revealed that the problem of discrimination was not sectional, but national, in scope and that it had many peculiar aspects. While various minority groups — those of Oriental descent, Indians, Jews, Catholics, and others — are subject to prejudice and discrimination, the unequal treatment of the Negro is the most serious and the most difficult. The report recommended various proposals, including a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission and laws against poll taxes and lynching. The recommendations of the 1947 committee are commonly referred to as a program of "federal civil rights legislation," though the total problem of the unequal treatment of minority groups involves a much broader area of action than is suggested by these particular measures.

President Truman's support of this program led to the "Dixiecrat" revolt in the Democratic party in 1948. Although several civil rights bills passed the House of Representatives in the past few years, filibusters in the Senate by Southern Democrats have prevented the bills from becoming law. The chief argument against the President's civil rights program is the old one that federal legislation would be an unwarranted interference with the sovereignty of the states. It is argued that each state should be allowed to solve these problems in its own way. It is further contended that the most satisfactory solution of the problem of prejudice and discrimination will result from education and persuasion and not from the use of force. On the other hand it is argued that the problem is national in scope, even influencing international policies, and hence requires national as well as local action.

Although Congress failed to vote President Truman's civil rights program into law, there were notable gains throughout the country in furthering the basic ideal of achieving equality in the enjoyment of civil rights by all citizens. Fortunately the past decades have seen a marked lessening in the number of lynchings: 119 in the 1930's, and 29 in the 1940's. By the end of 1952 the poll tax was used as a condition for voting in only five states. Several states now have Fair Employment Practices Committees. Many labor unions no longer exclude Negroes. Various localities have taken steps to end discriminatory practices in employment, schools, and public conveyances. The armed forces have integrated units of whites and Negroes. Public housing projects in some parts of the country are open equally to whites and Negroes.

In recent years the Supreme Court has made several important decisions dealing with civil rights. It has held that restrictive agreements prohibiting the sale of property to members of particular groups, while not illegal, cannot be enforced in federal or state courts (Shelley *vs.* Kraemer, 1948); it has sustained the right of Negroes to take part in Southern primary elections; it has held that segregation in Southern railroad dining cars was contrary to the Interstate Commerce Act

(Henderson *vs.* the United States, 1950). In 1896 the Supreme Court ruled (Plessy *vs.* Ferguson) that segregation laws should provide "equal facilities." Recently the Court has carefully applied this principle of equality. In 1950 (Sweatt *vs.* Painter), the Court ruled that Texas could not exclude Negroes from the all-white University of Texas Law School since the Texas State Law School for Negroes did not provide "separate but equal facilities." Here the Court took into consideration such factors as library facilities, scholarship funds, the number of students and teachers, and prestige. The Court also ruled in 1950 (McLaurin *vs.* Oklahoma) that the University of Oklahoma Graduate School could not assign special seats in the classrooms, library, and cafeteria for the use of Negro students. In 1953 the Court ruled that restaurants in the District of Columbia could not legally refuse to serve meals to Negroes. The 1896 ruling concerning separate but equal facilities was argued before the Supreme Court in December, 1952, because of cases originating in South Carolina, Kansas, Delaware, Virginia, and the District of Columbia. Lower court decisions were appealed to the Supreme Court on the ground that the basic issue was not the question of facilities, but the fact of segregation.

One general effect of all these developments is illustrated by what South Carolina is attempting. South Carolina, like several other states, has been active in the effort to improve school facilities. It has undertaken an extensive building and remodeling program, involving special taxes, to improve the facilities for Negroes. In addition, it has equalized the pay of white and Negro teachers. However, in 1952, the voters of South Carolina approved a referendum to turn over the operation of its schools to private organizations if the Supreme Court should declare its segregated school system unconstitutional.

As a result of nation-wide agitation for the correction and elimination of abuses in the whole field of civil rights, considerable progress has been made. But much more needs to be done. It is to be expected that continued public discussion and interest in this issue will bring about much greater improvement in the near future.

The problem of farm subsidies. The farm price support program, inaugurated as part of the New Deal (pages 570–571), continued during the Truman administration. Because food prices were high, the program came under attack. The government in more than one year acquired more food than it could store or distribute. The government gave food to school lunch programs, but it also allowed large quantities of food to be spoiled or to be destroyed. In June, 1952, Congress provided that till 1954 storable crops should be supported at 90 per cent of parity.

The support program works as follows: The government gives the farmer a loan on storable crops (cotton, wheat, corn, peanuts, rice, tobacco) based upon a parity price. If when the crop is harvested the

market price is above the support price, the farmer sells his crop, repays the loan, and keeps the profit. If the market price is below the parity price, the government becomes the owner of the crop and later sells it at a profit or loss depending on market conditions.

The question of "planned economy" and the "welfare state." The farm price support program illustrates the persistent issue concerning the extent to which the government should use its taxing and spending power to provide special benefits. The problem has been the subject of debate whenever tariffs, or ship subsidies, or railroad land grants, or several other items have been under consideration. The New Deal and the Fair Deal received increasing criticism from those who believed that the federal government was endeavoring to regiment too closely the entire national economy and was encouraging government deficits, exorbitant taxation, and inflation. It was argued that many people, as a result of direct or indirect bounties, were becoming dependent on the government and that individual initiative and the system of private enterprise were being undermined.

Voters generally are not influenced by abstract discussions about the functions of government, but rather by specific issues. Nonetheless the theoretical debate goes on; and in a broad sense the problem of the welfare state is probably the basic domestic issue that has developed within the past quarter century. Many regard the question as merely one of degree, pointing out that the government has always enacted some kind of welfare legislation. Even those who criticize what they call the "spendthrift socialist program of the welfare state" undoubtedly have supported at least one specific "welfare law," such as legislation for temporary unemployment relief, low-cost housing projects, social security, farm price supports, or federal aid to education. In spite of the inconsistencies between theoretical argument and practical politics, many believe that the frank acceptance and ready use of the principle of government bounties, high taxes, and government controls may lead all too easily toward conditions which would make individuals and the entire national economy completely dependent on the government.

The problem of communism in the United States. The Communist party membership in the United States has never been very large. Estimates have placed the actual maximum membership at any one time at about 100,000. Many thousands have drifted into the party for a short time and left it when they became dissatisfied with its methods, its discipline, and its shifting "party line." Communism as a political and economic philosophy always has had the support of many who never joined the party, but who spoke for, or supported, a large number of "front organizations." Individuals who habitually supported Communist causes and fronts but did not join the party were referred to as "fellow-travelers."

For some time before World War II the House of Representatives had a Committee on Un-American Activities, which conducted investigations to expose Communist and Communist-supported activities and agencies. Prior to and during the war little serious attention was given to the Committee's activities. Indeed, the Committee was ridiculed by many who regarded Communist agitation as not sufficiently important to receive serious attention. The Committee was frequently denounced as "fascist" and "engaged in witch hunts, thought control, and red baiting." The headline-catching utterances of several members of the Committee, as well as its methods, weakened its influence. It was argued that the Committee itself was un-American and should be discontinued. It may be that this attitude toward the Committee was carefully nurtured by Communists and their fellow-travelers.

In the postwar years, however, public indifference toward communism and toward the activities of the House Committee began to disappear. Events abroad, particularly in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Germany, and China, revealed that Communist parties in foreign countries were in reality the agents of a foreign government. In the United States, too, Communist literature and Communist-front organizations persistently propagandized for the points of view and policies of Russia and criticized those of the United States. A series of events tended to confirm the belief that Communists and Communist-front organizations were actually subversive.

a. In Canada it was discovered that a Communist spy ring had secured important secrets for transmission to Russia (1946).

b. A number of former members of the Communist party published accounts of their experiences and testified in court about their activities. Two of them, Miss Elizabeth Bentley and Mr. Whittaker Chambers, claimed that they had acted as agents for the collection of important information to be sent to Russia.

c. Acting upon evidence collected by the House Committee and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.), the Attorney General published a list of organizations which the Department of Justice described as subversive. Most of them were charged with supporting the Communist party line; others were fascist organizations.

d. It became known that some Communists or fellow-travelers had worked their way into influential positions in the government, labor unions, the entertainment field, and the press. In March, 1947, President Truman established a Loyalty Review Board to check the loyalty of present and prospective employees of the federal government. During the next few years, as a result of "loyalty probes," about two hundred and fifty federal employees were dismissed and about two thousand five hundred resigned while under investigation. In the meantime labor unions "cleaned house"; the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. expelled Communist-dominated unions and got rid of officers who were

regarded as Communists or Communist sympathizers.

e. Former Communist Whittaker Chambers claimed that Alger Hiss, who had a brilliant career in the federal government including important service in the State Department, had been a member of a Communist spy ring in 1938 and had supplied Chambers with State Department documents for transmission to Russia. During a series of investigations, Hiss denied the charges and later was indicted for perjury. In the first trial the jury disagreed, but in the second trial Hiss was found guilty and sentenced to a five-year term in prison.

f. In 1949 the federal government tried eleven well-known Communist leaders who had been indicted on charges that they had violated the Smith Act of 1940, which made it a crime to teach or advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by force. In this long trial, which lasted from January to October, 1949, the government testimony was based on the writings, speeches, and meetings of Communists over a period of time. Government witnesses included former Communists and secret agents of the F.B.I. who had posed as Communists to gather evidence. The jury found the eleven guilty. Judge Harold R. Medina, at the conclusion of the trial, punished the defense lawyers for contempt of court for the delaying and disruptive tactics that they had employed during the long trial. The Supreme Court refused to set aside the verdict. Similar trials in other parts of the country led to the conviction of other Communist officials.

g. Early in 1950 Dr. Klaus Fuchs, a German-born scientist who had become a naturalized British citizen, was arrested in England as a Communist spy. Dr. Fuchs confessed that while working in America on the problem of atomic energy he had transmitted important atomic secrets to Russian agents. A little later, a few Americans were arrested and either confessed or were found guilty of similar activities. Among these were Mr. and Mrs. Julius Rosenberg, who were found guilty of espionage (1951) and executed (1953).

The Internal Security Act, 1950. In September, 1950, Congress passed the McCarran-Wood Act or the Internal Security Act. This law provides that Communist and Communist-front organizations must register with the Attorney General, file financial statements, and properly identify their literature. If the law is evaded, the Attorney General may file charges with a new Subversive Activities Control Board, which has power to conduct hearings. The decisions of the Board are subject to review by the courts. Aliens who are members of Communist organizations may be deported, and persons who ever belonged to a Communist or any totalitarian party may not enter the country. The law declares that it is unlawful to conspire to establish a totalitarian dictatorship and to conceal membership in Communist organizations when seeking government employment. The law also provides that in the event of an emergency proclaimed by the President, Com-

munists may be placed in detention camps. In a vigorous message President Truman vetoed the bill, declaring that it was hostile to civil liberties and too general to be enforced. He called the registration clause "about as practical as requiring thieves to register with the sheriff." He added that the law would set the government up in the "thought control business" and would "harass all of our citizens in the exercise of their right of free speech." Congress, however, repassed the bill over the veto by large majorities.

The problem of preventing Communist infiltration and safeguarding civil liberties. In trying to find a satisfactory way of dealing with communism, the American people were equally interested in safeguarding the fundamental rights of free speech and free assembly. Consequently there was much concern over the growing practice of demanding "loyalty oaths" from teachers, over the scrutiny of textbooks for "subversive" or unpopular ideas, and over the tendency on the part of some groups to label ideas or proposals that they did not like as "red," "totalitarian," or "Communistic." There was also considerable popular discussion of the fairness of applying the principle of "guilt by association" to those who had once been members of front organizations or who expressed sympathy for a particular reform that happened to have Communist approval. Because Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Wisconsin Republican, was particularly active and vocal in hinting that a number of prominent people were friendly to communism or sympathetic to Communist causes, the phrase "McCarthyism" came into use to describe reckless and unsupported charges of "guilt by association" or "sympathy with communism."

Senator McCarthy claimed that the coinage of the word "McCarthyism" was part of a "smear" campaign to discredit him and to distract attention from his charges. It was pointed out that Communist infiltration and espionage was an alarming and unpleasant fact. Hence it was argued that although one might disagree with the Senator's methods, he had kept the issue of Communist influence and infiltration in the public eye. Many who denounced communism denounced "McCarthyism" as well and expressed alarm that "McCarthyism," if it spread, would tend to stifle all liberal thought, particularly if the people became confused and regarded "liberalism" as synonymous with communism. On the other hand, many supported Senator McCarthy, even though they deplored his tactics. In this group were those who found fault with McCarthy's critics. They alleged that these critics, by emphasizing the evil effects of "McCarthyism," were aiding the Communist cause, for they appeared to be engaged in an "anti-anti-Communist movement." In September, 1952, Senator McCarthy won the Republican nomination for senator in the Wisconsin primaries and later was re-elected to the Senate. "McCarthyism" became an issue in the presidential campaign of 1952 and may continue

to be a matter of general concern for some time to come.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1952 RETURNS THE REPUBLICANS TO POWER

The Republican convention. The outstanding Republican leader during the Truman administration was Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio. He became known as "Mr. Republican." He lost the Republican nomination in 1948 to Governor Dewey of New York. Taft's re-election as Senator in 1950 by a large majority made him a logical candidate for the Republican nomination in 1952. However, some Republican governors and senators, particularly in the East, disagreed with Taft's conservatism and particularly with his criticism of the Truman foreign policy. Hence they endeavored to persuade General Dwight D. Eisenhower to seek the Republican nomination.

Eisenhower, then Supreme Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, was in Europe throughout 1951. The general remained silent as to his intentions, but his Republican friends organized and campaigned for him. Early in 1952 he indicated that he would accept the nomination, although he did not resign his command or return from Europe until a few weeks before the Republican Convention. Even though Senator Taft had a large number of pledged delegates, the Republican Convention nominated General Eisenhower on the first ballot. The Republicans thus turned away from "Mr. Republican" and nominated a newcomer to politics, but a man who was genuinely popular because of his war record and who was greatly admired and respected abroad. The Republicans chose Senator Richard M. Nixon of California as vice-presidential nominee.

The Democratic convention. President Truman remained silent concerning his intentions throughout 1951, though rumors circulated to the effect that he did not desire renomination. Senator Kefauver of Tennessee, who had earned nation-wide acclaim as chairman of the Senate Crime Investigating Committee, actively campaigned for delegates. Senator Russell of Georgia also announced his candidacy. When Mr. Truman finally announced (March 29, 1952) that he would not be a candidate, Mr. W. Averill Harriman of New York entered the lists. As in the Republican party, many Democratic leaders turned away from the avowed candidates and endeavored to persuade Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois to become an active candidate. He declined, saying that he was not interested. His friends, however, continued to work in his behalf. The result was that Governor Stevenson won the nomination on the third ballot; Senator John Sparkman of Alabama became the vice-presidential nominee.

The selection of the Alabama senator for the second place on the ticket represented a determined effort on the part of Democratic

leaders to keep the "Solid South" in line. States-rights Democrats or "Dixiecrats" had bolted the 1948 convention over the civil rights issue. At the 1952 convention a group of liberal Democrats, chafing over the action of Southern Democrats in 1948 and the voting record of Southern Democrats in Congress, sought to unseat the Southern delegates unless they pledged to use their influence to have the names of the Democratic nominees appear on the ballots in their respective states. Older and more conservative Democratic politicians, anxious to have the electoral votes of the Solid South in the Democratic column on election day, maneuvered to avoid an open break with the Southern delegations. The older leaders of the party won the day, and the Southern delegates were seated. It was hoped that the nomination of Senator Sparkman of Alabama would heal the wounds resulting from this bitter quarrel.

The campaign. General Eisenhower sought to take advantage of the friction between Northern and Southern Democrats and became the first Republican presidential candidate to campaign in the South. Democratic governors in several Southern states publicly announced that they would not support the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket.

Both General Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson conducted vigorous campaigns. General Eisenhower criticized the Truman administration as one of "stumble, fumble, and fall"; he made pointed references to the "mess in Washington" and the need to clean it up. Governor Stevenson, though apparently representing the conservative wing of the Democratic party, supported the Truman record and endeavored to avoid alienating the extreme liberal wing of the party. He faced the task of reconciling discordant elements in his party, just as General Eisenhower faced the task of endeavoring to secure the support of the conservative admirers of Senator Taft.

Eisenhower is elected. The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for General Eisenhower. In the largest popular vote ever cast Eisenhower had 33,900,000 votes and Stevenson, 27,300,000 votes. Eisenhower carried thirty-nine states with a total electoral vote of 442, and Stevenson carried nine states with a total electoral vote of 89. Eisenhower swept every section of the country except the South. Even in the South he captured the electoral votes of Florida, Virginia, and Texas, while elsewhere in the South he piled up an unusually heavy vote for a Republican candidate.

The election was an Eisenhower landslide, however, rather than a Republican landslide. Eisenhower generally ran ahead of Republican candidates for governor, Congress, or local offices. The Senate of the Eighty-third Congress (1953–1954) was almost evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats. The vote of Vice-President Nixon may be necessary to break a tie. The Republicans obtained a small majority in the House of Representatives, winning 224 seats, while the Democrats elected 211 members.

President-elect Eisenhower selects his Cabinet. Mr. Eisenhower established a precedent by designating within a few weeks after his election the names of those to be appointed to the Cabinet and to a number of other important positions. All the Cabinet members were approved by the Senate and took office within a few days after Eisenhower's inauguration in January, 1953. One of the other appointments to receive early approval was that of Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby of Texas as Federal Security Administrator. Mrs. Hobby became a member of the Cabinet in April, 1953, when Congress created the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The Eisenhower administration gets under way. President Eisenhower undertook to prune the Truman budget, but refused to sponsor a reduction in personal income taxes until the federal budget was balanced. There was opposition to cuts in defense spending, particularly to proposals to reduce the amount set aside for the Air Force. By executive order the Truman loyalty review boards were discontinued. Congressional committees continued to expose Communist infiltration, and "McCarthyism" provoked sharp controversy. Rent and price controls were relaxed. Congress enacted a law giving the Gulf states and California privileges in off-shore or tidelands oil fields. Congress established a Small Business Administration and provided for the admission, during the next three years, of 214,000 European refugees in addition to the fixed immigration quota. Congress delayed making any changes in the Taft-Hartley Law, the farm price-support program, and the Social Security program. In foreign affairs the most significant events were the death of Stalin, indications that Russia was inclined to be more conciliatory, the signing of a truce agreement in Korea, and the announcement by Russia that the United States no longer had a monopoly of the hydrogen bomb.

In summarizing his first six months in office President Eisenhower told the people, "The future, both immediate and distant, remains full of trial and hazard. The end of our staggering economic burden is not yet in sight. The end of the peril to peace is not clearly in view."

Words and Phrases

civil rights legislation, "Dixiecrats," "fellow-traveler," "fringe benefits," "G.I. Bill of Rights," Hiss case, Hoover Commission, Internal Security Act, "McCarthyism," "planned economy," price controls, Taft-Hartley Act, Twenty-second Amendment, "welfare state"

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. After World War II, why was there anxiety about the possibility of a depression? What factors tend to explain the absence of a serious post-war depression?
2. What explanations may be suggested for the success of the Republicans in the congressional elections of 1946?

3. **What explanations may be offered for President Truman's victory in 1948? For Eisenhower's victory in 1952?**
4. **Explain the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. Why did labor refer to it as a "slave labor law"? What is meant by the statement that the law became a "political symbol"? What modifications have been made in the law?**
5. Outline the major objectives of the Fair Deal in the field of domestic policy. Indicate those items of the program that were achieved and the items that were not achieved.
6. In what respects was the Fair Deal based upon the New Deal? In what respects did the Fair Deal differ from the New Deal? To what extent has the Eisenhower administration retained or modified the Fair Deal program?
7. State the problems involved in a program of federal aid to education. State the arguments for and against federal aid to education.
8. Explain the working of the farm price support program. What is the present status of farm price supports?

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Contrast the majority and minority opinions of the Supreme Court on the action of President Truman in directing the "seizure" of the steel industry during the 1952 strike.
2. Investigate and report on the details of a specific labor contract. Indicate the respects in which the contract under study was an improvement over the labor contract it replaced. What are the arguments for and against a "guaranteed annual wage"?
3. Investigate and report on improvements in the treatment of minority groups that have been brought about by (a) federal or state legislation; (b) decisions of the Supreme Court; (c) a more enlightened public interest and attitude. Investigate and report on the present status of the "poll tax."
4. What arguments might be advanced to support the idea that the "Solid South" may cease to exercise the political power that it once had? What events or trends support the idea that new political alignments are in process of development within the United States?
5. Explain what is meant by a "planned economy"; by the "welfare state." To what extent are the discussions that center around the use of these phrases important or unimportant?
6. Report on President Truman's veto of the Internal Security Act of 1950. (Consult Amherst Readings: *Loyalty in a Democratic State.*) To what extent have events tended to support or refute the soundness of the reasons advanced by President Truman for his veto?
7. Report on the arguments advanced by the Supreme Court on the question of the separation of church and state in the McCullom case (pages 810–811) and in any subsequent case.
8. Indicate the portions of this chapter which might be omitted or changed as a result of new developments and new legislation. Have the issues mentioned in this chapter continued to be matters of national concern and interest? What new issues need to be added to those mentioned?

Suggested Reading

It should not be necessary to caution the student that it is at times very difficult to get a full or completely accurate picture of current happenings; therefore it is important to distinguish between *facts* and *opinions about facts* and to be on guard against special pleading and propaganda.

The best sources of information concerning current developments are, of course, the daily newspapers, magazines, the speeches of statesmen, and the official publications of governments. Convenient sources of information are the *World Almanac* and the *Information Please Almanac*. Some of the organizations mentioned on page iv publish pamphlets that deal with current events. Consult Commager's *Documents* — No. 562, the New York State Anti-Discrimination Act; No. 571, the Constitution of the C.I.O.; Nos. 572, 573, the Control of Atomic Energy and the Atomic Energy Commission; No. 579, the Truman Loyalty Order; No. 581, United States *vs.* California, 1947, on tidelands oil controversy; No. 582, Everson *vs.* Board of Education; No. 584, McCollum *vs.* Board of Education; No. 585, Shelley *vs.* Kraemer; No. 587, the Indictment of the Communists. Consult the following Amherst Readings: *Education for Democracy: The Debate over the Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education; Industry-wide Collective Bargaining — Promise or Menace?; Loyalty in a Democratic State.*

CHAPTER FORTY-EIGHT

The "Cold War"

THE "COLD WAR" DOMINATES THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

Friction among the victors. While the war was being fought, the heads of states held conferences to discuss problems concerning the conduct of the war and the broad terms of a future peace settlement (pages 781–787). These conferences settled many problems, but they also revealed fundamental differences among the Big Three. Indeed, some of the decisions arrived at sowed the seeds of future trouble. As difficulties developed, the phrase "cold war" came into use to describe the tensions and crises. By 1950, the government resorted to the draft to increase our armed forces, and embarked upon an ambitious program of industrial mobilization.

Two speeches in 1946. As we look back to the war years and the early postwar years, it is possible to discover signs of the approaching tension. On February 9, 1946, Premier Stalin, speaking to the Russian people, outlined the inauguration of a series of Five-Year plans designed to make Russian industrial strength equal to that of any country in the world. Mr. Stalin said:

> The war arose in reality as the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism. . . . The capitalist economy conceals elements of crisis and war. . . . The (Communist) party intends to organize a new mighty upsurge in the national economy, which will enable us to increase the level of our production, for instance, threefold as compared with the prewar level. . . .

A few weeks after Mr. Stalin's speech, Mr. Winston Churchill spoke at Fulton, Missouri. Mr. Churchill declared that "the Communist parties, or 'fifth columns,' constitute a growing challenge or peril. . . . I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines." Mr. Churchill in this speech coined the phrase "the iron curtain," to explain that it was impossible for the nations of the world to learn what was going on within Russia and the countries dominated by Russia. At the time many leaders of opinion in the United States criticized Mr. Churchill for the vigor of his remarks, and there were

some who criticized President Truman for appearing to endorse Churchill's views.

The causes of friction. Probably the two most important causes of friction were the following. First, Russia and the United States emerged from the war as the two really powerful nations of the world. Both were called upon to assume new responsibilities. Would they mutually co-operate to fill the vacuum that the war had created, or would friction develop as one or the other endeavored to secure preponderant power and authority?

The second reason for friction helps to explain why it was difficult, if not impossible, for the two nations to work together in harmonious collaboration. The United States and the U.S.S.R. were devoted to radically different and conflicting theories of government, of economics, and of spiritual and moral values. For a long time Communist theorists had preached the doctrine of the inevitability of a world revolution, ending in the triumph of the Communist state and way of life. Events in several countries, as well as the speeches and tactics of Communist party leaders in different parts of the world, strengthened the belief that the ultimate aim of Russian foreign policy was to hasten the world Communist revolution. The activities of party leaders in various countries indicated that the U.S.S.R. used the various Communist parties to further its own policies.

The failure to reach agreement on the control of atomic energy. An early evidence of a serious difference between Russia and the United States was the failure of the United Nations to arrive at an agreement for the control of atomic energy. Shortly after atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, scientists pointed out that the principles involved in atomic fission were not secret and that any nation which desired to do so could develop atomic bombs within a few years. Great Britain, the United States, and Canada, who shared the "secret" in 1945 (we later learned that spies had already transmitted some of the "secrets" to Russia), announced that they would not reveal it to the world unless there were international agreement concerning its control.

The problem of control was referred to the United Nations, which set up an Atomic Energy Commission made up of Canada and all members of the Security Council. Through Mr. Bernard Baruch, the United States in 1946 proposed the creation of an International Atomic Authority which would own or control all deposits of uranium and thorium (raw materials used in the development of atomic energy) and would have the power to license, control, and inspect atomic energy developments in every country. Mr. Baruch stated that when an effective International Authority was in operation, the United States would agree to the destruction of existing bombs and the surrender to



Wide World Photos

General Ridgway, shown above as supreme commander of N.A.T.O., took office as Army chief of staff in August, 1953. He was succeeded in the European post by General Gruenther.



Steel production from such mills as this one at Naples will provide Italy's main contribution to the European Coal and Steel Community. United Press Photo.



Wide World Photos

A refugee family from Soviet-occupied territory use their suitcases for table and chairs as they eat a scanty meal in an overcrowded camp in West Berlin.

the Authority of full knowledge concerning atomic energy. Russia rejected these proposals, declaring that she would not accept the proposed inspection system and urging the immediate destruction of all existing bombs.

For two years the issue of the international control of atomic energy was the subject of frequent and, at times, violent debate. Finally, in November, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations recommended the adoption of the American plan by a vote of 48 to 6. The plan contained two essential features: (1) an international agency to license, operate, and supervise all atomic energy developments, and (2) a system of international inspection which would not be subject to veto. Russia made a counterproposal which was defeated by the same vote. Russia proposed (1) destruction of all existing atomic bombs, (2) national rather than international inspection, and (3) an inspection system which would be subject to veto by any one of the Big Five. The deadlock represented by this vote has continued.

In September, 1949, President Truman announced, "We have evidence that within recent weeks an atomic explosion occurred in the U.S.S.R." Thus it became known that Russia had come into possession of the "secret" of the atomic bomb one or two years earlier than scientists had anticipated.

A few months later the general public learned that scientists believed it possible to produce a bomb five or six times more powerful than the atomic bomb. This new development in nuclear physics was referred to as a hydrogen bomb, or H-bomb, to distinguish it from the uranium-plutonium bomb, or A-bomb. The A-bomb involved *fission*, or the splitting of the atom; the H-bomb involved the *fusion* of atoms. Newspapers published frightening accounts of the horrible destructive power of the hydrogen bomb.

Congress had set up an Atomic Energy Commission to direct research. This commission built and supervised atomic energy plants, research centers, and laboratories in various parts of the country. A very important, but little noted, phase of atomic energy research involves the beneficial uses of atomic energy in medicine and in industry. In January, 1950, President Truman directed the Atomic Energy Commission to endeavor to produce the H-bomb. At about the same time it became known that Dr. Fuchs had communicated atomic secrets to Russia, which probably had saved Russia over two years in the production of the A-bomb.

Difficulties in the negotiation of treaties. At the Potsdam Conference in 1945 (pages 786–787), the drafting of peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary was entrusted to a Council of Foreign Ministers. Not until December, 1946, was agreement reached concerning treaty terms. Even then, a decision concerning the disposi-

tion of Italy's colonies in Africa was postponed and finally turned over to the United Nations for settlement. During this period newspapers began to refer to American policy toward Russia as a "get tough policy." When Mr. Wallace in a public address criticized the "get tough with Russia" policy, President Truman asked for his resignation as Secretary of Commerce.

The Council of Foreign Ministers, late in 1947, adjourned a meeting in Paris without setting a date for reconvening. By 1948 the United States had apparently reached the conclusion that it was futile to take part in future conferences until there was reasonable assurance of basic agreement on essential points. Several months of effort to reconcile different points of view had ended in stalemate and the United States moved ahead to arrive at tentative decisions without Russian cooperation.

THE UNITED STATES FORMULATES A POLICY OF "CONTAINMENT"

The Truman Doctrine. On March 12, 1947, President Truman in a message to Congress announced the policy that has come to be known as the Truman Doctrine. Mr. Truman pointed out that Great Britain, unable to finance all its commitments in various parts of the world, had decided to withdraw financial and military aid from Greece. The President declared that both Greece and Turkey needed and had requested economic and military aid from America. He asked Congress to appropriate four hundred million dollars to provide such aid. Mr. Truman said:

> One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. . . . To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. . . . We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose on them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States. . . . I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

Mr. Truman did not mention Russia, but it was clear that he regarded Russia as the cause of difficulties not only in Greece and Turkey, but elsewhere. Two months later Congress approved the $400,000,000

Greek-Turkish aid program for the period ending June 30, 1948. Subsequently, Congress appropriated additional funds.

The Marshall Plan. A few months later, Secretary of State George C. Marshall in a speech at Harvard University (June 5, 1947) declared that it was necessary for the United States to supply large sums of money to finance European recovery. His speech launched the second big step in the development of a society of "containment." Mr. Marshall indicated that the United States would be ready to lend the money provided the countries of Europe worked out certain agreements to give "effect to whatever action might be taken" by the United States. These agreements were worked out during the latter half of 1947. In the fall of 1947 Congress appropriated 540 million dollars as "interim aid" to France, Italy, and Austria, and early in 1948 Congress set up the Economic Cooperation Administration (E.C.A.) to put Mr. Marshall's European Recovery Program (E.R.P.) into effect. The broad purpose of E.R.P. was to enable European farms, factories, and mines to get back into production by furnishing huge quantities of food, raw materials, and industrial and agricultural machinery.

The material success of E.R.P. was remarkable. Within the few years of its operation, European industrial activity caught up with and surpassed that of the prewar years. Seventeen countries of Western Europe (including West Germany) were beneficiaries of Marshall Plan funds. The political effects of E.R.P. were important.

a. In France the Communist party lost some of its power to harass the government.

b. In Italy the Communists suffered a severe defeat in the elections in the spring of 1948.

c. Indirectly, E.R.P. led to the organization of the North Atlantic Treaty and prepared the way for more elaborate plans of economic and political co-operation.

Russian reaction to the Marshall Plan. 1. The Cominform. When the Marshall Plan was in its preliminary stages, Russia took part in the European Conference called to discuss it, but withdrew almost immediately. Russia then persuaded the countries within the Russian sphere of influence not to participate. In September, 1947, the leaders of the Communist parties in nine European countries (Russia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, France, and Italy) organized the Communist Information Bureau, with headquarters at Belgrade. Commonly called the *Cominform*, this organization was regarded as a revival of the Comintern, which some claim had never been abolished (page 783). The Cominform denounced American imperialism and "declared war" on the Marshall Plan. The Cominform issued a manifesto declaring:

> There have arisen two camps — the camp of imperialism and anti-

democratic forces whose chief aim is the establishment of a world-wide American imperialists' hegemony and the crushing of democracy, and an anti-imperialist, democratic camp whose chief aim is the elimination of imperialism, the strengthening of democracy, and the liquidation of the remnants of fascism.

2. The Communist coup in Czechoslovakia. In February, 1948, the Communists in Czechoslovakia executed a *coup d'état* and took over complete control of the government. It is believed that the Communists resorted to strong-arm methods because they feared that they would be weakened as a result of approaching elections. Their action in Czechoslovakia seriously damaged the influence of Communist parties and their "fringe," or "fellow-traveler," supporters in other countries. Dr. Beneš, the liberal President of Czechoslovakia, and other Czech leaders had tried collaboration with Russia, hoping that their country might be a "bridge" between East and West. The Czech leaders, however, were purged and liquidated, and Czechoslovakia, like Poland and Hungary, was drawn behind the "iron curtain."

3. "Titoism" in Yugoslavia. As a result of World War II, the Communists under the leadership of Marshal Tito secured control of the government of Yugoslavia. Yugoslav Communist leaders took part in the Cominform, as did the Communist party leaders in France and Italy. But as time passed, Yugoslav communism became nationalistic. Marshal Tito refused to follow Russian dictates in all particulars. Moscow in June, 1948, denounced Tito as a "deviationist," unfaithful to Marxist-Leninism, and urged the Yugoslavs to oust him from power. Tito, however, remained in power. In 1949, the General Assembly of the United Nations elected Yugoslavia to a nonpermanent seat on the Security Council, in spite of Russian protests that this action of the Assembly was "illegal." Since 1949, Yugoslavia has been given considerable financial help by the countries of Western Europe and by the United States.

4. The Berlin crisis, 1948–1949. Another countermove on the part of Russia was the imposition of a blockade on Berlin. In accordance with the Potsdam Agreement (page 786), France, England, and the United States occupied Western Germany, and Russia occupied Eastern Germany. Berlin was within the Russian zone, but the Western Powers shared with Russia the occupation of Berlin. The Western Powers adopted plans for the unified administration of Western Germany and proceeded to help in the formation of a West German Federation. To interfere with these plans, Russia announced a blockade of Berlin. This blockade meant that Western troops and approximately two million Germans would be without food, fuel, and other essential commodities. The United States and Great Britain declared that they would not be forced out of Berlin and undertook to send

supplies to Berlin by air. The ingenious, daring, and costly "Berlin airlift" succeeded. After nearly a year of tension Russia announced the lifting of the blockade. The Berlin crisis of 1948–1949 was, in a sense, a turning point in East-West relations.

The Point IV program. About a year after the Marshall Plan was put into effect, President Truman suggested a special type of aid to the nations of the world. Since Mr. Truman listed his suggestion as the fourth item in his program of action to promote peace and freedom, it has become popularly known as "the Point IV program."

> . . . The material resources which we can afford to use for the assistance of other peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible. I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development. Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens. We invite other nations to pool their technological resources in this undertaking. . . . This should be a cooperative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations and its specialized agencies wherever practicable.

Although bills were introduced in Congress, and the United Nations pledged its support to President Truman's bold new program, not until 1950 was a modest beginning made. In that year Congress appropriated about thirty million dollars to initiate the program; in October the first project – for rural improvement – got under way in Iran. Since then various projects have been started in different parts of the world, particularly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In the meantime, the General Assembly of the United Nations started a similar program of technical aid to undeveloped countries to help them improve their agriculture, industry, transportation, health, and education.

THE UNITED STATES COMMITS ITSELF TO A PROGRAM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The Brussels Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty. The European Recovery Program was soon followed by diplomatic and military cooperation among the Western nations. In 1948, England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg signed an agreement to combat aggression. In June, 1948, the American Senate approved the

Vandenberg Resolution to the effect that the United States would give its support to collective security arrangements among the powers of Western Europe. Encouraged by this action, diplomats worked out the details of a North Atlantic Treaty. The treaty went into effect August 24, 1949. The twelve signatories to the treaty were the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, and Portugal. By the treaty, these nations agreed to "maintain and develop their individual capacity to resist armed attack." Article 5 states that "an armed attack against any one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and consequently, they agree that if such an armed attack occurs, each of them . . . will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith . . . such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force." Other nations may be invited to sign the treaty. (Greece and Turkey became members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1952.)

Military aid. The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, and the granting of military aid to European countries led to extremely important developments in Western Europe, most of which were either influenced or encouraged by the United States.

1. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O.). On September 27, 1949, Congress appropriated one-and-a-third billion dollars for military aid to the signatories of the treaty. Subsequently much larger sums were appropriated. The Brussels Pact countries already had started to organize a unified military staff and it was natural that their military co-operation should be extended to include all the countries under the North Atlantic Treaty. There were many troublesome details to be worked out, including the number of troops to be furnished by each country, the part that the industrial Ruhr Valley and a rearmed Germany should play in the defense of Europe, and how the whole program was to be administered. The detailed agreements had not been reached when the Korean crisis of June, 1950, created alarm that Western Europe might not have time to build up its defenses. The heavy commitments of the United States in the Far East, it was feared, might lead to a disastrous reduction in America's help to Europe. Finally, however, the North Atlantic Treaty countries reached some basic agreements and toward the end of 1950 appointed General Dwight D. Eisenhower as Supreme Commander of the forces of the allied powers. When he resigned to campaign for the Republican nomination as President, he was replaced as Supreme Commander by General Matthew B. Ridgway, who was succeeded in 1953 by General Gruenther.

Within the United States there was extensive debate on the nature and size of America's contribution to Europe's defense. Former President Hoover and Senator Taft were among those who argued that

America's contribution should consist primarily of sea and air power and that Europe should supply the necessary ground troops. The Truman administration, supported by Republicans like Dewey and Stassen, urged that the United States should send troops to Europe. The majority opinion seemed to be that it was both necessary and desirable for the United States to strengthen its naval and air power and, at the same time, to send at least three or four divisions to Western Europe during 1951 and 1952, even though America's commitment in the Far East during this period was extremely heavy. By means of a new draft law and the Defense Production Act of 1950, the United States began to increase its armed forces in both Korea and Europe and to gear its industrial production to support a rapidly expanding war machine.

2. The European Defense Community. In May, 1952, five N.A.T.O. countries (France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg) and West Germany signed a treaty organizing the European Defense Community. By this treaty the six countries sought to guarantee their security within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The treaty states that aggression against one is aggression against all. The nations reached tentative agreement on common military contingents.

3. The West German Federal Republic. By 1949 it had become clear that it would be impossible to reach agreements with Russia which would permit a treaty of peace with a united Germany. Therefore, the United States, along with Great Britain and France, encouraged the organization of a West German Federal Republic, while Russia sponsored the organization of East Germany. (The West German Republic, with headquarters at Bonn, has a population of about fifty millions; East Germany, in the Soviet Occupation Zone, has a population of eighteen-and-a-half millions. Still further east, the Oder-Neisse territory, detached from Germany and administered by Poland, has a population of nine-and-a-half millions.) The West German Federal Republic (the first President was Dr. Theodor Heuss and the first Chancellor was Dr. Konrad Adenauer) appears to have made a remarkable economic recovery and to have achieved a fairly stable democratic government.

The United States declared the end of a state of war with Germany in October, 1951. In the spring of 1952 England, France, and the United States concluded a "peace contract" with West Germany, in spite of Russia's protests. The United States Senate ratified the West German Peace Contract on July 1, 1952; at the same time it ratified a proposal extending mutual defense guarantees to the European Defense Community. Therefore West Germany's membership in the European Defense Community extends to West Germany what

might be called associate membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Germany, Berlin particularly, remains the most important, and probably the most sensitive, point of contact between East and West.

4. The European Coal and Steel Community. To improve European production, M. Schuman, the Foreign Minister of France, proposed that the countries of Europe pool their coal and steel resources and submerge national economic rivalries, at least so far as these two vital commodities were concerned. The Schuman Plan was debated for several months. In 1952 it became more than the idea of one man when France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg by treaty proposed the organization of the European Coal and Steel Community. All customs and trade barriers with regard to the production and shipment of coal and steel within the areas embraced by these countries were to be removed. Through another organization, the Equal Payments Union, these same countries are endeavoring to overcome the barriers to trade resulting from their different and, at the moment, very unstable currency systems.

5. Proposals for political federation. Leaders in bringing about the European Defense Community and the Coal and Steel Community looked beyond these efforts at military and economic co-operation to the possibility of political co-operation. Great economic changes and technical advances, as well as the urgent need for defense and increased production, were weakening older nationalistic interests and pointing toward closer political ties. Committees were appointed to draft proposals that might lead to some kind of West European Federation. However, many obstacles had to be overcome before these beginning attempts at co-operation could be regarded as firmly established, successfully working organizations.

The Mutual Security Act of 1951. In October, 1951, Congress created a new agency, the Mutual Security Agency, to take over the management and co-ordination of various programs of economic and military aid. The Economic Co-operation Administration was dissolved. The Mutual Security Agency, which had an initial appropriation of about seven billion dollars, was to have control of all foreign aid programs, but military aid would be supervised by the Department of Defense; Point IV aid, by the State Department; and economic aid, by the Mutual Security Agency.

Within five years the United States had played an increasingly important role in the affairs of Western Europe. It had supplied financial and military aid to Greece and Turkey and billions in Marshall Plan funds to speed the industrial recovery of Europe; it had contributed greatly to solving the tragic problems involved in helping thousands of refugees and displaced persons. It had given money for European military aid and had supplied large quantities of munitions. It had

constructed air bases. Through a special radio program, the "Voice of America," it endeavored to get through the "iron curtain" and inform the people of Russia and the satellite countries of America's peaceful intentions and of the way democracy functioned in the United States. It had launched the Point IV program. Finally, it had entered into a treaty of alliance with several countries of Western Europe, which, in turn, had led to further significant developments.

THE "COLD WAR" EXTENDS TO ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

While the nations of the Western world were concerned with how and where and when they might be harassed by the maneuvers of Russia and her satellites, the actual clash of armies in Asia challenged the world leadership of the United States and the effectiveness of the United Nations and worried the statesmen of the world lest World War III might be "just around the corner."

Southern Asia. In the years following World War II, England finally relinquished control of the great Indian subcontinent. Burma withdrew from the British Commonwealth of Nations and became a completely independent nation in January, 1948. The remainder of the subcontinent had been divided into two self-governing dominions — India and Pakistan — in August, 1947, and British withdrawal was completed the following year (June, 1948). Both Pakistan and India remained within the British Commonwealth of Nations; hence both might be regarded as within the sphere of influence of the West. However, both appeared anxious to avoid entanglement in the "cold war" and to concentrate their energies on domestic recovery. Both agreed to accept the good offices of the United Nations in mediating their bitter dispute over Kashmir. On the other hand, India did not join in the United Nations vote condemning Communist China as the aggressor in the Korean war. She had been one of the first countries to recognize the Communist regime in China, and Prime Minister Nehru of India was the leader of the Asiatic nations that endeavored to secure a "cease-fire" agreement in the Korean war.

Through the good offices of the United Nations, the Netherlands finally recognized (December, 1949) the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. Dr. Soekarno was the President of the new republic when it was admitted to the United Nations.

The internal struggle for the control of the government of the five states or provinces of French Indo-China, an area with approximately thirty million people (which includes Viet Nam), has been affected by the "cold war." The leader of the Communist faction, Ho Chi Minh, has been recognized by Russia and by Communist China.

France and the Western Powers, however, have supported a rival faction under the leadership of Bao Dai, a former ruler of one of the provinces. France has granted limited self-government to Viet Nam, and French armies have been busily engaged in suppressing Communist uprisings. The heavy financial and military obligations of France in Indo-China contribute to the serious financial difficulties that disturb France itself. In French Indo-China, in Burma, in Thailand, and in Indonesia, are powerful Communist groups which might be used by Russia to bring nearly all of Asia within the Communist orbit.

Japan. Although Russia had a voice in the Far Eastern Commission which supervised the Allied Occupation of Japan, it was not particularly effective, because the occupation troops were largely American and because the authority exercised by General Douglas MacArthur as the Supreme Commander was so vigorous. MacArthur disarmed the Japanese; weakened the power of the militarists, large landlords, and business leaders; secured a law for redistribution of land on easy terms to tenant farmers; and restored civil liberties. He sponsored a revised constitution for Japan, which reduced the authority of the Emperor and established a parliamentary government similar to that of England.

After 1948 the United States felt it was time to prepare the details of the Japanese peace treaty. Russia opposed this course of action, but finally in 1950 the United States announced that it would not tolerate a "perpetual veto" on the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan. In September, 1951, at a conference in San Francisco the terms of the Japanese peace treaty were disclosed, Russia still protesting the action that the United States and England were taking. The treaty reduced the territory of Japan to the home islands, but did allow Japan to rearm for defense purposes. (Russia retained the Kurile Islands, southern Sakahalin, and the other concessions promised at Yalta [pages 785–786]. In 1947, the Security Council had named the United States as the United Nations trustee for the Marshalls, the Carolines, and the Marianas, with the right to fortify them.) Under a separate agreement the United States, because of the Korean conflict and the fear of Soviet aggression, retained the privilege of keeping some troops and air bases in Japan. In March, 1952, the Senate ratified the Japanese peace treaty and also a mutual security agreement with Japan. What part Japan might play in the future of the Far East remained to be seen, but it was hoped that the MacArthur policies had won the people and the leaders of Japan to America's side in the "cold war" with Russia.

The Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. In addition to the mutual security pact with Japan, the Senate ratified two other mutual security pacts in 1952, one with the newly independent nation of the Philippines and another with Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS).

Though the United States is the only nation which is a member of all three mutual security pacts, these agreements have been regarded by some as the possible nucleus of a Pacific Treaty Organization.

China. Events in China in recent years have been dramatic and far-reaching. The United States spent several billion dollars to help the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek fight, first the Japanese, and then the Communists. When World War II ended, the Nationalists and the Communists resumed their struggle for mastery of China. In 1946, the United States, through General Marshall, tried to reconcile the differences between the Nationalists and Communists. After the failure of General Marshall's mission, the United States began to withdraw its support from the Nationalists. Congress appropriated some funds for Nationalist relief. But Nationalist China needed more than relief or casual support. It is alleged that Chiang Kai-shek's regime was weakened by inflation, black market operations, graft, internal rivalries, and the failure to put into effect long-needed agrarian reforms. Under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, the Communists exploited the weaknesses of the Nationalist regime and gradually forced the Nationalists to abandon one stronghold after another.

In August, 1949, the United States Department of State published a White Paper which reviewed American policy in China. The White Paper declared that the United States had spent three-and-a-half billion dollars in China without satisfactory results and that it would be futile to spend any more money there. Toward the close of 1949, Chiang Kai-shek, as a result of continued Communist military successes, was forced to withdraw the remnants of his army, estimated at four or five hundred thousand men, to the islands of Hainan and Formosa. In 1950, the Nationalists withdrew from Hainan. Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist forces on Formosa claimed to be the real government of China. But in China proper, Mao Tse-tung and the Communists were in control. The Communist government of Mao Tse-tung was recognized by India, England, Russia, and several other powers as the government of China. The United States, however, refused to recognize Mao Tse-tung. Russia protested against the representation of Nationalist China, instead of Communist China, in the United Nations. To emphasize her protest, Russia refused to take part in the deliberations of the Security Council, January, 1950. (Russia was to regret her abstention from the Security Council six months later, when the Korean crisis came before the Council for decision.) In February, 1950, Russia and Communist China concluded a treaty which established close ties between them. Subsequent events and agreements brought about still closer collaboration.

Political controversy over China. The people of the United States were alarmed over the success of Mao Tse-tung and feared the extension of Communist control to nearby Asiatic countries, for there were

Communist uprisings in Burma, Malay, Indonesia, French Indo-China, and even in the Philippines. Critics of the Truman administration vigorously attacked the State Department for its "China policy." The controversy concerning American financial and military aid to the Nationalists had been going on within and without the State Department even before the defeat of Japan. As the controversy continued it centered around the nature and purpose of the Marshall mission of 1946, the White Paper of 1949, the recognition of Mao Tse-tung, the extension of aid to the Nationalist forces in Formosa, and, after the Korean fighting began, the use of these Nationalist troops in the Korean war. Congressional investigations and reports considered various aspects of these controversies, some of them touching upon the part that a "China lobby" and "pro-Communist sympathizers" may have played in shaping American public opinion and American policy. Phases of this controversy became matters of partisan defense and attack in the presidential campaign of 1952.

THE KOREAN WAR TESTS THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE AMERICAN POLICY OF "CONTAINMENT"

The Korean peninsula. Japan secured control of Korea as one of the prizes of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1905. In 1910 Japan formally annexed Korea. Before the close of World War II the United Nations had agreed that "Korea would become free and independent" (page 782). As the war ended, a temporary dividing line at the 38th parallel was agreed upon by Russia and the United States as a convenience in accepting the surrender of Japanese forces.

North and South Korea. When the United States and Russia could not reach agreement upon the organization of an independent government for a united Korea, the matter was submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations. The United Nations recognized the claims of Korea to independence and set up a UN Korean Commission to supervise elections. Russia boycotted the UN Korean Commission and denied it permission to enter North Korea. Under the auspices of the Commission, elections for a National Assembly were held in South Korea in May, 1948. The Assembly then drafted a constitution and Dr. Syngman Rhee became President. The United States and several other nations recognized the new republic. In North Korea Russia set up a Peoples' Democratic Republic. Russia announced that Russian troops had been withdrawn from North Korea in December, 1948. The United States completed its withdrawal of troops from South Korea in June, 1949.

The beginning of the Korean war. At 4 A.M. on Sunday, June 25, 1950 (Far Eastern Time and date), the armed forces of North

Korea crossed the 38th parallel and began a full-scale invasion of South Korea. (In Eastern Standard Time the invasion took place on Saturday afternoon, June 24.) Important decisions were made in Washington on Saturday afternoon and evening. Secretary of State Dean Acheson telephoned the news of the invasion to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations. Mr. Lie called an emergency meeting of the Security Council for Sunday, June 25. The Security Council condemned the action of North Korea as a breach of the peace and called for an immediate "cease fire" and the withdrawal of North Korean troops to the 38th parallel. It asked all members of the United Nations for assistance in carrying out this resolution. (The vote in the Security Council was 9 to 0. Yugoslavia abstained from voting, and Russia, which had refrained from attending the meetings of the Security Council since January, was not present.)

President Truman ordered General MacArthur to use American sea and air forces to help the South Koreans. On Tuesday, June 27, Mr. Truman informed the Senate and House of Representatives that North Korea had ignored the Security Council's resolution to withdraw and that the Council had called upon member nations for assistance.

> In these circumstances I have ordered United States sea and air forces to give the Korean government troops cover and support. . . . The occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions. . . . Accordingly, I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action I am calling upon the Chinese government in Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done. . . .

Later the same day, the Security Council endorsed President Truman's action and urged the members of the United Nations "to furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area." President Truman did not ask Congress for a declaration of war. However, the great majority of Congress, Republicans as well as Democrats, expressed approval of Mr. Truman's course of action. Indirect approval was given by Congress in the appropriations and in the legislation it passed in the next few weeks. Technically, Mr. Truman acted as commander-in-chief of the armed forces in response to an appeal from the Security Council to implement the course of action it had recommended. In a sense, then, the Korean war or "police action," as it has been called, is a result of a determination by the United Nations to resort to armed intervention to check aggression.

The fighting in Korea, July, 1950–October, 1950. A few days after the outbreak of hostilities, General MacArthur was designated as Su-

preme Commander of the United Nations forces in Korea. The United States and South Korea supplied the great majority of the forces fighting in Korea, but several nations sent contingents of ground troops and naval or air units to Korea. During July and August, 1950, the North Koreans pushed the South Koreans, and what United Nations troops could be rushed to the fighting front, into the southeastern corner of the peninsula. There, a small beachhead around Pusan was maintained with the help of the American navy and air force. During September and October, the United Nations forces began to counterattack. As a result of a brilliant amphibious landing at Inchon, United Nations troops recaptured Seoul, the capital of South Korea, and drove the enemy back to the 38th parallel. Delay in taking advantage of these successes occurred while diplomats pondered the wisdom of pursuing the enemy beyond the 38th parallel into North Korea. Authorization to move troops into North Korea was finally given and during October and November a large portion of the area was occupied by UN troops; some UN troops even reached the Yalu River on the border between Manchuria and North Korea.

The character of the war changes. Late in November, MacArthur ordered a general advance, hoping to crush all enemy resistance "before Christmas." But with dramatic suddenness the war changed. Chinese troops had crossed the Yalu River from Manchuria late in October, 1950; on November 26, 1950, two days after MacArthur launched his offensive, the Chinese Communists opened a big counterattack. The Chinese thrust split the UN forces in two. Those in the northeast were surrounded and trapped, but were finally evacuated by sea from the port of Hungnam, as a result of amazingly skillful operations executed by the American navy. Within a few weeks UN forces were driven back below the 38th parallel; there was some alarm that once again the United Nations might be forced back to the old beachhead about Pusan. There was also concern that what was regarded as a *limited and local war* might turn into World War III. In late January and February, 1951, the UN forces checked the enemy attack and began a series of cautious advances. By the end of March, 1951, UN forces for the second time reached the 38th parallel, and in some places advanced beyond it. By this time, however, statesmen and diplomats had concluded that it would be unwise to carry the war into North Korea, lest the Chinese Communists with their superior resources in man power should once again decide to mount a large-scale offensive. Washington thought that the time was opportune to invite the enemy to discuss armistice terms and informed General MacArthur that President Truman was discussing the possibility of such an invitation with UN leaders. Without waiting for an official announcement from President Truman, General MacArthur informed the enemy that

he was ready to discuss truce terms with them in the field. A few days later President Truman relieved MacArthur of his command and designated General Matthew B. Ridgway, who had been in charge of the fighting, to replace him.

Diplomatic repercussions. Within the United Nations, the many decisions that had to be made by the heads of various governments led to violent and at times bitter controversy.

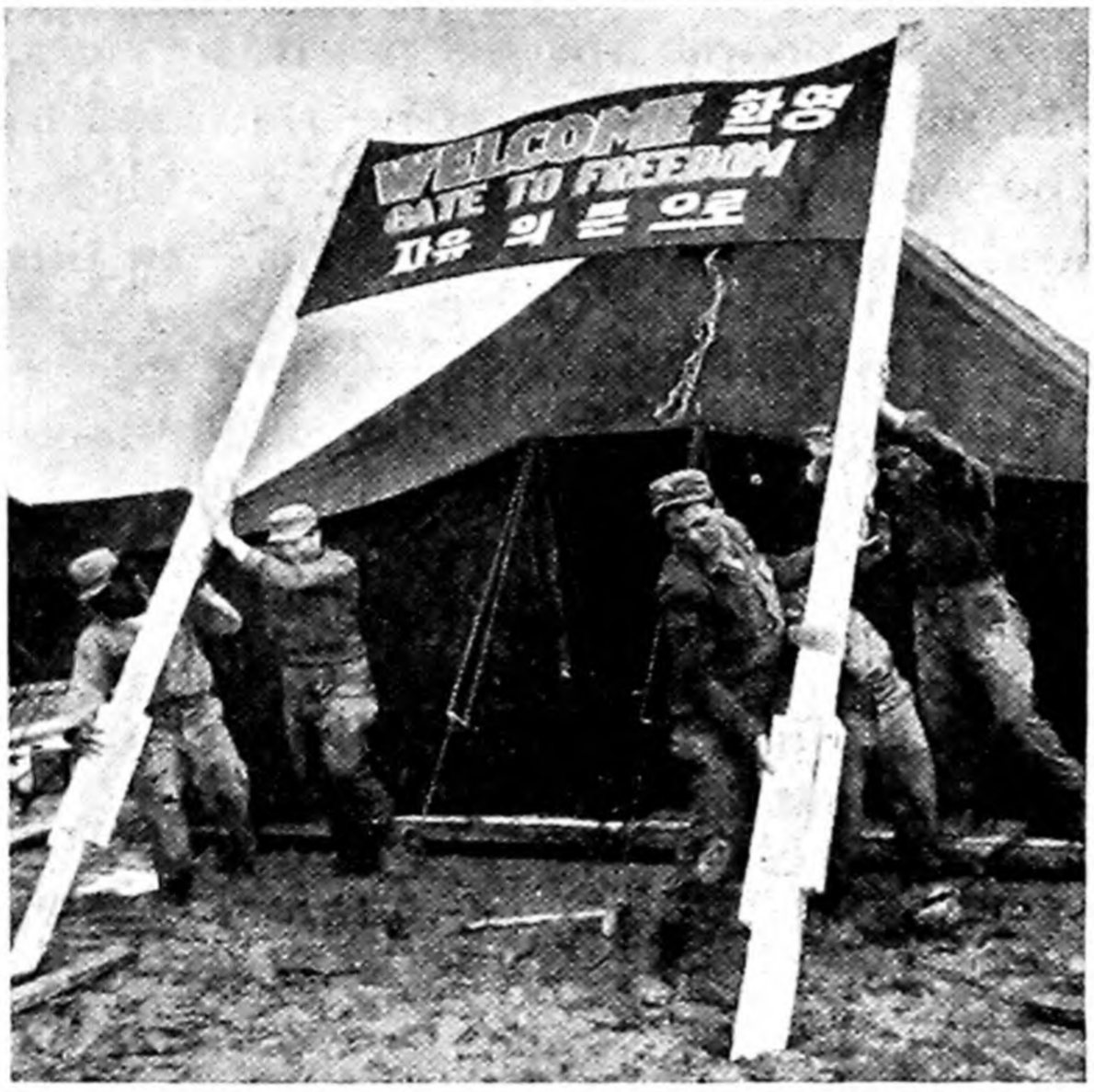
The Russian delegate to the Security Council, Jacob Malik, resumed his seat in the Council. Under the principle of rotation, Mr. Malik became President of the Security Council for the month of August, 1950. Russia claimed that the action of the Security Council in June, 1950, during Russia's voluntary boycott, was illegal. One of Mr. Malik's first rulings was to the effect that the representative of Nationalist China could not take part in the meetings of the Security Council. His ruling was set aside by a vote of 8 to 3. A delegation from the government of Communist China at Peiping accused the United States of armed invasion of China (Formosa) and demanded that the United States should withdraw its "invading forces." Because of the resulting deadlock, the United States decided to turn from the Security Council to the General Assembly. Under the leadership of the United States and over the opposition of Russia, the General Assembly in November, 1950, adopted the *United Action for Peace Resolution*, which gave the General Assembly power to make recommendations whenever the exercise of the veto power made it impossible for the Security Council to act (pages 791–792). By this action the General Assembly took over the formulation of UN policy with regard to Korea. The General Assembly, acting under the new resolution, appointed a Peace Observation Commission and on two or three occasions urged China to accept a "cease-fire" proposal. It delayed, however, in taking any strong steps. The United States Senate and House of Representatives by large majorities urged the General Assembly to declare the Peiping government of Communist China the aggressor in the Korean war. By a vote of 44 to 7, on February 1, 1951, the General Assembly did label Communist China "the aggressor." (In the negative vote Burma and India joined the Soviet bloc; nine other nations abstained from voting.) In May, 1951, Congress called upon the General Assembly to implement its action by placing an embargo on the sending of war materials to China and North Korea. The General Assembly accepted the proposal (47 to 0, eight nations abstaining and the Soviet bloc not participating).

The MacArthur controversy. General Douglas MacArthur became the central figure in a controversy over the basic objectives of the Korean war and over the way it should be fought. When the Chinese entered the war in large numbers in November and December, 1950, MacArthur argued that the character of the war had changed. He



U. S. Army Photograph

Japanese women in 1948 exercised their right to vote for the first time in history. Here they mark their ballots for school board officials.



American soldiers in Korea raise a sign welcoming repatriated UN soldiers released after the signing of the Korean truce. United Press Photo.



Wide World Photos

Daj Hammarskjold of Sweden sits at left at General Assembly session in New York as he took over his duties as UN Secretary-General in April, 1953.

chafed under instructions not to bomb the enemy's bases and supply routes in the "privileged sanctuary of Manchuria." In December, Washington sent an order to all military commanders to issue no policy statements without prior approval. On March 24, 1951, MacArthur issued a truce invitation to the enemy, although, as we have said, he had been informed a few days earlier that President Truman was considering the advisability of such an announcement. On April 5, it became known that General MacArthur had sent a letter to Representative Martin, Republican floor leader in the House, outlining his views on how the war should be conducted. On April 11, President Truman relieved MacArthur of all his commands. General MacArthur, who had been out of the country for fifteen years and who was greatly honored and admired by the American people for his many services, received a tumultuous welcome in several cities when he returned to the United States. On April 19, he was given the privilege of addressing a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives. In this speech, he outlined his views:

> I made clear that if not permitted to destroy the enemy built-up bases north of the Yalu, if not permitted to use the friendly Chinese forces of some 600,000 men on Formosa, if not permitted to blockade the China coast to prevent the Chinese Reds from getting succor from without, and if there was to be no hope of major re-enforcements, the position of the command from the military standpoint forbade victory. . . . In war, there is no substitute for victory.

President Truman had already told the country the reasons for his action in a radio address on April 11, the evening of the day he removed MacArthur.

> We do not want to see the conflict in Korea extended. We are trying to prevent a world war — not start one. . . . But you may ask, why can't we take other steps to punish the aggressor? . . . A number of events have made it evident that General MacArthur did not agree with this policy. I have therefore considered it essential to relieve General MacArthur so that *there would be no doubt or confusion as to the real purpose and aim of our policy.*

Subsequently an exhaustive Senate Committee hearing revealed the details of the conflict between MacArthur, the President, the State Department, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. For several weeks, the removal of MacArthur intensified partisan attack and defense of the President and the administration's China policy.

The armistice negotiations. While these and other issues were being debated, the fighting reached a stalemate near the 38th parallel. The dramatic dismissal of MacArthur clearly revealed that the United States shared the point of view of important leaders in the United Nations that the Korean war would not be conducted in such a way as

to force a decisive battle in North Korea. It was equally clear that the United States, having checked the Communist invasion and liberated South Korea, intended to use its ground troops, its air power, and its navy to maintain the position it had won. Probably it was partly because of this firm display of basic intent by the UN and partly because Russia and China saw little to be gained by a large-scale effort to throw the UN forces out of Korea that Russia proposed a "cease-fire" agreement and the beginning of armistice negotiations. The United States and the United Nations endorsed the suggestion. No agreement on "cease fire" was reached but an armistice commission was appointed and, after much bickering and delay, it began to work out terms of an armistice. Every now and then there appeared a ray of hope that the armistice commission might come to final agreement, but new postponements, new interruptions, new quarrels, and repeated recriminations caused bewilderment as to when final settlement might be reached. In October, 1952, the American delegates declared that the truce talks were recessed indefinitely. The specific issue which led to the termination of the armistice talks was the "repatriation" of prisoners of war. The United Nations had captured about 135,000 prisoners, of whom about 47,000 stated that they did not wish to return to North Korea or to China. The Communists argued that all prisoners should be exchanged regardless of their wishes.

For several months there had been a lull in the ground fighting. Then as the armistice discussions dragged on and finally recessed, fighting was renewed with both sides seeking to hold onto or to capture strategic hills and ridges. The air war stepped up in intensity in an effort to prevent Russia and China from using the long truce negotiations as a device to prepare for a large-scale offensive. More Russian-built planes entered the war than ever before. Jet-propelled airplanes, as well as other new weapons of attack and defense, were being tested in the Korean war.

Truce in Korea. Before his inauguration, Mr. Eisenhower made a brief inspection trip to Korea. In March, 1953, Stalin died, and President Eisenhower made a strong plea that Russia give proof of its alleged "peaceful" intentions by deeds, not words. Stalin's successor, Malenkov, gave some evidence that Russia was ready to change its earlier belligerent policies not only in Korea, but elsewhere. Armistice negotiations were resumed, and there was a quick agreement on the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners. Meantime, the United States was giving wide publicity to a series of tests of atomic weapons. A little later the Communists accepted a compromise agreement on prisoners who did not want to be repatriated. It was agreed that such prisoners were to be supervised by India, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, and Sweden. These prisoners were to obtain civilian status if after ninety days Communist representatives could not per-

suade them to return to their homes and if after an additional thirty-day period the political conference to be called to settle peace details could not agree on any other disposition of them. Thus a limit was placed on the time that those unwilling to be repatriated could be detained.

The Korean Legislature and President Rhee objected to a truce which did not provide for the unification of Korea and threatened to continue the fighting. President Eisenhower assured them that the United States would help in the rehabilitation of South Korea and would be willing to negotiate a mutual defense pact. As a protest against the conclusion of a truce, South Korea released North Korean prisoners who objected to repatriation. This action delayed the signing of a truce, but finally, on July 26, 1953, a truce was signed.

The United Nations, after many casualties, heavy expenditures, and bitter political arguments, had checked Communist aggression in South Korea. The unification of Korea remained a problem for the future.

THE UNITED NATIONS MEETS WITH SUCCESS AND FAILURE

Sources of difficulty. The friction between East and West, or between Russia and the United States, which highlighted many sessions of the General Assembly and the Security Council from the beginning has caused concern at times over the future of the United Nations.

While the conflict between East and West, or the development of the "cold war," has been the occasion of vetoes, abstentions, deadlocks, and harsh words and is the most important single source of difficulty in the United Nations, not all of the organization's problems should be attributed to it. This rivalry has led to what has been described as a "Western or United States bloc," a "Soviet bloc," and a "neutral bloc," each of which has held up action. However, the tendency of all member nations, large or small, to protect and safeguard their own special national interests is also a cause of difficulty. Even when the United States and Russia are in substantial agreement, or are not greatly concerned about a particular issue, the United Nations may run into trouble. The voting system in the Security Council and the Council's inability to compel either side to a dispute to accept a particular solution further complicate the situation. Concerning the Korean crisis the United Nations, through the General Assembly, made significant recommendations to the member nations and had a measure of success in having them carried out.

Some achievements of the United Nations. Through public debate, through the mobilization of world public opinion, and through the persuasive power of moral leadership, the United Nations has achieved considerable success in preventing or terminating serious disputes.

1. The United Nations, for example, was largely responsible for

the withdrawal of Russian troops from Iran and of British and French troops from Syria and Lebanon.

2. The conflict between India and Pakistan over the province of Kashmir, which threatened to inflame the Indian subcontinent was adjusted, temporarily at least, with the help of the United Nations.

3. The dispute between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia was settled with the help of the United Nations.

4. The conflict over the disposition of the Italian colonies in North Africa was adjusted through the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

5. When Great Britain referred the future status of Palestine to the United Nations, the recommendation of the General Assembly for partition into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, led to the establishment of the new State of Israel. When fighting broke out between the Arab states and Israel, the United Nations' mediator, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche (who had succeeded Count Bernadotte), was chiefly responsible for establishing a truce and preparing the way for a treaty of peace.

6. When Great Britain complained that Albania's mining of the waters of the Corfu Channel damaged British shipping, the United Nations succeeded in having the matter referred to the International Court of Justice which found Albania guilty and levied damages.

7. Probably the most important test of the United Nations came with the invasion of South Korea. After three wearisome years aggression was checked, but the basic problem of a unified Korea was left to the future.

The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. In 1946, the General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring that genocide — the mass destruction of national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups — is a crime under international law. The General Assembly adopted a convention, or agreement, for the prevention and punishment of this crime. The Convention characterizes the following as genocide: killing members of a group; inflicting bodily or mental injury; imposing conditions on a group which will bring about physical destruction; imposing conditions which will prevent births within a group; forcibly transferring children from one group to another. The Convention provides that those guilty of genocide are to be tried and punished in the country where the crime was committed or by an international tribunal which has jurisdiction. The Convention was to go into effect for a ten-year period after twenty nations had ratified it. Forty-one nations have ratified the Convention.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The 1948 session of the General Assembly also adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The declaration is a comprehensive statement of basic human

rights and fundamental freedoms – political, social, economic, cultural – which each nation should seek to secure for all its citizens. Among these rights are the right to life, liberty, and security; the right to free speech, free assembly, and freedom of worship; the right to a fair trial, to freedom from arbitrary arrest, and to equal treatment before the law; the right to work, to free choice of employment, to freedom of movement, to join trade unions, to education, to own property; the right to the secret ballot; and the right to a nationality. The vote in favor of this Declaration was 48 to 0, with the Soviet bloc of nations, the Union of South Africa, and Saudi Arabia abstaining from voting. The Declaration has had wide influence. It has, for example, influenced the drafting of the constitutions of the new nations, Israel and Indonesia.

The UN Commission on Human Rights, which drafted the Declaration, was assigned the task of preparing a covenant or series of covenants to be submitted to the Assembly and to the member nations for approval and ratification. Draft proposals of a covenant have been prepared and have been the subject of study both by the Economic and Social Council and by the General Assembly. Problems involved in the drafting of a covenant include the methods by which the rights embodied in the covenant are to be enforced and the way in which the covenant and its enforcement may conflict with the established constitutional procedures of the member nations.

The range of activities of the United Nations is vast and astounding – from care for refugees to public works projects, from the control of narcotics to a study of the conservation and utilization of the world's resources, from the work of the International Court of Justice to that of the World Meteorological Organization, from the work of numerous commissions in various parts of the world to the special responsibilities of the Trusteeship Council.

The United Nations as an organization of limited power. In some of its work the United Nations has been handicapped by the East-West conflict. Secretary-General Trygve Lie made this pertinent comment on the problems and difficulties of the United Nations:

> As a world organization, the United Nations must for a long time to come be an organization of clearly limited powers. How, otherwise, could nations as different in their history and government as the United States and the Soviet Union, be included? How, otherwise, could the old nationalisms of Europe and the rising new nationalisms of Asia and Africa be contained within the same peaceful framework? How, otherwise, could people owing allegiance to different religions and different cultures, sometimes for thousands of years, be brought together on common ground?

A formative and decisive decade. In its brief history the United Nations has a record of great accomplishment. It has become a new

and powerful force in the conduct of international affairs. The Charter of the United Nations provides that a member nation's obligations under the Charter take precedence over its obligations under any other international agreement. Hence, agreements such as those embodied in the North Atlantic Treaty are subordinate to obligations as a member of the United Nations. In the clash between East and West, and particularly in the Korean crisis, the United Nations faced a severe test.

The outcome of these differences will influence the future evolution and development of the United Nations. It will also influence American foreign policy in Europe and in Asia. In the United States the policy of "containment" has had bipartisan support in the Senate, which ratified the United Nations Charter by a vote of 89 to 2. The Senate approved the Truman Doctrine by a vote of 67 to 23, the Marshall Plan by a vote of 69 to 17, and the North Atlantic Treaty by a vote of 82 to 13. There have been sharp disagreements on details both in Congress and out. Yet the basic policy represented by these plans and treaties has had the wide and almost universal support of Congress and the people. It should be noted, however, that the ultimate success of our foreign policy will probably depend on developments outside the United States – events in Indo-China, the future policy of Japan, the outcome of the struggle in East and West Germany, political upheavals and shifts of interests on the part of European governments, or a marked change in Russian policy. The decade of the 1950's is a testing period and probably a decisive period. The leaders of the nation have been frank in warning the American people that they face a long, unpleasant task, a time of storm and stress, filled with uncertainty and demanding sacrifices upon the part of all.

Words and Phrases

ANZUS, "Berlin airlift," "cold war," Cominform, "containment," E.R.P., European Defense Community, genocide, hydrogen bomb, "iron curtain," Marshall Plan, Mutual Security Agency, N.A.T.O., Point IV program, 38th parallel, "Titoism," Truman Doctrine, Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Questions for Understanding the Text

1. What were the main reasons for the differences between Russia and the United States?
2. What specific events or incidents gave evidence of a conflict between Russia and the United States? Briefly state the point of view of Russia and of the United States toward these events.
3. State the differences between the Russian and the American plans for the control of the development of atomic energy. What is the present status of the problem?

4. What is the relationship of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Defense Community to the United Nations?
5. Explain the Truman Doctrine, the European Recovery Program, the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Point IV program. Are they manifestations of a sound and consistent foreign policy? To what extent, if any, are they related to each other?
6. Describe the actions of the United States and the Security Council of the United Nations in June and July, 1950, with regard to the invasion of South Korea.
7. State the reasons why President Truman relieved General MacArthur of his command.
8. Outline the arguments for and against the decision to wage a limited war in Korea as the situation existed in January, 1951. To what extent have subsequent events tended to support or weaken the force of the arguments mentioned?
9. Summarize in outline form the major accomplishments of the United Nations.

Questions for Further Study and Discussion

1. Investigate and report on the various tests of the atomic bomb; the differences between the A-bomb and the H-bomb; the problems involved in the construction of the H-bomb; the nonmilitary aspects of research in the field of atomic energy.
2. Investigate and report on the Communist regime in Poland, Czechoslovakia, or Hungary.
3. Prepare brief special reports on postwar developments in Palestine, Egypt, Iran, Indo-China, China, and North Africa. How did these developments affect the foreign policy of the United States?
4. Investigate and report on the career of Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia. How have developments in Yugoslavia influenced the policies of Russia and the United States?
5. Compare occupation policies in Germany and Japan. What is the present foreign policy of the United States toward Germany and Japan? Compare with the policy of Russia toward these countries.
6. Compare the European Defense Community and the European Coal and Steel Community. What special problems or difficulties tend to weaken or strengthen these organizations?
7. What are some of the major difficulties to be solved in achieving political federation or unity in Western Europe?
8. Compare the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and with the American Declaration of Independence and the American Bill of Rights.
9. What statements in this chapter require modification or revision in the light of recent developments?

Suggested Reading

It is difficult to determine whether a particular event which attracts a great deal of public interest will in perspective be as important as it appears

to be at the moment. It is necessary to be on guard against special pleading and against "colorful" presentation of conflicting points of view.

The best sources of information concerning current developments are, of course, the daily newspapers, weekly and monthly magazines, the speeches of statesmen, and the official publications of governments. Convenient sources of information are the *World Almanac* and the *Information Please Almanac*. Some of the organizations mentioned on page iv publish pamphlets that deal with current events and problems. The Department of Public Information of the United Nations, New York, publishes important material that is extremely helpful in keeping up to date with the activities of the United Nations. Consult also International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, New York; and, of course, the Superintendent of Public Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. Langsam's *Documents and Readings in the History of Europe since 1918* (1951) contains the following: the Italian Peace Treaty, the Trial and Punishment of "War Criminals," the Formation of the Cominform, the Charter of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty. Consult Commager's *Documents* — No. 575, Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice; No. 577, the Truman Doctrine; No. 583, the Vandenberg Resolution; No. 586, Universal Declaration of Human Rights; No. 588, Truman's Inaugural Address, January, 1949 (Point IV program); No. 589, the North Atlantic Treaty.

APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, — a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new of-

fices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(The headings in heavy type are inserted for the reader's convenience)

PREAMBLE

The people, voting by states, establish the Union. We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

Article I. Legislative Department

Section I. CONGRESS

Congress consists of two houses. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Section II. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1. The people elect their representatives. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. **Who may be representatives?** No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. **Representation in the House is based on population.** Representatives and direct taxes [1] shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.[2] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. **Vacancies in the House are filled by election.** When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority [3] thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. **The House selects its speaker; it alone has power to impeach.** The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section III. SENATE

1. **The Senate represents the states.** The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen [by the legislature thereof,] [4] for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. **One third of the senators are chosen every two years.** Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; [and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the Executive [5] thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legis-

[1] Modified by the Sixteenth Amendment.

[2] The phrase "other persons" refers to slaves. The word "slave" appears nowhere in the Constitution. The three-fifths rule ceased to be in force when the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted.

[3] Governor.

[4] Repealed in 1913 by the Seventeenth Amendment.

[5] Governor.

lature, which shall then fill such vacancies.] [6]

3. Who may be senators? No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President presides over the Senate. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate chooses its other officers. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate alone has power to try impeachments. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Conviction may result in removal from office. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Section IV. Election and Meetings of Congress

1. Regulation of elections. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.[7]

2. Congress must meet once a year. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting [shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.] [8]

Section V. Organization and Rules of the Houses

1. Each House may refuse to seat a member. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each House makes its own rules of procedure. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House must keep and publish a record of its proceedings. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Both Houses must agree regarding adjournment. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section VI. Privileges of and Prohibitions upon Congressmen

1. Congressmen receive a salary from the United States and have certain privileges. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. A Congressman must not hold any

[6] Repealed in 1913 by the Seventeenth Amendment.
[7] This is to keep Congress from naming the meeting places of the state legislatures.
[8] Repealed in 1933 by the Twentieth Amendment.

other federal civil office. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section VII. Method of Making Laws

1. **Money bills must originate in the House of Representatives.** All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. **The President has a veto power.** Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. **All resolutions or votes go to the President for his approval.** Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section VIII. Powers Granted to Congress

Congress has certain enumerated powers:

1. **It may lay and collect taxes.** The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. **It may borrow money.** To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. **It may regulate foreign and interstate trade.** To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. **It may pass naturalization and bankruptcy laws.** To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. **It may coin money.** To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. **It may punish counterfeiters.** To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. **It may establish a postal service.** To establish post offices and post roads;

8. **It may issue patents and copyrights.** To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. **It may establish inferior courts.** To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. **It may punish crimes committed on the high seas.** To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations;

11. **It may declare war.** To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal,[9]

[9] Letters given to private citizens in time of war authorizing them to capture enemy ships.

and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. It may maintain an army. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. It may maintain a navy. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. It may regulate the Army and Navy. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. It may call out the state militia. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. It shares with the states the control of the militia. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. It makes laws for the federal district. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States,[10] and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State, in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; — and

Congress has implied powers:

18. It may make laws necessary for carrying out the enumerated powers. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.[11]

Section IX. Powers Denied to the United States [12]

1. The full control of Congress over immigration is postponed until 1808. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding $10 for each person.[13]

2. Congress may suspend the writ of "habeas corpus" [14] only in case of rebellion or invasion. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. Attainders [15] and "ex post facto" [16] laws are forbidden. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. Direct taxes must be apportioned according to the population. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. Export duties are forbidden. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. Congress must not discriminate against any port in regulating commerce. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. Public money may not be spent without an appropriation by Congress. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. Titles of nobility may not be granted. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

[10] The District of Columbia.
[11] This is the famous "elastic clause."
[12] For other powers denied to the United States see Amendments I–X

[13] This refers to the foreign slave trade. The words "slave" and "slavery" are not used in the body of the Constitution.
[14] The writ of *habeas corpus* enables a person under arrest to obtain an immediate examination in court to find out whether he is being legally held.
[15] A bill of attainder is the condemning and sentencing of an individual by a special legislative act without giving him the opportunity of defending himself in the courts.
[16] An *ex post facto* law fixes punishment for acts committed before the law was passed.

Section X. Powers Denied to the States

Absolute prohibitions on the states:

1. **The states are forbidden to do certain things.** No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Conditional prohibitions on the states:

2. **The states may not levy duties without the consent of Congress.** No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. **Certain other federal powers are forbidden the states except with the consent of Congress.** No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II. Executive Department

Section I. President and Vice-President

1. **The President is the chief executive.** The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. **The President is chosen by electors.** Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

It requires a majority of the electoral votes to elect. [The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.] [17]

3. **Congress decides the time of choosing electors.** The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. **Who may be President?** No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

[17] Repealed in 1804 by the Twelfth Amendment.

5. In case of the President's death or disability the Vice-President succeeds him. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President receives a salary. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. The President takes an oath of office. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section II. Powers of the President

1. The President has important military and civil powers. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. The President may make treaties and nominate officers of the United States. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President may fill vacancies during the recess of Congress. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section III. Other Powers and Duties of the President

Messages; extra sessions; receiving ambassadors: execution of the laws. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section IV. Impeachment

Civil officers may be removed by impeachment. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and on conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article III. Judicial Department

Section I. United States or Federal Courts

The judicial power belongs to the federal courts. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.[18] The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold

[18] Congress cannot abolish the Supreme Court but may abolish the inferior courts.

their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section II. JURISDICTION (AUTHORITY) OF THE UNITED STATES COURTS

1. The kinds of cases which may be heard are listed. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State; [19] — between citizens of different States; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2. In certain cases the Supreme Court has original jurisdiction.[20] In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction,[21] both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. Trial for crime is by jury. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section III. TREASON

1. Treason is defined. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. Congress fixes the punishment for treason. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

Article IV. Relations of the States to One Another

Section I. CREDIT TO ACTS, RECORDS, AND COURT PROCEEDINGS

Each state must respect the public acts of the others. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section II. DUTIES OF STATES TO STATES

1. Citizenship in one state is valid in all. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. Fugitives from justice must be surrendered by the state to which they have fled. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. Slaves and apprentices must be returned. No person held to service or labor [22] in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section III. NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

1. Congress may admit new states. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State

[19] The Eleventh Amendment restricts this to suits by a state against citizens of another state.

[20] Original jurisdiction means that a case must commence in the Supreme Court.

[21] Appellate jurisdiction means that a case must commence in an inferior federal court or a state court, from which it may be appealed to the Supreme Court.

[22] "Persons held to service or labor" refers to slaves and apprentices.

be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. Congress may regulate federal territory and property. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section IV. PROTECTION TO THE STATES

Congress guarantees to each state a republican government and protection against invasion and rebellion. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Article V. The Process of Amendment

The Constitution may be amended by either of two methods. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI. General Provisions

1. The debts of the Confederation are taken over. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. The Constitution and federal laws are the supreme law of the land. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. Federal and state officers are bound by oath to support the Constitution. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article VII. Ratification of the Constitution

The Constitution is in force when conventions in nine states have ratified it. The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

[Signed by] G° WASHINGTON
Presidt and Deputy from Virginia

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION [23]

Article I. Religious and Political Freedom

Congress may not interfere with freedom of religion, speech, meeting, and

[23] The first ten Amendments were adopted in 1791. They are frequently called the Bill of Rights.

petition. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article II. Right to Bear Arms

The people may bear arms. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article III. Quartering of Troops

Soldiers may not be quartered on the people. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV. Searches and Seizures

Unreasonable searches are forbidden. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V. Right to Life, Liberty, and Property

The individual is guaranteed certain rights when on trial and the right to life, liberty, and property. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article VI. Protection in Criminal Trials

An accused person has important rights. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Article VII. Suits at Common Law

The rules of common law are recognized. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII. Bail and Punishments

Excessive fines and unusual punishments are forbidden. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX. Concerning Rights Not Enumerated

The people retain their rights even though not here enumerated. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X. Powers Reserved to the States and to the People

Powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved to the states and the people. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Article XI. Suits against a State

The federal courts have no authority in suits by citizens against a state. The

judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state. [Adopted in 1798.]

Article XII. Election of President and Vice-President

1. The procedure of the Presidential electors is changed. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The method of choosing the Vice-President is changed. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States. [Adopted in 1804.]

Article XIII. Slavery Abolished

Slavery is prohibited. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Adopted in 1865.]

Article XIV. Limitations on the States

1. Negroes are made citizens. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. When a state limits the franchise, its representation shall be reduced. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the

male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. **Certain persons who have been in rebellion are ineligible for federal and state office.** No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

4. **Debts incurred in aid of rebellion are void.** The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. **Enforcement.** The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article. [Adopted in 1868.]

Article XV. Negro Suffrage

Negroes are made voters. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Adopted in 1870.]

Article XVI. Income Taxes

Congress has power to lay and collect income taxes. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration. [Adopted in 1913.]

Article XVII. Direct Election of Senators

Senators shall be elected by popular vote. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution. [Adopted in 1913.]

Article XVIII. National Prohibition

The sale or manufacture of intoxicating liquors is forbidden. 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from

the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress. [Adopted in 1919.]

Article XIX. Woman Suffrage

Women are guaranteed the right to vote. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Adopted in 1920.]

Article XX. Presidential and Congressional Terms

Presidential and Congressional terms of office begin in January. 1. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such persons shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission. [Adopted in 1933.]

Article XXI. Prohibition Repealed

The Eighteenth Amendment is repealed. 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress. [Adopted in 1933.]

Article XXII. Limitation on Presidential Term

Presidential term is limited. 1. No person shall be elected to the office of President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the day of its submission to the States by the Congress. [Adopted in 1951.]

INDEX

A.B.C. Conference, 679
Abolitionist movement. *See* Antislavery
Acheson, Dean, 838
Adams, Charles F., 341, 475, 476
Adams, John, 39, 57, 61, 86, 94, 144, 148, 159, 231; on Constitution, 105; and France, 72, 158–160, 162; nominated for President, 147, 163–164; as President, 149, 158, 162, 165, 169, 207; as Vice-President, 105–106
Adams, John Quincy, 231, 266; and Clay, 232–236; and foreign policy, 191, 201–202, 204; and "gag" resolution, 276; and internal improvement, 223, 234; and Jackson, 232, 236, 242, 258; and Pan-American Congress, 234; as President, 148, 232, 236, 263, 264
Adams, Samuel, 56–58, 94, 102, 103
Adamson Act, 422, 531, 532, 534
Addams, Jane, 436, 455
Adenauer, Konrad, 832
Africa, 12, 799, 827, 830, 845; colonial trade with, 16; trade route around, 3; World War II in, 760, 768, 771, 781
Agrarianism, 163, 187, 323, 399, 493–508, 511; *see also* Agriculture *and* Farmers
Agricultural Adjustment Acts, 568, 570–571, 617, 624
Agricultural Adjustment Administration (A.A.A.), 568, 570–571, 572
Agricultural Credit Act, 551
Agriculture, 135, 168, 196, 223, 268, 436, 449; and cattle raising, 374–376; in colonies, 6, 11, 14–15; depression in, 547, 548; and Fair Labor Standards Act, 587; and farm surplus, 378, 380, 494, 496, 548–549, 551, 553, 568, 570–571, 592; federal aid to, 349, 376, 378, 494, 551, 553, 561, 568–573; government regulation of, 20–22, 118, 570; and industry, 572; machinery and, 225, 227, 309, 348–349, 369, 372, 377, 493–494, 496, 549; methods of, 11, 225, 347, 348; in North, 307; processing and, 378; prosperity in, 572, 719, 726; revolution in, 372, 377–380; science and, 377–378, 549; in South, 225–227, 276, 325, 348; and transportation, 223, 372, 498; in West, 225–227, 371–372, 374, 376, 496; and World Wars I and II, 548, 572–573; *see also* Conservation *and* Farmers
Agriculture, Dep't of, 378, 515, 614
Airplane, 388–389, 397, 800
Alabama, 336–337, 341, 737
Alaska, 647, 701, 806; boundary of, 737; as incorporated territory, 699–700; purchase of, 341, 646
Albania, 758, 760, 845
Albany Congress, 46, 57
Alcock and Brown, 388
Aldrich-Vreeland Act, 527–528
Aleutian Islands, 699, 700, 775
Alien and Sedition Laws, 162–163, 165
Altgeld, John P., 418, 426
American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.), 419–421, 429, 585, 589, 804; and C.I.O., 431, 585–588; and communism, 815–816; political activities of, 428, 543, 805; *see also* Labor
American Labor party, 475, 477
American Medical Ass'n, 624, 806
American Protective Ass'n, 451
Americans for Democratic Action, 805
Amnesty Act (1872), 363
Annapolis Convention, 90
Anthony, Susan B., 282, 444, 455
Anthracite coal strike, 513
Anti-Comintern Pact, 711, 752
Anti-Masonic party, 248, 475
Anti-Saloon League, 447
Antietam, battle of, 338, 339, 342
Antifederalists, 101–104, 144
Antislavery movement, 274–276, 292, 299, 302–304, 444; increased activity in, 316, 319–320; *see also* Slavery
Antitrust laws, 118, 411, 413–414, 516, 517, 529–531; *see also* Clayton *and* Sherman Antitrust laws
Appomattox Court House, 339
Arbitration: in international disputes, 154, 160, 341, 674–675, 692–693, 737–740, 742, 748; in labor disputes, 421, 513, 531; meaning of, 738
Architecture, American, 461; personalities in, 461, 464
Argentina, 4, 694, 780; and World War II, 695, 697
Arizona, sinking of, 779
Armaments, limitation of, 199, 737, 738, 742, 748, 750, 751, 755
Armed Forces Unification Act, 802
Army Act, 359
Arthur, Chester A., 485, 486, 650
Articles of Confederation, 95, 101; demand for reform of, 90, 92, 96, 98; preparation and ratification of, 81, 82, 84; Union under, 81–82, 85–86; weaknesses of, 81–82, 86, 89
Ashburton, Lord, 287
Asia: cold war in, 834–835; and Point IV program, 830; revolts in, 799; *see also* Japan
Assembly, freedom of, 39, 115, 116, 118, 637, 817
"Association," 57, 61, 95
Atlantic Conference and Charter, 765–766, 781, 785
Atomic bomb, 394, 778, 784, 824, 826

Atomic energy, 394–395, 800, 824, 826
Atomic Energy Commission, 826
Attlee, Clement, 786
Austin, Warren R., 789
Australia, 775, 835
Austria, 758, 785
Automobile, 389, 391, 396, 397; death toll of, 437; invention of, 388; mass production of, 393, 544
Axis powers, 695, 697, 768

Badoglio, Pietro, 770
Baker, Newton D., 723, 724
Baker, Ray Stannard, 511, 730
Balkans, 760, 771, 788
Ballinger, Richard A., 616
Baltimore, Lord, 4, 14, 33, 42
Baltimore and Ohio R.R., 220, 308, 350; strike of, 421
Bank of United States, 191, 217, 225, 266; as political issue, 248
Bank of United States (first), 145, 494; constitutionality of, 143, 211; death of, 188, 197; established, 142–143
Bank of United States (second), 228, 247–250, 251, 494; chartering of, 194, 196–199; death of, 250
Banking Acts (1933, 1935), 562–563
Banks: investigation of, 556; and lending policies, 546; reform of, 527–529; state, 197, 198, 250, 251, 347; and stocks and bonds, 412; supervision of, 562–563; *see also* Federal Reserve
Bao Dai, 835
Baruch, Bernard, 824
Bataan, World War II and, 774, 776
Beard, Charles and Mary, 328–329, 462
Beecher, Lyman, 277
Belgium: invasion of, 759; and security agreements, 830–833
Bell, Alexander Graham, 389, 391
Bentley, Elizabeth, 815
Benton, Thomas H., 266, 288, 302
Berlin, 772, 829–830
Berlin Conference. *See* Potsdam
Berlin Decree (1806), 183
Bessarabia, and Soviet Union, 760
Bessemer, Henry, 310, 386
Big business, 146, 490, 493, 546, 573, 575, 589, 662, 671, 804; banks and, 395, 410, 412; beginning of, 310, 368; captains of industry and pioneers in, 378, 404, 406, 407, 409, 413; competition and, 406–408, 411, 413, 414, 462, 525–526, 530, 573; and Congress, 574, 575; exposés of, 511–512, 515; growth of, 351, 405–414; and monopolies and trusts, 406–412, 511, 514, 516–517, 528, 546, 556, 564, 582–583; oil and, 349, 407; and politics, 364–365, 386, 405, 472, 474, 481, 482, 490, 508, 511–512; and profits, 390, 417, 514; regulation of, 514, 516, 522, 525–526, 529–532; steel and, 407–410; *see also* Corporations, Government, federal, Industry, *and* Labor
Big Five. *See* United Nations
Big Four, 733
Big Three. *See* England, Soviet Russia, *and* United States
Bill of Rights: in Constitution, 102, 115, 126, 140; English, 39, 40; G.I., 800; in Northwest Ordinance, 85; in state constitutions, 74
Bills of attainder, 115
Bills of credit, 19, 81, 100
Birney, James G., 274, 292, 475
Black Hawk, war with, 252, 254
Blaine, James G., 482, 485, 487; and Pan-Americanism, 648, 650, 689
Bland-Allison Act, 502
Bolívar, Simón, 689
Bolivia, relations with, 678
Bolshevism. *See* Communism
Bon Homme Richard, 69, 70
Bonneville Dam, 579
Booth, John Wilkes, 339
Boston: in colonial days, 4, 18; evacuation of, 63, 67; harbor of, closed, 56; newspapers in, 30
Boston Port Act, 56, 57
Boston Tea Party, 54, 56
Boundary: northeast, 287, 288; northern, 72, 199, 200; southern, 72, 659; southwestern, 292; western, 200, 223, 292, 293
Boundary disputes, 223, 674, 737; between states, 88, 89; between U.S. and other countries, 154, 156, 174, 191, 293, 297
Boycott: colonial, 53, 57; as labor weapon, 424; in War of 1812, 184–185; in World War II, 711
Brazil, 4, 25
Bretton Woods Conference, 782
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 417; *see also* Railway Brotherhoods
Browder, Earl, 477, 589, 764, 785
Brown, John, raid of, 319–320
Brussels Pact, 830, 831
Bryan, William Jennings, 522; as candidate for President, 428, 490, 491, 505–506, 508, 518; political philosophy of, 474, 489, 490, 505–508; as Secretary of State, 706, 718–719, 739
Bryan-Chamorro treaty, 478, 664
Bryant, William Cullen, 284, 313
Buchanan, James, 304; as President, 315, 317, 318, 323, 325
Budget, national, 542, 565–566
Buenos Aires Conference, 693–694
Bulgaria, 760, 771, 785, 787, 826, 828
"Bull Moose" party, 521–522
Bunau-Varilla, Philippe, 660–662
Bunche, Ralph J., 845
Burgoyne, John, 67
Burke, Edmund, 54, 57, 59
Burke Act, 373
Burma, 776, 834, 835, 837, 840
Burma Road, 711, 776
Burr, Aaron, 149, 163–164, 178
Byrd, Richard E., 388

Cabinet, 119–120, 127, 143, 147, 169, 201, 260; creation of, 138

Cable, 310, 389
Cairo Conference, 781–782
Calhoun, John C., 201, 231–234, 245, 263, 264, 302; bonus bill of, 198–199; as Secretary of State, 263, 266, 288, 290; and states' rights, 242–245, 263, 302, 319; and tariff, 197, 241, 242, 246, 263; as Vice-Presidential candidate, 232, 235; as "War Hawk," 186
California: admission of, 302–303, 309; conquest of, 296; gold rush in, 300, 301; Spanish colonies in, 4
Calles, Plutarco, 682
Calverton, V. F., 463–464
Canada: and atomic energy, 824; Communists in, 815; federal government in, 109; French settlements in, 4; and N.A.T.O., 831; relations of, with U.S., 154, 191, 737; and War of 1812, 186–188, 193
Canals, building of, 221–223, 250, 251
Canning, George, 204
Cannon, Joseph G., as Speaker, 520
Capital: American, in foreign countries, 381, 398, 546, 651, 653, 667, 671, 674, 678, 687–688; European, in South America, 687; foreign, in American industry, 369, 384, 398, 496, 720; idleness of, 197, 398; and industry, 135, 348, 392, 393, 395, 417, 567; in public utilities, 546; and settlement of West, 371; and speculation, 556; *see also* Big business, Capitalism, Corporations *and* Investments
Capitalism, 118, 163, 323, 382, 399, 420
Capper-Volstead Act, 530, 551
Caribbean, 677; and American imperialism, 659, 674, 678, 683, 692, 738; search for markets in, 668
Carnegie, Andrew, 404, 407–409, 689, 691, 738
Caroline Islands, 835
Carpetbaggers, 362–363, 448, 481, 484
Carranza, Venustiano, 679, 680
Casablanca Conference, 768, 781
Cass, Lewis, 299–300, 302, 304
Catholics: discrimination against, 451, 638, 812; and Maryland, 4
Central America, 687–688; relations with, 297–298, 664, 673, 678, 684, 688, 692; Spanish colonies in, 4, 202; and World War II, 694–695; *see also* Latin America
Chamberlain, Neville, 758, 759
Chambers, Whittaker, 815, 816
Channing, William Ellery, 275
Chapultepec, Act of, 697, 791
Charleston, S.C., 28, 30, 56, 70, 135
Charters: of liberties, 38; of states, 74
Chase, Salmon P., 302, 303, 346, 476
Chase, Samuel, 169
Chatham, Lord. *See* Pitt, William
Chesapeake-Leopard affair, 184, 718
Chiang Kai-shek, 705, 836; at Cairo, 781–782; and Communists, 776
Chicago Conference, 783
Child labor. *See* Labor
Child Labor Law (1916), 423
China: Boxer uprising in, 705, 709; Communists in, 705, 776, 799, 815, 834, 836–837; and European imperialism, 704; immigrants from, 451, 606, 607; and Korean war, 834, 837, 839, 840, 843; Nationalists in, 705, 707, 766, 776, 799, 836, 837; open-door policy in, 704–707, 710; trade routes to, 3; and UN Security Council, 789, 836; U.S. postwar policy in, 836–837, 842; and World War II, 776, 777, 781–782; *see also* Japan *and* Manchuria
Church: disestablishment of, 36; influence of, 34, 452, 453; political struggles in, 43; on slavery, 275–276; and state, 34, 36, 74, 283, 808, 810, 811; and welfare, 283; *see also* Religion
Churchill, Winston, 759, 768, 785, 789, 823; at World War II conferences, 765, 781, 782, 785–786
Cities, 135, 139, 268, 309; governments of, 437–438; growth of, 381, 416, 435, 437, 439, 468, 493; influence of, 436–437, 468; planning of, 437, 512; and politics, 437–438, 481, 486–487, 511, 512; and public utilities, 582
Civil Aeronautics Authority, 576, 577
Civil rights legislation, 358, 807, 811–813
Civil Service, 263, 482, 485, 486, 489
Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.), 567, 569, 614, 618
Clark, Champ, 520, 522
Clark, George Rogers, 70, 73, 176
Clark, Mark, 770
Clark, William, 176–178
Clark Memorandum, 692
Clay, Henry, 191, 201, 206, 231–233, 235, 263, 302, 304; American System of, 234; as "Great Pacificator," 264, 274, 302–304; political philosophy of, 236, 248, 254, 264, 266, 287, 469, 689; as Presidential candidate, 246, 248, 264, 292; and tariff, 242, 246, 264; as "War Hawk," 186, 187
Clayton Antitrust Act, 411, 529, 530; amendment to, 574; labor provisions of, 422, 427, 531; suspension of, 573
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 298, 658
Clemenceau, Georges, 733
Clermont, 218
Cleveland, Grover, 469, 474; and foreign affairs, 650, 654, 674–675; and Hawaii, 648; and internal affairs, 373, 426, 486, 504, 611; as President, 472, 487–490, 504–505, 604
Clinton, DeWitt, 188, 221, 280
Cody, William F. (Buffalo Bill), 373
Cold war, 823–837; in Asia and Far East, 834–835; development of, 844; and loyalty oaths, 457
Collective security, 707–712, 739, 748–750, 830–834
Collectivism, 146, 472, 474
Colombia, 658, 660–662, 678
Colonies: corporate, 42; first in America, 4; French, 49; middle, 14–15, 26–29,

31, 34; Northern, 16, 26–28; Portuguese, 7, 25; proprietary, 12, 14, 42; royal, 6, 42–43; Spanish, 25, 202; types of, 42; union of, 74, 81; *see also* Colonies, English; Colonies, New England; *and* Colonies, Southern
Colonies, English: agriculture in, 11, 14–15; amusements in, 27–29; barter in, 18; books and libraries in, 28, 31; boycott by, 53, 57; class distinctions in, 26–27; committees of, 53–54, 57, 58, 61, 81; communication and transportation in, 15, 16, 18, 22, 45, 46; democracy in, 41, 43–44; economic activities and interests in, 11, 15, 23, 43, 46; education in, 31–34; English culture in, 25; establishment of, 4, 6, 9, 25; extent of, 52; and French and Indian War, 49–51, 53, 55; government in, 39–47, 51–57, 61, 74; and Grenville program, 53–54; homes in, 9, 13, 27, 33; immigration to, 25, 26, 600; indentured servants in, 11–12; industry in, 15–16, 18–21, 23, 52, 75; inflation in, 19, 60; intellectual interests in, 28–34; lack of money in, 18, 19, 60, 75; landholding in, 12, 14; methods of making a living in, 14–18; Negro slaves in, 11–12; newspapers in, 30–31; paper money in, 19, 20, 60; politics in, 39–47, 144; preparations for Revolutionary War by, 58; proposal of alliance with France by, 65; relations of, with England, 6, 15, 19–23, 44, 46, 51–63, 65, 72; religion in, 33, 34, 36; science in, 32; self-sufficiency of, 6; suffrage in, 34, 41–43, 74; taxes in, 20, 22, 43–45, 51, 53, 60; town meetings in, 27, 41, 42, 56, 188; trade of, 6, 14–16, 18–23, 44, 46, 51–52, 57, 65; unity among, 46–47, 56–57; vices of, 27
Colonies, New England: agriculture and industry in, 14–16, 21, 22, 72; amusements of, 27; freeholders in, 12; political characteristics of, 39–41; religion in, 34; schools in, 31
Colonies, Southern, 15, 16, 60; amusements of, 27, 29; government in, 41; migration to, 26; religion in, 34, 36; schools in, 31
Columbus, Christopher, 3–5, 7
Cominform, 828–829
Committee on Recent Social Trends, 390
Committee on Un-American Activities, 815
Committees of correspondence: in colonies, 53–54, 57, 58; Republican, 147
Committees of observation and inspection, 57, 58
Commodity Exchange Commission, 564
Common law, 38–39
Common Sense, 65, 320
Communications. *See* Transportation
Communism: American people and, 815; and Anti-Comintern pact, 711, 752; as challenge to democracy, 637–640, 814–817; and federal government, 806, 807; in foreign countries, 799, 815, 816, 828–829, 835, 837; and "front organizations," 814, 815; and guilt by association, 817; and Hitler, 758; increased influence of, 800; and loyalty oaths, 457, 817; philosophy of, 637–640, 814, 824; *see also* Communist party *and* Soviet Russia
Communist party, 475, 477; as agent of Russia, 815, 816; changes in policies of, 783, 785; fellow travelers and, 764, 814, 815, 829; and immigrants, 607; and labor, 430–431, 587, 803, 815, 816; membership of, 814; policies of, 815; and Roosevelt, 431, 595; and Taft-Hartley Act, 803; transmission belts and, 764; trial of leaders of, 816; and Wallace, 805; and World War II, 764; *see also* Communism *and* Propaganda
Compromise of 1850, 301, 303–304
Conciliation, 692–693, 738–739
Concord, battle of, 58, 61, 81
Confederacy: and Europe, 350; formation and constitution of, 324; navy of, 336, 338; problems of, 335–336; seizure of property by, 325–326; states in, 331; *see also* Davis, Jefferson; South; *and* War between the States
Congress: and arming of merchant ships, 766; and atomic energy, 395, 826; and banking, 346, 347, 527–529, 562–563; boards and commissions appointed by, 120, 128; and budget, 542, 565–566; and campaign contributions and expenditures, 633–635; caucuses in, 147, 164, 185, 232, 260; and Constitutional amendments, 126; and control of food and drug industries, 515, 516, 620; declares war on Germany, 532, 721, 767; declares war on Italy and Japan, 767; and dependencies, 648, 657, 670, 672, 699, 702, 703; economic policy of, in World Wars, 534; and Eisenhower administration, 819, 820; and E.R.P., 828; first elections to, 105; investigations by, 124, 431–432, 481, 528, 556, 564, 616–617, 634, 754, 767, 807, 815, 820; and Korean War, 838, 840; "lame-duck" session of, 127, 630; land policy of, 84, 218, 223, 494, 611, 612, 614; limits to debate in, 122–123; lobbying in, 108, 123, 416, 526, 553, 635–637; and "logrolling," 123–124, 526, 542, 553; membership and organization of, 108, 122, 123, 128, 147, 266; and merger of armed forces, 802; and neutrality, 754, 755; and Panama Canal, 662; and Pearl Harbor, 767; and "pork-barrel" legislation, 123–124; powers of, and checks on, 96, 98–100, 109–117, 119, 121, 212, 293; and President, 113, 120–121, 168, 335, 355–356, 359, 488, 526, 801; and reform legislation, 117, 118, 392, 485, 486, 511, 515, 516,

532, 620–624, 806, 807, 812, 814; reorganization of, 802; and Spanish-American War, 655, 670; and Supreme Court, 121, 124, 126, 128, 208–210, 591; and Taft-Hartley Act, 803–804; and trusts, 574; and war debts, 747–748, 755; and War of 1812, 191; and World War I, 724; and World War II, 759, 762–764, 766, 767, 780; *see also* Continental Congress, Government, federal, House of Representatives, Provincial congresses, Senate, *and* United States
Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.), 405, 419, 420, 429, 587, 588, 589, 804; and A.F.L., 431, 585–587; and Communists, 587, 815–816; formation and growth of, 585–586; Political Action Committee of, 589, 595, 805; *see also* Labor
Conkling, Roscoe, 482, 485, 627
Connally Resolution, 782
Connecticut, 12, 28, 32, 36; constitution of, 74; Fundamental Orders of, 40
"Connecticut Compromise," 98
Conservation: flood control and, 376, 610; of forests, 567, 569, 610–616, 618; future of, 618–619; of human resources, 619–624; and hydroelectric power, 578–579; irrigation and, 376, 377, 610–613; of minerals, 614, 616–617; of natural resources, 381, 398, 514, 517, 521, 522, 611–614; and scandals, 616–617; science and, 376–377, 611–612, 616; of soil, 225, 276, 347, 376, 377, 570, 572, 610, 613–618; of water, 611, 613, 614, 617
Constellation, 159
Constitution, 159, 190; and *Java*, 189
Constitution, 80, 94, 95, 98; amendments to, 102, 109–110, 114, 115: First, 36, 162, 276, 810, 811, Fifth, 115–116, 117, 318, Tenth, 100, 110, 422–424, Eleventh, 126, 140, Twelfth, 126, 164–165, Thirteenth, 110, 126, 343, 355, 448, Fourteenth, 110, 116, 117, 126, 347, 358–359, 362–364, 448, 449, 810, Fifteenth, 110, 126, 360, 364, 448, 628, Sixteenth, 99, 116, 127, 521, 526, Seventeenth, 127, Eighteenth, 127, 445, 446, 447, Nineteenth, 110, 127, 360, 444, 455, 628, Twentieth, 105, 120, 122, 127, 630, 632, Twenty-first, 127, 446, 447, Twenty-second, 127, 801; and census, 122; check and balance system of, 96, 100, 112–115, 118, 119, 120; and commerce, 500; completion of, 101; compromises in, 98–99; conservative influence on, 94, 96, 99; defense of, 102, 104; democracy in, 96, 100, 102, 103, 114, 115; division of governmental powers in, 109, 110, 112; "due process" clause of, 115–117; "elastic clause" of, 100, 110, 112, 143, 145, 146–147, 163, 176, 211; and election of President, 96, 99, 118–119, 126, 149, 232, 485, 552, 630, 632; and Federal courts, 318; and House of Representatives and Senate, 122; and impeachment, 360, 362; and individual and property rights, 115–118, 274; and judicial power, 124–126; methods of amending, 126; and overseas possessions, 669–670; points of agreement and conflict on, 95–96, 98, 99, 102, 104; and police powers, 117; powers granted to Congress by, 109–112, 116–117, 119; powers granted to federal government by, 99–100, 109, 110, 112–113, 115; powers granted President by, 112–113, 120–122; powers granted and denied to states by, 100, 109–110, 116; powers granted Supreme Court by, 108, 114, 124, 126, 138; and problems of representation, 96, 98; proposed amendments to, 192, 194, 198, 199, 544; ratification of, 101–105, 137; and slavery, 99, 270–271, 343, 344, 355; strict construction of, 110, 112, 125, 143, 146–147, 163, 192, 207, 228; Supreme Court and, 114, 117, 211; as supreme law, 126, 244; and taxation, 109, 116, 521; text of, 852–863; three-fifths rule of, 99, 192, 358; unwritten, 108, 112, 127–129; *see also* Bill of Rights
Constitutional Convention, 90, 92, 94–101, 108, 109, 125
Constitutional Union party, 322–323, 476
Constitutions, state, 101, 362; amendments to, 251; framing of, 74; and liberty, 102; and slavery, 293, 302, 303, 315, 326; and suffrage, 258
Continental Congress, First, 57, 61, 81; and "Association," 57, 61, 95
Continental Congress, Second, 61, 65, 70, 72, 81; achievements of, 84; and Articles of Confederation, 81–82, 84, 86; and Declaration of Independence, 65–66; difficulties of, 86, 88–90, financial policies of, 75; and Northwest Ordinance, 84, 85; powers of, 81–82, 86; provision of, for successor, 105
Coolidge, Calvin: and foreign affairs, 544, 651, 677, 678, 682, 684, 745, 750; and internal affairs, 538, 551, 579, 606; as President, 513, 543, 544; succeeds Harding, 543; and third term, 518, 552; as Vice-Presidential candidate, 538; and war debts, 746
Cooper, Peter, 476, 501, 502
Cooperatives: and agriculture, 497, 500, 549–551, 553, 555, 571
Copeland Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, 516, 620
Cornwallis, Charles, 71–73
Corporations, 310, 351; consolidation of, 405, 406, 410–412; financing of, 402–404, 410, 412; protection of property of, 117; stocks and dividends of, 402–404, 407, 408, 410, 411, 556; strength and weaknesses of, 404–405; tax on, 526; types of, 405; *see also*

Big business, Capital, Labor, *and* Industry
Corrupt Practices Acts, 512, 525, 628–629, 633–634
Cotton Crop Control Act, 570
Cotton gin, 226, 227
Coughlin, Father, 589–590
Council of Foreign Ministers, 786–788, 826, 827
Council of National Defense, 719, 724–725
Courts, 113, 124, 138, 426–428
Coxey's Army, 504, 507
Crawford, William H., 231, 232, 234
Credit, 18, 225; banks and, 142–143, 247, 252, 412, 495; expansion of, 546, 547; and farmers, 508, 551, 571; government, 160, 566; Report on Public, 140; suspension of, 562–563, 800
Crédit Mobilier, 481
Crete, and World War II, 760
Crimea, and World War II, 762, 770
Crittenden proposal, 376
Cuba, 673; constitution of, 670; freedom of, 656, 657; protectorate in, 667, 669–671, 683; relations with, 297, 653–655; revolt of, against Spain, 202, 653–654
Cumberland Road, 172, 198, 219–221
Currency, 592, 799; depreciation of, 62, 75, 250, 496; inflation of, 495, 501–506, 564–565; national bank and, 142–143, 347; regulation of, 143, 146, 198, 247, 347, 494–495, 508, 527–529, 565; state systems of, 86; weakness in system of, 527–528
Custer, George A., 373
Czechoslovakia: Communists in, 815, 828, 829; dismemberment of, 752; and Korean prisoners of war, 843; occupation of, 758; and Russia, 785

Danbury hatters' strike, 426–427
Darlan, Jean Louis, 760, 768
Dartmouth College, 32, 210–211
Daugherty, Harry J., 538, 543
Davis, Jefferson, 300, 302, 315, 357; as Confederate President, 324, 335
Davis Resolution, 299
Dawes, Charles G., 542, 554, 746
Dawes Act, 373
Dawes Plan, 746
Day, Benjamin H., 283–284
Deane, Silas, 65, 67
Debs, Eugene V.: and Pullman strike, 426; and Socialist Party, 430, 476, 518, 522, 539; and World War I, 725
Debt Default Act, 748
Debtors: as immigrants, 6, 11; imprisonment of, 229–230, 277; and paper money, 86
Debts: national, 140–141, 565, 566, 780, 800, 807; Venezuelan and Dominican, 675, 677; war, 554, 746–748
Decatur, Stephen, 170, 171
Declaration of Independence, 40, 59, 65–66, 95, 108, 125; ideals of, 66, 144; text of, 850–851
Declaration of Rights and Grievances, 57
Defense Production Act, 832
De Leon, Daniel, 430, 476
De Lome letter, 654
Democracy, 119, 144, 165, 166, 229, 282, 469, 484, 636; challenges to, 630, 631, 637–640, 814–817; and citizenship, 639, 640; and economic imperialism, 667–668, 674; and Federalists, 96, 165; and French Revolution, 135, 147; and frontier, 223, 225; in Jacksonian era, 234–236, 257, 260, 279–282; maintenance of traditions of, 118, 674, 763, 773; in state constitutions, 74–75; war to preserve, 722, 725, 754; ways of improving, 626–640
Democratic party, 217, 236, 247, 264, 288, 344; beginning of, 147, 236; history of, 474; and South, 266, 288, 364, 485; split in, 245, 322, 333; *see also* Politics *and* Political parties
Democratic-Republicans, 147, 235, 236
Denmark, 663, 664, 759, 831
Depression: after 1781, 85–86; of 1837, 249, 251, 264, 287; of 1857, 307, 308, 399; of 1873, 370, 399, 482, 494, 496; of 1893, 399, 490, 494, 504; of 1907, 518, 527, 528; of 1921–22, 399, 543, 544; of 1929, 399, 472, 548, 554, 556, 565, 747; of 1930's, 529, 560, 564, 566
Dewey, George, 656, 659, 675
Dewey, Thomas E., 469, 474, 767, 832; as Presidential candidate, 595, 805, 818; and rackets, 453
Diaz, Porfirio, 678–679, 682
Dickinson, John, 61, 95
Disarmament. *See* Armaments
Displaced Persons Act, 806
Dixiecrats, 804–805, 812, 818
Doenitz, Karl, 772
Doheny, Edward L., 616–617
Dorr's Rebellion, 258
Douglas, Stephen, 302, 304; debates of, 320–321, 327; and Kansas-Nebraska Act, 315–316; as Presidential candidate, 322; and slavery, 319, 321; support of Union by, 328, 333
Draft, 230, 832; and cold war, 823; in 1863, 335; peacetime, 594, 763, 765; in War of 1812, 191; in World War I, 723, 724; in World War II, 778
Draft Act, 335
Drago Doctrine, 738
Dred Scott decision, 318–319, 321, 322
Dumbarton Oaks Conference, 783
Dunkirk, withdrawal from, 761
Dutch settlements in America, 4, 12, 26; *see also* Holland

East Germany, 829, 832, 847
East Prussia, 771, 772
Eastman, Joseph B., 575
Economic changes, 112, 369, 381, 386, 416, 470–472, 511; effect of, on foreign policy, 667–669, 678, 684; effect of, on Western Hemisphere, 688

Economic Cooperation Administration (E.C.A.), 828
Economic interests: in campaign of 1800, 163; of colonies, 15, 23, 43, 46; and Constitution, 95, 104; sectional, 82, 146, 217, 228, 236, 239–247, 263, 266, 287, 308–309, 315, 316, 322–323, 364–365, 368, 470, 526
Economic Revolution, 369, 395, 398–399, 516
Eden, Anthony, at Moscow, 781
Edison, Thomas A., 388, 389, 578
Education: adult, 454, 456; colleges and universities and, 31–32, 279, 280, 281, 349, 456–457; in colonies, 31–34; and communication arts, 284, 443, 457–459; and communism, 457, 817; encouragement of, 84, 85, 349; federal and state aid to, 279, 349, 454, 456, 806–808, 810; and G.I. Bill, 800–801; graduate schools and, 457; growth of, 453–457; high schools and, 453, 456; labor and, 229–230; lack of, in U.S., 144, 146, 453–454, 808; leaders in, 454, 456–457; and literature, 459–464; methods and procedures in, 454, 455; Negroes and, 449–450, 813; postwar needs of, 808; pressure groups and, 230, 457, 636; private and parochial schools and, 810, 811; public schools and, 229, 279–281; and religion, 280, 283, 810, 811; and women, 282, 443
Egypt, 760, 799
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 804; administration of, 820; Cabinet of, 820; election of, 819; and Korea, 809, 843, 844; and N.A.T.O., 831; and Presidential nomination, 364, 818; and World War II, 768, 771, 772
El Alamein, 768, 771
Elections: ballot systems in, 628–629, 631; contributions and expenditures for, 633–635; improvement in machinery of, 628–633; nominating systems for, 147, 632; primaries and, 147, 512, 518, 522, 525, 632, 812; of 1796, 147, 149, 207; of 1800, 163–166; of 1804, 179; of 1806, 179; of 1810, 186; of 1812, 188; of 1814, 188; of 1816, 194; of 1820, 207; of 1824, 217, 231, 232; of 1828, 235–236; of 1832, 248; of 1836, 264; of 1840, 264, 266; of 1844, 290; of 1848, 299; of 1852, 304–305; of 1858, 320–321; of 1860, 323; of 1862, 343; of 1864, 344; of 1868, 480; of 1876, 484; of 1880, 485; of 1884, 487; of 1888, 488; of 1892, 490, 504; of 1896, 506, 508; of 1900, 490–491; of 1904, 518; of 1912, 522, 523; of 1916, 532; of 1918, 538; of 1920, 538; of 1924, 544; of 1928, 552–553; of 1932, 556–557; of 1936, 590; of 1940, 594; of 1944, 595; of 1946, 801, 804; of 1948, 804–805; of 1952, 803, 807, 819
Electoral College: effect of political parties on, 118–119, 127; failure of system of, 149, 164; method of choosing members of, 99, 105, 119, 236; votes of, 164, 179, 207, 232, 264, 266, 300, 305, 323, 344, 480, 484, 485, 488, 490, 504, 508, 523, 553, 556, 557, 594, 595, 805, 819
Electoral Commission, 484
Electoral Count Act, 488
Electricity, 386, 388, 390, 394, 396, 397; development of, 578, 580; hydroelectric power and, 386, 578–579; sale of surplus, 580
Eliot, Charles W., 456
Elk Hills Reserve scandals, 616–617
Elkins Act, 516
Emancipation Proclamation, 341–343
Embargo Act (1807), 184–185, 241
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 277–278, 282, 284, 312
England: and Albania, 845; and American colonies, 4, 6, 15, 16, 44, 46, 51–63, 65, 72; and atomic energy, 824; changes in, after World War II, 799; claims of, in North America, 50, 52; Combined Boards of U.S. and, 781; common law of, 38–39; and Communist China, 836; in danger of invasion, 594; declares war on Germany, 759; and France, in America, 49–51; garrisons of, on frontier, 86, 151, 153, 154; and Geneva Protocol, 749; gives naval bases to U.S., 664, 763; government in, 38–39, 46, 109, 112, 800; and Greece, 785, 827; and India, 834; and Japanese peace treaty, 835; and Munich settlement, 752, 758; and mutual security agreements, 830, 831; naval policy of, 751; and Palestine, 845; and Paris Peace Conference, 733; peace aims of, 765–766; policy of, toward neutral trade, 183, 188; possessions of, in Western Hemisphere, 687; and Potsdam Conference, 777; preparations of, for World War II, 758–759; rules of warfare of, 186; and Russia, 780, 783, 785, 788, 823; surrenders to U.S., 72; and Texas, 287, 293, 294; trade of, with U.S., 85, 86, 152, 154, 156, 183, 185, 199; treaties and agreements of, with U.S., 154, 156, 157, 160, 191, 199, 200, 287, 292, 297, 298, 341, 645, 658, 660; U.S. aid to, 664, 759, 762–765; U.S. difficulties with, 151, 154, 202, 287, 674, 717, 783, 785, 788, 823; and war debts, 747; and war with France, 152–154, 182–186; and War between the States, 340–341, 357; and West Germany, 832; and World War II, 759–760, 762, 768, 771, 776; *see also* United Kingdom, United Nations, *and* World War II
Erie Canal, 221, 222, 231
Espionage Act, 725
Estonia, and Soviet Union, 759, 760
Ethiopia. *See* Italy
Europe: absolute government in, 38; and American tariff, 553; attitude of,

toward U.S., 86; claims of, in North America, 50; colonial trade with, 6, 14, 16, 18–23, 65; Commercial Revotion in, 3–4; conditions in, in 1790, 135, 137; expansion plans of, in Western Hemisphere, 196, 202, 204, 206; imperialistic policies of, 704; and outbreak of World War I, 715–716; territorial changes in, after World War I, 732; trade between U.S. and, 85–86, 88; U.S. and defense of, 831–832; *see also individual countries, and* Western Europe
European Coal and Steel Community, 833
European Defense Community, 832, 833
European Recovery Program (E.R.P.), 828–830
Ex post facto laws, 115
Exploration in U.S., 176–178, 289, 292
Export-Import Bank, 592, 748

Fair Deal, 805–807, 814
Fair Employment Practices Committee (F.E.P.C.), 449, 801, 811, 812
Fair Labor Standards Act, 587, 588, 591, 806
Fall, Albert B., 616–617
Far East, 542; cold war in, 835–836; crisis in, 706–707, 710, 711; search for markets in, 668; U.S. and, 657, 831, 832; *see also* individual nations
Farm Credit Administration, 571
Farm Security Administration, 571
Farm Tenancy Act, 571–572
Farmer-Labor party, 475, 477, 539
Farmers, 399, 498; and cooperatives, 497, 500, 549–551, 553, 555; and credit, 508, 551, 571; discontent of, 497, 543, 544, 547, 548, 551; effect of prices on, 494, 496, 497, 520; and industry, 551; loss of markets by, 549, 572; and New Deal, 572–573; and politics, 217, 368, 472, 475–478, 494, 497–505, 550–552, 573; subsidies to, 568, 813–814, 820; and tariff, 551, 553; tenancy of, 548–549, 572, 620, 622; *see also* Agriculture
Farmers' Alliance, 500, 503
Farragut, David G., 332, 336, 340, 344
Fascism, 118, 637–640; *see also* Germany *and* Italy
Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.), 453, 815, 816
Federal Communications Commission, 120, 575–577
Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., 563
Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 567
Federal Farm Board, 553
Federal Farm Loan Banks, 529, 551
Federal Farm Mortgage Corp., 571
Federal Housing Administration, 567–568, 620
Federal Intermediate Credit Banks, 551, 571
Federal Land Banks, 529, 571
Federal Power Commission, 578–579, 583
Federal Radio Commission, 576
Federal Reserve Act, 528–529, 554
Federal Reserve Banks, 546, 554, 565, 568; powers of, 563
Federal Reserve Board, 551, 563
Federal Reserve System, 252, 528–529; Board of Governors of, 120, 563; changes in, 563, 564
Federal Trade Commission (F.T.C.), 120, 128, 529–531, 564, 577, 583
Federal Water Power Act, 578, 579
Federalist, 102, 104, 144, 145, 284
Federalists, 97, 144, 147, 149, 152, 163–166, 207, 236, 469, 645; achievements of, 160, 165; and Constitution, 101–105; doctrines of, 196; downfall of, 162–163, 165, 194, 196, 207; opposition by, 176, 178–179, 192, 207; and War of 1812, 188
Field, Cyrus W., 389
Fillmore, Millard, 303, 317
Finland: peace treaty for, 787, 788; settlements of, 4; and war debts, 747; and war with Russia, 759, 760, 762, 765, 771
Fisheries: agreements on, 72, 199–200, 737; and Fair Labor Standards, 587
Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty, 750
Flood control. *See* Conservation
Florida, 85, 199; acquisition of, 174, 186, 187, 196, 200–201, 645; admitted to Union, 362; ceded to England, 51; ceded to Spain, 72; Spanish colonies in, 4
Foch, Ferdinand, 725, 727, 728
Food and drugs. *See* Congress
Ford, Henry, 391, 393
Ford Motor Co., 388, 393, 405
Foreign affairs, 121, 128, 151, 163; airplane and, 389; changes in policy toward, 657–659, 800; E.R.P. and, 828; and economic changes, 646, 667–669, 678, 684, 688; under Eisenhower, 820; in Europe and Asia, 847; during French Revolution, 152–154; good neighbor policy and, 128, 592, 650–651, 668–669, 671, 682–684, 694; growing interest in, 488, 511, 518; influence of West on, 199, 225; isolationism in, 151, 157, 166, 168–169, 176, 204, 206, 223, 591–592, 645–646, 744, 755, 764, 765; labor leaders and, 804; Marshall plan and, 828–829; Monroe Doctrine and, 204, 206, 645; N.A.T.O. and, 831–832; and Navy, 644; nonrecognition and, 679, 680, 690, 693, 708, 710; open-door policy and, 704–706; Panama Canal and, 658–662, 664; Point IV program and, 830; and politics, 152–154; postwar problems in, 807–808; and reciprocal trade agreements, 545, 592, 650, 684; and surplus products, 369, 378, 380, 398, 592, 650, 667, 668, 688; and War between the States, 340–

341, 357, 648; and World War II, 780; *see also* Neutrality, Trade, foreign, *and individual presidents*
Forests, 611; *see also* Conservation
Formosa: and China, 705, 782, 799, 836, 837; protection of, 838; and World War II, 775
Fort Sumter, 326–328, 339
Foster, William Z., 477, 785
Four-Power Treaty, 707
France: agreement of, with U.S., 158, 160; alliance of, with Russia, 752; alliance of, with U.S., 65–70; attitude of, toward U.S., 86; Canadian settlements of, 4; claims of, in North America, 50, 52; communism in, 828, 829; declares war on Germany, 759; and England, in America, 49–51; invaded by Germany, 759; Jefferson and, 173; and Munich settlement, 752, 758; and mutual security agreements, 830–833; national constitution of, 152; and Panama Canal, 658, 660; and Paris Peace Conference, 733; possessions of, in Western Hemisphere, 687; post-World War II, 799; preparations of, for World War II, 758–759; purchase of Louisiana from, 173–176; surrender of, 759, 761; and UN Security Council, 789; unitary government in, 109; U.S. difficulties with, 148, 158, 159, 162, 340–341, 648; U.S. trade with, 86, 183, 185, 186; and U.S. Treaty with England, 154, 156, 158; and Viet Nam, 835; and War between the States, 340, 341; and war debts, 747; war of, with England, 152–154, 182–186; war of, with Santo Domingo, 173; and West Germany, 832; World War II in, 771–772; *see also* Free French; Revolution, French; *and* Vichy France
Franklin, Benjamin: and Albany Congress, 46–47; as ambassador to England, 44; and Constitution, 94, 101, 125; and France, 67, 72; and newspapers, 30, 31; and science, medicine, and education, 28, 31, 32
Free French, 760, 768
Free Soil Party, 299, 475
Freedman's Bureau Act, 355, 358
Freeport Doctrine, 321
Frémont, John C., 289, 296, 317, 342
French and Indian War, 49–51, 53, 55
Frontier, 15, 27, 31, 43, 60–61, 154, 187; boundary of, 9, 371, 380–381; class distinctions and, 26–27, 225, 258; closing of, 371, 376, 380–381; expansion of, 9, 85, 220, 223–225, 288, 349, 371–376, 380; farmers', 371–372, 374, 376; influence of, 9, 27, 223–225, 381–382; miners', 371–372; ranchers', 371, 374–376; settlements of, and Constitution, 94, 102
Fuchs, Klaus, 816, 826
Fugitive Slave Law, 303, 304, 319
Fulbright Resolution, 782
Fulton, Robert, 212, 218, 220
Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 39, 40

Gadsden Purchase, 296, 297, 645, 646
Gage, Thomas, 56, 58, 63
Gallatin, Albert, 169, 170, 172, 179, 191
Garfield, James A., 482, 485, 487, 650
Garrison, William Lloyd, 274–275, 282, 299
Gary, Elbert H., 410
Gaspée, burning of, 54, 55, 56
Gaulle, Charles de, 760, 768
General Motors Corp., 395, 404, 411; strike of, 586
Genêt, Edmond, 153
Geneva Conference, 750–751
Geneva Protocol, 748–749
Genocide, UN and, 845
Geological Survey of U.S., 611–612, 614
George III, King, 54–57, 59–61, 65
Georgia, 70, 85, 252, 362; first colonies in, 4, 6, 14
Germany: aggression by, 758–759; Communists in, 815; declares war on U.S., 712, 767; end of war with, 832; England and France declare war on, 759; and Fourteen Points, 731; Hitler and, 747, 752, 758–760, 774; invasion of Russia by, 764, 765; and Italian-Ethiopian crisis, 743; and League of Nations, 749; migration from, to colonies, 26, 60–61; Nazism in, 118, 638, 639, 758; new weapons of, 772; pact of, with Italy, 766; pact of, with Japan, 711, 752, 766; pact of, with Russia, 759, 760, 765; peace treaty with, 542, 733–734; postwar plans for, 787; and reparations, 746–747; Rumania declares war on, 771; and Spanish Civil War, 752, 764; surrender of, 726, 729, 770–772; *Sussex* pledge of, 719, 721; undeclared naval war of, with U.S., 766; U.S. difficulties with, 717–719, 721; Wilson's demands to, 186, 718–719; and World War II, 759, 760, 762–764, 768, 770–772, 785; *see also* East Germany, West Germany, Hitler, *and* World War II
Gerry, Elbridge, 95, 102, 103
Gilbert Islands, 775
Glass-Steagall Banking Act, 554
Goethals, George W., 662
Gold, 250, 472, 495; discovery of, 300, 301, 368, 372, 506; in dollar, 565; as an issue, 505, 518; as standard, 491, 501, 502, 506, 508, 565
Gold Standard Act, 491, 508
Gompers, Samuel, 419, 427, 429
Gorgas, William C., 662
Government: absolute, 38; under Articles of Confederation, 81–92; authoritarian, 118; colonial, 34–36, 39–47, 51–57, 61, 74; invisible, 627; parliamentary, 112, 114; proprietary, 74; state, 74, 82; territorial, 85, 302, 309, 315, 372; totalitarian, 118, 637–640; unitary, 108–109; *see also* Government, federal, Legislatures, state

Government, federal: chart of, 128; Communists in, 815; compared with unitary, 108–109; corruption in, 512, 543, 616–617; effect of inventions on, 392; and foreign investments, 667–668; forms and customs of, 137–138, 166; functioning of, 108, 469, 578, 580, 621, 630, 632; influence of, on economic system, 800, 814; launching of, 95, 105–106; postwar problems facing, 807–808; and railroad pensions, 623; and regulation of business, 396, 402, 404, 406, 411–414, 516–517, 529–530, 535–536; and states, 82, 170, 172, 567, 622; use of taxing power by, 112, 624; *see also* Congress *and* United States
Governors, provisions for election of, 42, 74, 260
Graf Zeppelin, 389
Grand Coulee Dam, 579
Grangers, 497–500
Grant, Ulysses S., 345, 359; and overseas expansion, 646, 648; as President, 363, 480–483, 485, 486; and War between the States, 338–340
Great Britain. *See* England
"Great Compromise," 98
Greater East Asia. *See* Japan
Greece, 760, 785, 827, 828, 831, 833
Greeley, Horace, 313, 340, 342, 476, 482, 483
Green, William, 419, 429, 585–586, 804
Greenback Labor party, 476, 478, 500, 501
Greenland, 664, 765
Greer, attack on, 766
Grenville, George, 53–54
Grew, Joseph C., 767
Grimké sisters, 274, 282
Groves, Leslie R., 395
Gruenther, Alfred M., 825, 831
Guadalcanal, 775
Guam, 656, 669, 699, 774, 775

Habeas corpus, writ of, 39, 115, 319; suspension of, 331, 335
Hague Court of Arbitration, 737–739, 745
Hague Peace Conferences, 737–738
Haiti: European settlements in, 4; relations with, 648, 677, 678, 683, 684, 719
Hamilton, Alexander, 90, 164, 234, 235, 322; and Constitution, 95, 97, 102, 105; death of, 178–179; on democracy, 96; and Federalists, 147; financial program of, 140–143, 211, 241; and French Revolution, 152–154, 156; influence of, 143–144, 154, 162; on manufacturing, 143, 239; political philosophy of, 143, 144, 146, 147, 163, 165, 196, 322, 469, 645; as Secretary of Treasury, 138–143, 147, 154, 157, 169
Hammarskjold, Dag, 793, 841
Hancock, John, 58, 66
Hanna, Marcus A., 490, 506–508, 514, 627
Harding, Warren G.: corruption in administration of, 543, 616–617; death of, 543; election of, 538–539; and League of Nations, 539; as President, 513, 523, 542–543, 545, 551, 571; and Washington Conference, 542, 706; and World Court, 745
Harrison, Benjamin, 488, 490, 611, 648, 650
Harrison, William Henry, 186, 188, 200, 205; election and death of, 264, 266; and Oklahoma Territory, 380
Hartford Convention, 189, 191, 192, 194, 207, 244
Hat Act, 22–23
Hatch Political Activity Act, 634
Havana, Act of, 694
Havana Conference, 692–693
Hawaii, 699, 701, 806; annexation of, 398, 646, 648, 651, 657, 658, 669; as incorporated territory, 699, 700; treaties with, 646; and U.S. Constitution, 669; in World War II, 765
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 278, 285, 312
Hay, John: negotiations with England, 658; and open-door policy, 704–706; and treaties of arbitration, 739
Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, 661
Hay-Herran Treaty, 660–661
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 658, 660, 662
Hayes, Rutherford B., 363, 373, 482, 484–485, 658
Haymarket affair, 418
Hayne, Robert, 243–245, 249
Health, Education, and Welfare, Dep't of, 802, 820
Health, public, 112, 619–620, 624, 806; *see also* Medicine
Hearst, William Randolph, 654
Henry, Patrick, 45, 56, 57, 94, 102
Hepburn Act, 516
Heuss, Theodore, 832
Hillman, Sidney, 595
Himmler, Heinrich, suicide of, 773
Hiroshima, 394, 778, 784, 824
Hiss, Alger, 816
Hitler, Adolf, 637–639, 774; coming to power of, 747, 758–760; and conquest of Europe, 752, 755, 758; death of, 772; and Munich settlement, 752, 755, 758; and Mussolini, 761; threats of, 752, 753; and Vichy France, 760; *see also* Germany *and* World War II
Ho Chi Minh, 834
Hoe, R. M., 310
Holland, 49, 68, 687; *see also* Netherlands
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr., 517
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Sr., 285, 312
Home Owners' Loan Corp., 567
Homestead Act, 218, 322, 349, 350, 380, 494
Homestead strike, 408, 421
Hoover, Herbert, 802; and conservation, 617; and crime, 452–453; election of, 552–553; as Food Administrator, 725;

and foreign affairs, 651, 677, 684, 745, 831–832; and internal affairs, 390, 446, 454, 543, 553, 554, 565, 579; and Philippines, 703; policies of, 469, 474, 513, 554, 556; as Presidential candidate, 552, 555–557; and war debts, 747
Hoover, J. Edgar, 453
Hoover Commission, 802
Hoover Dam, 579, 581
Hot Springs Conference, 782
House of Representatives, 100, 111; choice of President by, 99, 164, 232; Committee on Rules of, 490, 520; and Constitution, 122; creation of, 98; exclusive powers of, 113; and impeachment, 113, 360; Speaker of, 122, 488, 490, 520; *see also* Congress
Housing, 435–437, 439, 440, 624, 806, 812; aid to, 567–568, 620, 622, 624
Houston, Sam, 289
Howe, Elias, 309
Howe, Sir William, 63, 67
Huerta, Adolfo, 679
Hughes, Charles E., 532, 533, 538, 545, 591; and foreign policy, 668, 684, 692; and Washington Conference, 750; and World Court, 745
Hull, Cordell: and foreign affairs, 693–695, 697; and Italian-Ethiopian crisis, 743; and Mexico, 682–684; at Moscow, 781; and proposals to Japan, 766–767; and tariff, 592
Hull House, 436, 455
Human resources. *See* Conservation
Hungary, 760, 771, 785, 787, 826, 828, 829
Hutchins, Robert M., 456–457
Hutchinson, Anne, 34
Hutchinson, Thomas, 12
Hydrogen bomb, 820, 826

Iceland, 664, 765, 831
Immigration: and Americanization, 604; of Asiatics, 451, 603, 606, 607, 700, 706; causes of, 6, 25, 26, 307, 349, 371, 600, 607; colonial, 6, 25–26, 600; of displaced persons, 607, 806, 820; increase in, 307, 309, 317, 493; and labor supply, 218, 228, 233, 309, 371, 384, 416, 417, 601, 602, 604, 605; periods of, 600–601; regulation of, 112, 369, 381, 422, 451, 542, 549, 602, 604–607, 688, 700, 702, 703; sources of, 6, 11, 25, 26, 60–61, 178, 218, 228, 268, 307, 349, 371, 451, 600–603, 605, 606, 672
Impending Crisis, The, 320
Impressment of seamen, 156, 183–184, 185, 187, 191
Income tax, 116, 490, 521, 526–527, 726; amendment permitting, 127, 520–521; withholding of, 780
India, 3, 7, 50, 845; and Communist China, 834, 836; independence of, 799, 834; and Korean War, 840, 843
Indians, 14, 70, 176, 196, 812; acquisition of lands from, 33, 156–157, 200, 252–254, 373; alliance with, 46; difficulties with, 151, 154, 155, 186, 192, 200, 201, 203, 205, 252, 254, 372–374, 375; government policy toward, 252, 254, 373–374; homes of, 13, 203; and settlement of West, 155, 156, 199, 372–373, 375; trade with, 6; treaties with, 155–157, 252; and war with France, 49–50
Individualism, 118, 146, 392, 462, 470–472, 474
Indo-China: and cold war, 834–835; Communists in, 835, 837; France and, 835; future of, 847; Japan and, 712, 766; political struggles in, 799
Indonesia: Communism in, 835, 837; Constitution of, 846; independence of, 799, 834, 845
Industrial revolution: in England, 196; influence of, 382; in U.S., 196–197, 384–400, 406, 416, 443
Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), 421, 430
Industry: absentee ownership of, 403; and agriculture, 551, 572; atomic energy in, 395, 826; boom in, 544, 546, 719–720, 726; chart of, 385; in colonies, 15–16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 75; communication and transportation in, 310, 311, 396; and conservation, 613, 616; and cooperatives, 550; decentralization of, 395–396, 436, 577; employer ass'ns in, 411; federal and state aid to, 112, 351, 384, 386, 488, 567, 568; growth of, 75, 112, 134, 135, 196–197, 217, 228–230, 309–310, 351, 368, 384–400, 496, 504, 544, 546; and immigration, 602, 604–605; improvement and change in, 546; inventions and, 309–311, 386, 388–390, 396; large-scale production in, 392–393, 410; machinery and, 135, 197, 309–310, 348–349, 378, 386, 392–394, 800; markets and, 369, 386, 398, 399, 592; mass-production in, 392, 393, 396, 397, 544, 546, 585, 800; mobilization of, 823, 832; and N.R.A., 573; peacetime conversion in, 801; regulation of, 573–574; and T.V.A., 580; in wartime, 75, 86, 334, 400, 534, 778, 780, 800, 801; *see also* Big business, Capital, Corporations, Labor, *and* Taft-Hartley Act
Inflation: in colonies, 19, 60; demand for, 564–566; explanation of, 495, 496; and farmers, 501–504; and Revolution, 75; and world wars, 534, 780, 801, 806–807
Initiative, referendum, and recall. *See under* Legislatures, state
Inland Waterways Commission, 613
Inter-American Arbitration and Conciliation Treaties, 692–693, 739
Inter-American cooperation, 688–689
Internal improvements, 217, 228, 234; national, 172, 196, 198–199, 220, 221, 225, 254, 266, 322, 494, 554, 567; problems in, 170, 172, 178–179; state,

220–223, 250, 251; *see also* Canals, Railroads, Roads, *and* Transportation
Internal Security Act, 806, 816–817
International Conferences of American States, 689, 691–694, 697, 739
Interstate commerce: and agriculture, 551; regulation of, 117, 146, 620
Interstate Commerce Act, 413, 471, 500, 812
Interstate Commerce Commission, 120, 128, 499, 500; and communications, 576; jurisdiction and powers of, 516, 519, 535–536, 576, 577; and railroads, 396, 547, 575, 577
Intolerable Acts, 56
Inventions: and industry, 386–390; and social institutions, 390, 392; and World War II, 392
Investments: foreign, 251, 398; in land, 218; in manufacturing, 241; opportunities for, 143; in public utilities, 546; in railroad stock, 547, 548; and roads, 170, 172; supervision of, 562–564; *see also* Capital
Iran, 760, 785, 830, 845
Iron curtain, 823, 829, 834
Irrigation. *See* Conservation
Isolationism. *See under* Foreign affairs
Israel, 799, 845, 846
Italy, 715, 733, 787, 799; in Africa, 827, 845; and Albania, 760, 785; Communists in, 815, 828, 829; declares war on U.S., 712, 767; and Ethiopia, 742–743, 752, 753, 755, 758, 760, 764; fascism in, 118, 758; and Germany, 752, 758, 759, 766; and Japan, 752, 766; and mutual security agreements, 831–833; peace treaty for, 787, 788, 826; and Spanish Civil War, 752, 764; trade monopoly of, 3; and World War II, 760, 770, 781; *see also* Mussolini *and* World War II
Ives-Quinn law, 811
Iwo Jima, and World War II, 776

Jackson, Andrew, 231, 232, 235–236, 264–266, 417, 469, 494; and annexation of Texas, 289–290, 294; background of, 257–258; and Bank of U.S., 247–250; Cabinet of, 260; campaign of, 232, 234, 242; and the common man, 230, 254, 258, 259; election of, 236, 248; and Florida, 201; and Indians, 192, 200, 201, 203, 252; at New Orleans, 192, 193, 258, 261; and nullification, 245–246; as President, 239, 242, 243, 254, 259–261, 263–265; Specie Circular of, 250–251; and spoils system, 260, 262
Japan, 704; Allied occupation of, 835; attacks Pearl Harbor, 694, 762, 767, 768, 779; and China, 706–712, 742, 752, 764, 766, 776, 836; declares war on U.S., 712; and French Indo-China, 712, 766; future policy of, 847; and Greater East Asia, 712, 744, 755, 762, 774; immigrants from, 451, 606, 607; and Korea, 837; and London Treaty, 751; mutual security pact with, 835; pact of, with Germany, 711, 752, 766; pact of, with Italy, 766; peace treaty with, 835; and Russia, 778, 780, 781, 787; terms of surrender for, 777–778; and Thailand, 712; U.S. declares war on, 762, 767; U.S. relations with, 298, 706–708, 710–712, 766–767, 835; and World War II, 774–778, 781–782, 784
Jay, John, 72, 86, 94, 159; as Chief Justice, 134, 138; and Constitution, 102; Treaty of, 154, 156, 157, 158, 737
Jay-Gardoqui Treaty, 86–88
Jefferson, Thomas, 27, 86, 94, 157, 234, 494, 646; accomplishments of, 178–179; attempts of, to avoid war, 183–185, 718; background of, 168; and Bank of U.S., 143, 211; and Declaration of Independence, 66, 125; and domestic issues, 84, 143, 144, 163, 168, 197, 208–210, 272, 279; elected President, 163–164, 178–179; and Federalist policies, 141, 147, 154, 163, 165, 169, 170, 172, 176, 208; first inaugural of, 168–169; and foreign policy, 152–154, 166, 168–169, 183, 188, 201, 204, 645, 646; political philosophy of, 143, 144, 146, 147, 168, 460, 470; as President, 166, 168–179, 182–185, 198, 207; and religious freedom, 36; as Secretary of State, 138–143; and third term, 185; on town meetings, 41; as Vice-President, 147–149, 162, 207; warning of, to France, 173
Jews: persecution of, 638, 758, 760; and race prejudice, 26, 451, 812
Johns Hopkins University, 457
Johnson, Andrew: impeachment of, 360–362; and Mexico, 648; and Reconstruction, 355, 356, 358–360; succeeds Lincoln, 355; as Vice-President, 344, 361
Johnson, Hiram, 532, 538
Johnson Act, 748, 754
Joint Four-Nation Declaration, 781
Jones, John Paul, 69, 70
Jones Act, 702
Judicial review, 124, 126, 128, 209, 210
Judiciary Acts, 138, 165, 169, 208, 209

Kansas, 309, 317, 376
Kansas-Nebraska Act, 315–317
Kashmir, dispute over, 834, 845
Kearny, Stephen W., 296
Kearny, torpedoed, 766
Keating-Owen Act, 422
Kefauver, Estes, 807, 818
Kelley, Oliver Hudson, 497
Kellogg, Frank B., 745, 749
Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, 710, 749–750, 755
Kelly, William, 310
Kentucky, 163, 217, 244
Key, Francis Scott, 190
Kimmel, H. E., 767
King, Rufus, 95

Knights of Labor, 417, 418
Know Nothing party, 317, 451, 475, 601
Knox, Frank, 589, 763
Knox, Henry, 138
Korea: crisis in, 831, 835, 836; independence of, 782, 837; Japanese control of, 837; thirty-eighth parallel in, 837–839, 842; unification of, 844, 845; U.S. armed forces in, 832; *see also* North Korea, South Korea, *and* Korean War
Korean War: "aggressor" in, 840; armistice terms in, 839–840, 842, 843; battles and forces in, 839; beginning of, 806, 837–838; changes in character of, 839; Chinese Nationalists in, 837; and Communist China, 834; prisoners of war and, 843, 844; signing of truce in, 820, 844; weapons in, 843
Ku Klux Klan, 362–363, 450–451, 552, 601
Kurusu, Saburo, 712, 766–767

Labor, 118, 229, 394, 420, 436, 535; achievements of, 398, 422, 424, 513, 531, 585, 588, 620, 804; and antitrust laws, 422, 426–427, 531; boycott and, 424–425; cheap and free, 218, 227, 270, 309, 348, 371, 384, 416, 417; children and, 118, 229, 416, 417, 422–424, 587, 620; and closed shop, 425, 803; and collective bargaining, 420–421, 583–584; and company unions, 425, 584, 585; and craft *vs.* industrial unions, 585, 586; and decline of unions, 546; demands of, 229–230, 280, 416–418, 420–421, 426; displacement of, 349, 396; disputes within ranks of, 431–432, 585–587, 803; and growth of unions, 584–586, 804; and industry, 381, 405–406, 408, 411, 416, 417, 420, 421, 424–428, 511, 513, 586, 800; injunction and, 426–428; leaders of, 417–420, 425–431, 513, 585, 587, 804; lockout and, 425–426; machinery and, 393–394, 396; and mass production, 544, 546, 585; and N.R.A., 573; and newspapers, 229, 283; open shop and, 425; organization of, 229–230, 258, 368, 416–422, 493; and politics, 229, 258, 428, 430–432, 475–478, 543, 589, 595, 804, 805; radicals in, 430–432, 586–587; scarcity of, 6, 11, 15, 197, 225, 348, 778; and strength and weaknesses of unions, 418–420; and strikes, 229, 411, 418, 421–424, 426–427, 429–432, 513, 531, 533, 584, 586, 588, 593, 801; and unemployment, 185, 197, 251, 381, 396–400, 546–547, 554, 566, 568, 806; and union shop, 803; and W.P.A., 567, 569; weapons of, and against, 424–426; and welfare plans, 420–422, 624, 804; women and, 229, 416, 417, 422, 443, 569; and World Wars, 534, 588, 726; "yellow dog" contract and, 425, 428; *see also* Taft-Hartley Act
Labor, Dep't of, 422, 516, 521
Labor Reform party, 475, 501
Lafayette, Marquis de, 68, 70, 72
La Follette, Robert M., Sr., 512, 514–516; for President, 428, 430, 521, 543, 544; and Progressive parties, 477; and Seaman's Act, 422, 431
Laissez-faire, 406, 462; inventions and, 392; shift from, 575, 577–578; theory of, 118, 470–472
Land: cheap, 25, 307, 380; free, 6, 225, 349, 600; grants of, 12, 14, 223, 276, 279, 370, 374, 494; holders of, 12, 14, 43; sale of, 84, 250–251, 611–613; tax on, 116
Land Ordinances, 84, 349
Langley, Samuel P., 388
Lansing-Ishii agreement, 706
Latin America, 687–689; American capital in, 667; and British expansion plans, 202, 206; and Monroe Doctrine, 206, 690, 692; and Point IV, 830; relations with, 648–651, 671, 678, 679, 683, 689, 690; and Western Hemisphere solidarity, 697
Latvia, and Soviet Union, 759, 760
Lausanne Accord, 747
Laval, Pierre, 760
League of Nations, 536–539, 729, 733–734, 744, 748, 755; failure of, 708–710, 742–743, 752, 753; Germany and, 749; objects of, 739–740; obligations of members of, 740, 742; organization of, 740; and Pan-Americanism, 690, 692; as political issue, 538–539, 731, 733; and prevention of war, 742; U.S. and, 743–745, 755, 788
Ledo-Burma Road, 776
Lee, Arthur, 67
Lee, Richard Henry, 57, 65–66, 81, 102, 103
Lee, Robert E., 71, 320; and War between the States, 332, 338, 339, 342–344, 345
Legislatures: bicameral, 122; colonial, 41–43; national, 96, 98, 101, 113–114, 122–124; *see also* Congress *and* Government, federal
Legislatures, state, 74–75, 81–82, 84, 232; and choosing of electors, 99, 119, 236; and civil and property rights, 116; and cooperatives, 550; and corporations, 404, 411, 413; and election of governors, 260; and Fourteenth Amendment, 359; housing laws of, 435, 624; and human resources, 624; and imprisonment for debt, 230; and industry, 386; and initiative, referendum, and recall, 512, 518, 522, 632–633; and judicial review, 210–211; and labor laws, 422, 424, 425, 428; and lobbies, 635, 637; and loyalty oaths, 457; and Negroes, 356, 362; and prohibition, 277; and railroads, 498, 500; and reform legislation, 511, 512, 518, 525, 551, 619, 622; regulatory laws of, 471, 472; and

suffrage, 448; and women's rights, 446; *see also* States
Lend-Lease Bill, 593, 594, 748, 763–764, 766
Leningrad, in World War II, 762
Lewis, John L., 429, 585, 587, 804; and Roosevelt, 587, 588
Lewis and Clark expedition, 176–178, 219, 292
Lexington, 58, 59, 61, 81
Leyte, and World War II, 775, 776
Liberal party, 475
Liberal Republican party, 475, 476, 482, 483
Liberty Loans, 725, 726
Liberty party, 292, 299, 475
Lie, Trygve, 793, 838, 846
Lima Conference, 694
Lincoln, Abraham, 115, 216, 469, 480; assassination of, 339–340; and border slave states, 331; criticism of, 333, 342–344; debates of, with Douglas, 320–321, 327; election of, 322–323, 344; First Inaugural of, 216, 326; and Fort Sumter, 326–327; and Reconstruction, 354–355; Second Inaugural of, 344, 346; and slavery, 275, 319, 321, 325, 326, 333, 342, 343; and War between the States, 331, 333, 335, 336, 340, 341, 354; wartime powers of, 331, 333, 335; Walt Whitman on, 339–340
Lindbergh, Charles A., 388
Literature: and American history, 285, 462–463; in colonial times, 28–31; development of American, 284–285, 459–464; and economic revolution, 460; of late nineteenth century, 459–460; recent American, 463–464; of reform, 460, 511–512; and social sciences, 462
Lithuania, and Soviet Union, 759, 760
"Little Steel" strike, 421, 586
Livingston, Robert, 134, 173–174, 212
Lloyd-George, David, 729, 733
Loans to Industry Act, 568
Locarno Agreements, 749, 752, 755
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr., 789
London: bombing of, 759, 761; Naval Conferences at, 751–752
Louisiana: enters Union, 200, 217, 362
Louisiana Territory, 51, 85, 172; proposed division of, 315; purchase of, 169, 173–176, 179, 200, 223, 494, 645, 646
Lowell, James Russell, 285, 312, 482
Loyalists: colonial, 60, 70, 72, 75, 144; Spanish, 680, 752
Loyalty Review Board, 815, 820
Lundy, Benjamin, 274
Lundy's Lane, battle of, 193
Lusitania, sinking of, 718
Luxemburg, 830, 831, 833
Lyons, Matthew, 162–163

McAdoo, William G., 528, 534, 543
MacArthur, Douglas: and Korean War, 838–840, 842; in Japan, 835; and World War II, 774–776, 778
McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, 607
McCarran-Wood Act, 806, 816–817
McCarthy, Joseph R., 817, 820
McCormick reaper, 309, 349, 377, 379
McDuffie-Tydings Bill, 703
Machado, Bernardino, 671
McKay, Gordon, 309, 349
McKinley, William, 469, 489; assassination of, 491, 513, 669; and Cuba, 654, 655, 670; elected President, 490, 491, 506, 669; and Philippines, 657
McNary-Haugen Bill, 551
Madison, James, 89, 90, 144, 154, 172, 183, 204, 205, 223; and Alien and Sedition Laws, 163; and Bank of U.S., 191, 198; and Constitution, 94–96, 102–104; as President, 185–194, 198–199, 201, 207; and Republicans, 147; as Secretary of State, 169, 174; and War of 1812, 186–191
Magazines, 457, 460; and politics, 460, 481–483, 511; pulp, 442–443, 453
Magna Carta, 38–39, 40
Maine: admitted to Union, 218, 272; boundary dispute of, 287, 288, 737; English colonies in, 4
Maine, explosion of, 654–655
Malaya, 774, 837
Malenkov, Georgi, 843
Manchukuo, establishment of, 710
Manchuria: Japan and, 708, 710, 744; restoration of, to China, 782
Manila, 656–657, 774, 776
Mann, Horace, 280
Mann-Elkins Act, 516, 575
Mao Tse-tung, 776, 836, 837
Marconi, Guglielmo, 389
Marcy, William L., 262
Marianas, 775, 835
Maritime Labor Board, 585
Marshall, George C.: and China, 836, 837; and Pearl Harbor, 767; Plan of, 828, 830, 831, 833, 847
Marshall, John, 125, 126; as Chief Justice, 165, 207–212, 239, 252
Marshall Islands, 775, 835
Martin, Luther, 95, 96, 102
Marx, Karl, 637
Maryland, 14; government in, 42; settlements in, 4, 26; and Western lands, 82, 84
Maryland Toleration Act, 33, 36
Mason and Slidell, 340–341
Massachusetts, 19, 56, 95, 101; Assembly of, 58; education laws of, 31–32; legislature of, 12, 16, 31–32, 88; religion in, 34, 36; and Shays's Rebellion, 87, 88
Massachusetts Bay Colony, 42
Maximilian of Austria, 648, 649
Mayflower Compact, 39
Meany, George, 804
Medicine: advances in, 619, 800; anesthesia and, 312; atomic energy in, 826; in colonial days, 32; and decrease in mortality, 441; and hos-

pitals, 624, 806; research in, 392, 457, 806; socialized, 619, 620, 624, 806; and yellow fever, 656, 659, 662
Medina, Harold R., 816
Mediterranean, 3, 170, 770
Mercantilism, 19–20, 23
Merchant marine, 310, 312, 350, 576
Mexican War, 223, 293–296, 645
Mexico, 4, 25, 202; early civilization in, 687; France in, 340, 648, 649; land laws of, 682–683; punitive expedition to, 679–680, 719; relations with, 294, 531–532, 544, 678–684, 719; social revolution in, 680, 682; and Texas, 289, 293; treaty with, 296, 302; under Diaz, 678–679, 682; and World War II, 683; and Zimmermann note, 721
Midway, 657, 699, 775
Military Reconstruction Act, 359
Miller-Tydings Act, 574
Mineral resources, 386, 609–610; *see also* Conservation
Mining, 371, 372, 386, 387, 609
Mississippi River, 72, 152, 154, 156, 172, 177
Mississippi Valley, 4, 9, 176, 220
Missouri, 218, 223, 272, 274
Missouri Compromise, 264, 271–272, 299; constitutionality of, 318–319; and Kansas-Nebraska Act, 315
Mitchell, John, 513
Molotov, Vyacheslav, 781
Monetary Commission, 528
Money: borrowing of, 81–82, 143, 346, 403, 546, 551; cheap and sound, 487, 494–495, 501, 502; Continental, 75, 87; hard, 490, 491
Money, paper, 75, 90, 116; and Bank of U.S., 142, 247; in colonies, 19, 20, 60; and inflation, 566; issued by Congress, 346, 495; issued by states, 75, 86, 88, 250, 495
Monitor and *Merrimac*, 336
Monroe, James: and internal improvements, 223; as President, 194, 201, 204–207, 231–232, 234; relations of, with France, 154, 173–174
Monroe Doctrine, 128, 151, 196, 204, 206, 517, 645, 650, 657; application of, 646, 648, 649, 672, 674, 675, 677, 689, 690, 692; and Roosevelt Corollary, 675, 677, 684, 690, 692; safeguarding of, 743; violation of, 674, 675
Montevideo Conference, 693
Montgomery, Sir Bernard L., 768, 770, 771
Morgan, J. P., 408, 410, 577; and coal strike, 513; in World War I, 720, 754
Mormons, 300, 301
Morrill Act, 349, 456
Morris, Gouverneur, 95, 97, 153
Morrow, Dwight W., 544, 682
Morse, Samuel F. B., 309, 389
Moscow Conference, 781
Motion pictures, 389, 442, 443, 453, 546
Motor Carrier Act, 575
Moultrie, William, 63
Mount Vernon Conference, 90
Muckrakers, 460, 471, 511–512, 515, 522
Munich settlement, 752, 755, 758
Murray, Philip, 587, 804
Muscle Shoals, 579, 580
Music, personalities in, 464
Mussolini, Benito, 637, 758, 761, 770; *see also* Italy *and* World War II
Mutual Security Agency, 833

Nagasaki, bombed, 778, 824
Napoleon, 158, 182, 185, 186, 188, 196; "Continental System" of, 183; defeat of, 152, 190; and Louisiana, 173, 174
Napoleon III, 340, 648, 649
Napoleonic Wars, 152, 182–186, 190, 201, 241
Nast, Thomas, 481, 483, 499
National Ass'n for Advancement of Colored People, 450
National Ass'n of Manufacturers, 411, 636
National Banking Act, 346–347, 472
National Budget Act, 542
National Conservation Commission, 521, 614
National defense, 138, 389, 488, 724
National Defense Act, 719, 802
National Education Ass'n, 454
National Housing Act, 567–568, 620, 624
National Industrial Recovery Act (N.R.A.), 530, 573–574, 583, 584
National Labor Relations Act, 584, 588, 591, 802
National Labor Relations Board (N.L.R.B.), 584, 588; jurisdiction of, 585; reorganization of, 802–803; and sit-down strikes, 586
National Origins Plan, 605–606
National Republicans, 232–236
National Resources Board, 390, 392, 614, 618
National Road, 172, 198, 220
National Union party, 589, 590
National Youth Administration, 568, 620
Natural resources, 225, 276, 376, 609, 610, 613; *see also* Conservation
Naturalization Act, 162
Navigation Acts, 20, 22, 310
Navy, 158; bases for, 656, 664, 670, 763; expansion of, 514, 517, 522, 644; first ships of, 159; and Korean War, 839; in World Wars, 724, 763, 765, 766, 768, 775–777; *see also* Armaments
Nazism. *See* Fascism
Nebraska, 309, 315–316, 376
Negroes, 448–451, 811–813; in colonies, 12, 270; emancipation of, 75, 270, 275; influence of, in South, 362, 448, 480–481; and labor unions, 811, 812; and primaries, 448, 812; protection of, 355, 356, 358, 363; restriction on rights of, 356, 448–451; rights granted to, 319, 356, 358, 360, 362
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 834
Netherlands: and Indonesia, 799, 834,

835; invaded, 759; and mutual security agreements, 830–833
Netherlands East Indies, 774
Neutrality: effect of wars on, 716–717; of England, in War between the States, 341; legislation for, 754, 755; policy of, 153–154, 158, 160; test of, 711; of U.S. in Napoleonic Wars, 182–187, 645; of U.S. in World War I, 716–719; and World War II, 759, 762–763; *see also* Neutrals, rights of, *and* Foreign affairs, isolationism in
Neutrality Acts, 711, 754, 762–763
Neutrals, rights of, 182, 184, 191, 340–341, 716–719, 755
New Deal, 431, 490, 557; and agriculture, 561, 568–573, 813; and banking, 562–563; and Big Business, 414; and budget, 565–566; and conservation, 617–624; and housing, 624; and industry, 573; and labor, 422, 424, 583–588; legislation under, 560–562, 620; opposition to, 589–590, 814; and public utilities, 578–583; and pump priming, 567–568; and R.F.C., 554; relief expenditures of, 565–566; and social security, 568; and transportation, 575–577; victory for, 589–590
New England: and Embargo Act, 184–185; manufacturing in, 197; and proposed amendments to Constitution, 192, 194; threatens secession, 188, 190; *see also* Colonies, New England
New Freedom, 414, 525–526
New Jersey, 14, 96, 98
New Mexico, 293, 296, 301, 302, 309, 380
New Orleans, 51, 308; battle of, 191–193, 261; deposit at, 152, 156, 172, 173
New World, 3–9, 11, 39, 41, 49–51; *see also* Western Hemisphere
New York, 66, 74, 95, 170; colonial, 12, 15, 18, 26, 28; politics in, 627
New York City, 135, 139; battle of, 67; national government in, 105, 106; skyscrapers of, 439
New York Tenement Housing Law, 435
New Zealand, 835
Newell, Frederick H., 611–612
Newfoundland, 4, 72, 737, 763, 765
Newlands Act, 531, 612–613
Newspapers, 283–284, 458–459, 636; colonial, 30–31; and Constitution, 145; early editors of, 313; and education, 284, 457–459; labor, 229, 283; news-gathering agencies and, 459; and politics, 145, 147, 235, 335, 344, 481–483; and slavery, 274–275; and Spanish-American War, 654–655; tabloids and, 453, 459; and War between the States, 335, 342, 344; and World War II, 766; *see also* Press, freedom of *and* Propaganda
Nicaragua: relations with, 544, 660, 673, 677–678, 683, 684, 692, 693, 719; treaty with, 664
Nimitz, C. W., 775
Nine-Power Treaty, 707, 710
Nixon, Richard M., 818
Nonimportation Ass'n, 57
Nonintercourse Act, 185
Nonpartisan League, 550–551
Normandy, 771–772, 786
Norris, George W., 579
Norris Dam, 580, 581
Norris-LaGuardia "Anti-Injunction" Law, 427–428
North, 217, 230; economic conditions in, 307, 347–351; *see also* War between the States *and* Slavery
North America, 4, 9, 49–51, 202, 254
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O.), 818, 831–832, 833, 847
North Carolina, 26, 85, 135, 331, 362
North Dakota, 376, 550–551
North Korea, 837, 840
Northeast, 88, 178, 191, 217
Northwest, 155, 156, 220, 223, 289; boundary of, 296–297
Northwest Ordinance, 84–85, 271, 349
Northwest Territory, 70, 83, 85, 86, 139, 645
Norway, 759, 831
Nye Committee, 754

Obregón, Álvaro, 682
Oder-Neisse territory, 832
Office of Price Administration, 780
Oglethorpe, James, 6
Ohio Valley, 49, 61, 135, 151
Oil: discovery and use of, 349, 407; and Mexico, 681–683; scandals connected with, 616–617; tidelands, 820
Okinawa, 649, 776, 777, 779
Oklahoma Territory, 379, 380
Old-age pensions and insurance, 398, 422, 622–623
"Olive-branch" petition, 61, 65
Olney, Richard, 674, 675, 690
Omnibus Bill, 303
Oregon Country, 85, 177, 200, 202; dispute over, 287–289, 292–294, 737; reoccupation of, 290–293, 297, 645
Orlando, Emanuele, 733
Ostend Manifesto, 297
Owen, Robert, 278
Owen, Ruth Bryan, 446

Pacific: revolts in, 799; U.S. possessions in, 699–700; World War II and, 774–777, 779, 781
Pacific Railroad Act, 350
Paine, Thomas, 65, 94, 320
Painting, personalities in, 461, 464
Pakistan, 799, 834, 845
Palestine, and England, 799, 845
Pan-American Conferences, 234, 689, 691; *see also* International Conferences of American States
Pan American Union, 650, 689, 691, 692, 738
Pan-Americanism, 648, 650, 688–690, 692; *see also* Inter-American cooperation
Panama: independence of, 660–661; relations with, 398, 678, 683

Panama Canal, 298, 547, 763; construction of, 514, 517, 519, 651, 657–662, 667, 683; effect of, on foreign policy, 658–662, 664
Panama Canal Tolls Act, 662
Panama Canal Zone, 519, 662, 699
Panama Congress, 234, 689
Panay, bombing of, 711
Panics. *See* Depressions
Paris Peace Conferences, 522, 730–734, 788
Parliament, 38–39, 46, 111, 112; and English colonies, 19–23, 44, 53–54, 56, 57, 65, 81; and slaves, 274; and World War I peace terms, 733
Patents, 386
Patroon system, 12
Patton, George, 770
Peace movement, 737–745, 748–750, 753, 755; *see also* World Wars I and II
Pearl Harbor: attack on, 694, 712, 762, 767, 768, 779; fleet crippled at, 774; investigation of attack on, 767
Pecora Committee, 557, 564
Peiping, Chinese Communists at, 840
Pendleton Act, 485, 486
Penn, William, 4, 14, 26, 36
Pennsylvania, 135; Assembly of, 32; in colonial days, 4, 15, 26; at Constitutional Convention, 94–95
Perkins, Frances, 446
Perry, Matthew C., 298, 649
Perry, Oliver Hazard, 190
Pershing, John J., 680, 727
"Personal liberty" laws, 319
Peru, 4, 7, 678, 687
Pétain, Henri, 760
Philadelphia, 56, 94, 97, 135; Academy of, 32; battle of, 67; as capital, 166, 167; in colonial days, 18, 30, 32
Philadelphia, burning of, 171
Philadelphia Convention. *See* Constitutional Convention
Philippines, 398, 648, 651; acquisition of, 656–658, 663, 669, 672; Commission for, 700, 702; communism in, 837; Constitution of, 703; independence of, 699, 701–703, 709; Japan and, 774; and Korean War, 704; mutual security pact with, 835; relations with, 700–704; and World War II, 704, 765, 775–776
Phillips, Wendell, 282, 343
Pickering, Timothy, 178, 179
Pierce, Franklin, 304–305, 315
Pike, Zebulon, 176–178
Pilgrims, 4, 39
Pinchot, Gifford, 611, 613, 614, 616
Pinckney, Charles C., 95, 158, 164, 179, 185
Pinckney, Thomas, 95, 147, 154, 159; Treaty of, with Spain, 156, 157, 173
Pitt, William, 54, 57
Plans of Union, 46–47, 57, 81, 96, 98
Platt, "Boss," 491, 513, 514, 627
Platt Amendment, 670–671, 684
Point IV program, 833, 834
Poland: boundary of, 787; Communist party in, 815, 828, 829; governments of, 783, 785, 786; Hitler and, 758, 759; and Korean prisoners, 843; and Oder-Neisse territory, 832; as postwar problem, 783, 785, 786; Soviet Russia and, 759, 760, 780; and World War II, 771, 772
Political parties, 108, 118–119, 147, 474–478; campaigns of, 163–166, 264–265, 290, 292, 317–318, 321–322, 343, 344, 363, 480, 482, 487, 490, 491, 493, 505, 506, 508, 518, 521, 538, 543–544, 552, 556–557, 589–590, 594, 595, 633, 669, 805, 817, 819, 837; conventions of, 147, 232, 248, 260, 322, 473, 483, 503, 506, 521, 543, 555, 556, 559, 594, 632, 804–805, 817–819; formation of, 144, 147, 207; inconsistencies of, 469–470; and lobbying, 636; platforms of, 322, 344, 475–477, 518, 522, 669, 672; propaganda and, 626, 631; and trusts, 413; and World War I peace terms, 731, 733; *see also names of parties and* Politics
Politics, 154, 199, 801, 804, 814; "boss" and machine, 263, 437–438, 481, 486, 552, 626–627, 632; changes in philosophy of, 471–472; colonial, 39–47; compromise in, 240, 246; corruption in, 481–486, 493, 511–512, 543, 616–617; and economic conditions, 801; expansion as issue in, 288, 290, 292; and financial and foreign policies, 154; and race prejudice, 317, 451, 552, 601; and spoils system, 108, 260, 262–263, 326, 485–487, 489, 521; struggle for power in, 217, 230, 231, 236, 264, 266; and West in, 199; *see also* Labor, Political parties, *and* Slavery
Polk, James K., 290–297
Poll tax, 116, 448, 630, 801, 812
Population: of Alaska, 699; of Central America, 687; of cities, 135, 139, 309, 435, 602; in colonies, 6, 9, 11, 14, 25, 26; constitutional provision for census of, 122; of frontier, 170, 172, 380; of Hawaii, 700; increase in, 309, 369, 376, 384, 435, 441, 549; of Louisiana Territory, 176; of Mexico, 687; of North, 307, 334; of overseas possessions, 663, 670, 671, 700; of South, 334; of South America, 687; at time of Revolution, 11; of U.S.: in 1783, 76, in 1790, 11, 135, 136, 600, in 1800, 217, in 1830, 217, 223, in 1840, 136, 268, 307, in 1850, 223, 224, 307, 308, in 1860, 307, 493, in 1870 and 1900, 493, in 1910, 122, in 1920, 122, in 1950, 600; of West, 170, 172, 309; westward advance of, 381
Populist party, 476, 478, 490, 500, 503–506, 511
"Pork-barrel" legislation, 123, 124
Portugal, 3, 4, 16, 687, 731
Post and Gatty, 389

Potsdam Conference, 777, 786–787, 826, 829
Powell, John Wesley, 611–612
Pre-emption Law of 1841, 218
President, 168, 542, 670, 754, 803; choice of successor to, 119–120, 801–802; and Congress, 113, 120–121, 168, 335, 355–356, 359, 488, 526; election of, 96, 99, 118–119, 126, 149, 630, 632; impeachment of, 360; inauguration of, 105–106; powers of, and checks on, 112–113, 120–122, 162; and Supreme Court, 208; term of, 127, 185, 194, 801; wartime powers of, 331, 333, 335, 355–356, 534, 539, 589, 763–764
Presidential Succession Acts, 119–120, 488, 801–802
Press, freedom of, 30, 39, 74, 115, 118, 162, 637
Prices: control of, 75, 551, 573, 624, 780, 800, 807, 820; and circulation of money, 494–496; decline in, 380, 496, 539; increases in, 19, 75, 197, 250, 346, 348, 508, 534, 565, 726, 778, 801, 806; uncertainty of, 75, 88, 198
Primaries. *See* Elections *and* States
Primogeniture, law of, 74
Privateers, 65, 70, 86, 190, 336, 350
Procedural Reform Act, 591
Proclamation of 1763, 53, 54, 60, 61, 74–75
Proclamation of Neutrality, 153–154
Progressive parties, 428, 430, 475, 477, 478, 521–522, 805; domestic policies of, 543–544
Prohibition, 127, 277, 445, 446–447; and crime, 453, 546; as political issue, 552
Prohibition party, 446–447, 475, 476, 478
Propaganda, 457, 582, 626, 635, 636; American, 725; Communist, 764; English, 720; and Geneva Conference, 750–751; German, 718, 720, 758; newspapers and, 654–655
Provincial congresses, 58, 61
Public utilities, 578–583; and Cuba, 671; supervision of, 564, 579–581
Public Works Administration, 567, 569, 618
Puerto Rico, 673; acquisition of, 398, 648, 651, 656, 658, 667, 669, 671, 672, 683, 699; British in, 202; relations with, 398, 671–672, 674
Pujo Committee, 528
Pulitzer, Joseph, 654
Pullman strike, 423, 426, 490
Pure Food and Drug Act, 515, 516, 620
Puritan revolution, 39
Puritans, 4, 34, 42

Quakers, 4, 34
Quartering Act, 53, 56
Quebec, 50, 781
Quebec Act, 56
Quezon, Manuel, 703, 709
Quitrents, 14, 75

Racial prejudice, 448–451, 552, 601, 605, 607
Racketeering. *See under* United States
Radio, 389, 398, 442, 543, 544; and education, 443, 457–458
Railroads: building of, 250, 251, 307–308, 311, 350, 370, 493; coming of, 220; consolidation of, 535–536; decline in revenue of, 546–548; demands of, 547–548; discriminatory practices of, 498; federal aid to, 370, 548, 575; government operation of, 534–535, 547, 577, 725; improvement in services of, 370–371, 547; influence of, on West, 308–309, 371; investments in, 481, 547, 548, 671, 720; and Panama Canal, 660; and panics, 251, 308, 399, 496; portage, 222–223; regulation of, 498–500, 512, 516, 522, 535–536; transcontinental, 315, 316, 322, 350, 369–370, 375; and wars, 334, 535, 577; *see also* Transportation
Railway Brotherhoods, 531, 532
Railway Labor Board, 585
Randolph, Edmund, 94, 138, 165
Randolph, John, 186, 187, 206
Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, 545, 806
Reconstruction, of South, 354–365, 448
Reconstruction Act, 359–360, 362
Reconstruction Finance Corp. (R.F.C.), 548, 554, 556, 567, 568, 595
Reed, Thomas B., 488
Reed, Dr. Walter, 656, 659
Religion: in colonies, 34, 36; and democracy, 282–283; disrupted by slavery, 275–276; and education, 810–811; freedom of, 6, 26, 33, 34, 36, 56, 85, 115, 118, 168, 283, 637, 638; increase of sects in, 282–283; *see also* Church
Rent: controls on, 624, 806, 807, 820
Republican party, 147, 165, 351, 469; accomplishments of, 178–179; change in policies of, 194, 196, 207; criticism of Federalists by, 147, 162; and election of 1796, 147, 149; first, 147; founding of present-day, 147, 316–317; and French Revolution, 152, 153; history of, 472, 474, 476; under Jefferson, 168–169; Lincoln and, 319, 321, 322, 326, 333; period of power of, 480–487; and Reconstruction, 356, 362, 363, 364; and Sedition Act, 162–163; and Southern Negro policy, 364; split in, 217, 231, 232, 234, 236, 485, 520–522
Resettlement Administration, 561, 571, 618
Reuben James, sinking of, 766
Reuther, Walter, 804
Revere, Paul, 17, 58
Revolution, American, 8, 11, 26, 34, 39, 42, 60, 65–76, 135, 144; battles of, 58, 59, 61–63, 67, 69–73, 259; causes of, 51, 58–61; colonial preparations for, 58; debt of, 86; effects of, 44; end of, 72; evacuation of Boston in,

63, 67; financing of, 75; foreign aid in, 67–68, 70, 72; government during, 61, 74–76, 81; meaning of, 75–76; non-English groups in, 26; social and political changes caused by, 74–75
Revolution, French, 135–137, 147, 152–154, 155, 165
Revolution, Russian, 721, 722
Rhee, Syngman, 837, 844
Rhineland, 758
Rhode Island, 12, 15, 18, 74
Ridgway, Matthew B., 825, 831, 840
Riis, Jacob, 436
Rio de Janeiro Declaration, 694–695
Roads, 112, 166; building of, 170, 172, 198–199, 220–221, 250; state, 221–223
Roberts commission, 767
Robinson-Patman Act, 574
Rochambeau, Count Jean B., 70, 72
Rockefeller, John D., 404, 407, 409
Rome, Allies in, 770
Rome-Berlin Axis, 761, 769
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 115, 472, 474, 475, 538, 561, 593, 724, 789; and atomic energy, 394–395; attacks on policies of, 764–765; background of, 559; and bank holiday, 562; Cabinet appointments of, 446; and Communist party, 431, 595; death of, 595, 786; elected President, 590; farm program of, 568–573; and F.E.P.C., 811; first administration of, 559–589; first inaugural of, 560, 562; and foreign affairs, 592, 594, 671, 677, 682–683, 693, 711; good neighbor policy of, 651, 668, 671, 682–683, 684; and Hoover policies, 554, 556; and industry, 573; and inflation, 564–565; and Italian-Ethiopian crisis, 743; and labor, 588, 589, 595; as leader, 513, 559, 560; on N.R.A., 574; and National Resources Board, 390; and Nazi submarines, 765, 766; and New Deal, 414, 490, 557, 560, 562; and Pearl Harbor, 767; as Presidential candidate, 556–557, 589–590, 594, 595; second administration of, 559, 590–594; second inaugural of, 440, 562; and securities, 564; and Soviet Russia, 748; and Supreme Court, 590–591; third administration of, 122, 127, 559–560, 595; and U.S. possessions, 703; and war debts, 747; wartime powers of, 763–764; and World Court, 745; and World War II, 759, 762, 763, 765–768, 774, 775, 781, 782, 785–786
Roosevelt, Theodore, 471, 486, 633; becomes President, 491, 513; and coal strike, 513; and conservation, 398, 517, 612–614; death of, 522; and foreign affairs, 517–518, 655, 656, 660, 661, 675, 677, 684, 690, 692, 705, 729, 737; influence and leadership of, 512–513, 560; legislative program of, 514–517, 522; and muckraking, 460; opposed to Taft, 513, 521–523; and Panama Canal, 517, 519, 658, 661; as President, 508, 513–516, 518, 519, 522; as Presidential candidate, 521–523; and Progressive party, 477; and Rough Riders, 513; and Russo-Japanese war, 518, 706; and third term, 518; and trusts, 514, 516–517, 529, 574; as writer, 374, 463, 514
Root, Elihu, 513, 538, 627, 737, 739, 745; Formula of, 745
Rosenberg, Mr. and Mrs. Julius, 816
Rumania, 760, 771, 785, 787, 826, 828
Rush-Bagot agreement, 199, 737
Russia, 202, 715, 737; U.S. treaties with, 206, 341, 646; and War between the States, 341–342; *see also* Revolution, Russian *and* Soviet Russia
Russo-Finnish War, 759, 762
Russo-Japanese War, 518, 706

Saipan, 775, 777
Samoan Islands, 646, 647, 657, 699
San Francisco Conference, 697, 783, 785, 786, 788, 789
Santay, sinking of, 723
Santo Domingo: debt difficulties of, 675, 677; French war with, 173; relations with, 661, 675, 677, 678, 683, 684, 693, 719
Saratoga, battle of, 67–69
Scalawags, 362, 448
Schuman Plan, 833
Schurz, Carl, 476, 482, 483
Schwab, Charles M., 408
Science: and agriculture, 377–378, 549; and atomic energy, 394–395; in colonial days, 32; and industry, 386, 392; research and progress in, 312, 457, 800; social, 462–463
Scopes trial, 457
Scotch-Irish, in America, 25, 60–61
Scott, Winfield, 245, 295, 296, 304
Sculpture, personalities in, 464
Secession: economic and social causes of, 325; Federalists and, 178; and slavery, 319; of Southern states, 324–325; spread of, 331; threats of, in Northeast, 188, 189, 191
Sectionalism. *See* Economic interests
Securities and Exchange Commission, 128, 564, 583
Securities exchanges, 555, 556, 564
Sedition Act, 162–163, 169, 725
Selective Service, 454, 724, 763; *see also* Draft
Senate, 98, 111, 122; Committees of, 591, 593, 807, 818; cloture rule of, 122; election to, 96, 127, 518, 522; exclusive powers of, 113; filibustering in, 122–123, 806; and impeachment, 113, 361; and League of Nations, 536–539, 734, 743–744, 788; and MacArthur controversy, 842; and Presidential appointments, 113; and treaties, 113, 341, 737, 739, 832, 836, 847; and UN Charter, 788, 847; *see also* Congress
Seneca convention, 282, 444

Servicemen's Readjustment Act, 800
Seven Years' War, 50
Sevier, John, 61, 71
Seward, William H., 302, 303, 322, 476; and Alaska, 341, 646, 647; as Secretary of State, 319, 342, 648
Shasta Dam, 579
Shays's Rebellion, 87, 88, 90, 144, 165
Sherman, Roger, 95, 98
Sherman, William T., 339, 340, 344
Sherman Antitrust Act, 411, 413–414, 471, 488, 516, 529, 530; application of, to unions, 426–427; railroads and, 577; suspension of, 573
Shipbuilding, 16, 21, 22, 184, 312; federal aid to, 312, 576; limitations on, 750–751
Shipping, 89, 135, 307, 310; subsidies for, 312, 576
Shipping Board, 725
Short, Walter C., 767
Silesia, and World War II, 772
Silver, 142, 250, 472, 488, 495; free, 490, 491, 501, 502; as an issue, 505, 506, 669; limited coinage of, 502–503; monetary status of, 565
Silver Purchase Acts, 488, 490, 502, 504, 565
Sinclair, H. F., 616–617
Sinclair, Upton, 460, 463, 516
Sino-Soviet Treaty, 786
Slavery, 11–12, 26, 225; abolition of, 75, 229–230, 270, 341–343, 355; in colonies, 270; Compromise of 1850 and, 263, 264; Congress and, 271–272, 276, 299, 300, 302–304, 318–319, 343; and Constitution, 99, 270–271, 343; and Crittenden proposal, 326; and Dred Scott decision, 318–319, 321, 322; Emancipation Proclamation and, 341–343; expansion and, 290, 292; extension of, 298; methods of dealing with, 299, 302, 317; Mexico and, 289; Missouri Compromise and, 271–272; North and, 75, 225, 270, 275, 299, 304, 317, 319, 320; and Northwest Territory, 85, 271; as political issue, 217, 228, 266, 287, 299, 302, 304, 317, 320–323, 341, 344; South and, 178, 227, 228, 270, 274–277, 299, 304, 317, 320; and Supreme Court, 318–319; Tallmadge amendment and, 271; Texas and, 289–290; Underground Railroad and, 275, 304; West and, 225, 228; *see also* Antislavery, Constitutions, state, Lincoln, *and* Slaves
Slaves, 135; importation of, ended, 75, 302, 303; smuggling of, 276; views on emancipation of, 270, 274, 275
Slidell, John, 293, 294, 340–341
Small Business Administration, 820
Smith, Alfred E., 447, 474, 543, 589; as Presidential candidate, 364, 552, 559
Smith, John, and Jamestown, 4
Smith, Joseph, 300
Smith Act, 816
Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act, 588–589
Smith-Hughes Act, 454
Smithsonian Institution, 312
Social changes, 386, 390, 392, 435–464; *see also* Social reform
Social reform, 277–279; beginning of, 230; demands for, 118, 229, 381, 421, 512, 518; and Northwest Ordinance, 85; as result of Revolution, 74; stumbling blocks to, 116
Social Security Law, 422, 568, 588, 621–624, 806
Socialist Labor party, 428, 430, 431, 475, 476
Socialist party, 428, 430, 431, 475, 476, 518, 522, 538, 543, 805
Soil. *See* Conservation
Soil Conservation Act, 570
Soil Erosion Act, 617
Solid South, 518, 539, 544; breakup of, 552; cause of, 364; and recent elections, 804–805, 812, 818–819
Solomon Islands, 775
Somaliland, 760
South, 217, 227, 228, 244, 266, 315, 348; control of votes in, 480–481, 484; economic conditions in, 307, 347–351, 577; industry in, 227, 348; labor in, 325, 348; recovery of, 493; and Revolution, 63, 70, 71; and tariff, 241–246; and War between the States, 331–334; white supremacy in, 363, 364, 484; *see also* Confederacy, Negroes, Reconstruction, Slavery, Solid South, *and* War between the States
South America, 49, 202, 204, 687–688; airlines of, 696; relations with, 544, 650–651, 678, 679, 684, 688, 692; search for markets in, 668; tariff treaties with, 650; and World War II, 695; *see also* Latin America *and names of countries*
South Carolina: admitted to Union, 362; in colonial days, 14, 26; "Exposition and Protest" of, 233, 242–244; and nullification, 245–246, 274; school system of, 813
South Korea, 837, 844
Southwest: acquisition of, 296, 645; government of, 85; settlement of, 291
Soviet Russia, 783, 787, 824, 846; Anglo-American relations with, 762, 781, 783, 785, 788, 823, 824, 844; and atomic bomb, 824, 826; and Berlin, 829–830; changes in policy in, 820, 843, 847; communism in, 118, 637–639; and communism in other countries, 815, 816; and East Germany, 832; federal government in, 109; and Germany, 729, 759, 760, 762, 764, 765; and Japanese peace treaty, 835; and Korean crisis, 836–838, 840, 843; and Marshall plan, 828–829; recognition of, 592, 748; relations of, with other countries, 752, 759, 783, 785, 834, 836; and UN,

789, 791; and war debts, 748; and war with Finland, 759, 760, 762, 765, 771; as world power, 799, 824; and World War II, 762, 770–772, 778, 781, 787; *see also* Cold war *and* Iron curtain
Spain, 16, 49, 173, 202, 687, 787; American colonies of, 4; and American Revolution, 68; civil war in, 680, 752, 753, 764; claims of, in North America, 50; and Cuba, 297, 653; and Louisiana Purchase, 173–175; and Mississippi River, 86, 88, 152, 156, 172–173; treaties of, with U.S., 86, 88, 156–157, 172, 201–202, 494, 656–657, 663; U.S. relations with, 151–152, 154, 173, 200–202, 780; *see also* Spanish-American War
Spanish-American War, 490, 491, 511, 651, 655–656; political parties and, 669; results of, 648, 656–657, 670; Rough Riders of, 513
Spanish Armada, 49
Specie Circular, 250–251
Speculation: and banks, 546, 556; land, 14, 218, 250–251, 380, 399; money, 75; and public utilities, 546; stock market and, 399, 404, 527
Speech, free, 74, 118, 162, 637, 817
Sports, in U.S., 441–442, 445
Stagecoach, 18, 45, 220, 221
Stalin, Joseph, 637, 780, 789; death of, 820, 843; and Five-Year Plans, 823; and World War II Conferences, 781, 782, 785–787; *see also* Soviet Russia *and* World War II
Stalingrad, 770–771
Stamp Act, 44, 45, 53, 57
Standard Oil Co., 407, 408, 410, 411, 498, 517; history of, 460, 511
Stanton, Edwin, 339, 360
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 282, 444
"Star Spangled Banner," 190
Stassen, Harold, 832
States: admission of, to Union, 217–218, 223, 293, 309, 362, 376, 380; and Articles of Confederation, 81–82, 84, 86; balance between free and slave, 271; boundaries of, 82–84, 88, 89; claim of, to Western lands, 82–84, 85; conflicts among, 82, 88, 89, 95–96, 98; and conservation, 570, 614, 616; and Constitution, 104–105, 126; constitutions of, 74–75; and education, 454, 457, 808, 811; and election practices, 628–630, 632; and F.E.P.C., 449, 811, 812; foreign debts of, 287; politics in, 486–487, 511; powers of, 100, 109, 110, 116, 358, 360, 365; and public utilities, 580, 582; relations of, with federal government, 82, 170, 172, 567, 622; representation of, in Congress, 96–98, 359; and territories, 84–85; unemployment insurance and, 623, 624; woman suffrage in, 444; *see also* Church, Constitutions, state, Internal improvements, Legislatures, state, *and* War between the States
States' rights, 95; advocates of, 112, 194, 207, 228, 233, 246; and Confederacy, 335, 345; doctrine of, 143, 146, 192, 242–245, 302; and federal legislation, 368; secession and, 324–325; and Supreme Court, 210
States' Rights party, 364
Steamboat, 218, 220, 311
Steffens, Lincoln, 512, 515
Stephens, Alexander, 324, 328, 356
Stephens, Uriah S., 417
Stettinius, Edward, 789
Steuben, Frederick von, 68
Stevens, John, 218
Stevens, Thaddeus, 342, 354–355
Stevenson, Adlai E., 818, 819
Stilwell, Joseph W., 776
Stimson, Henry L., 544, 678, 684, 693, 708, 710, 763
Stock exchange, 399, 404, 553, 554
Stocks. *See* Corporations
Stone, Harlan Fiske, 591
Story, Joseph, 210, 258
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 320
Subversive Activities Control Board, 816
Sudetenland. *See* Czechoslovakia
Suez Canal, 760, 768
Suffrage: colonial, 34, 41–43, 74; extension of, 229, 258, 260; limitation of, in states, 359, 448, 811, 812; for Negroes, 359, 360, 362, 448; qualifications for, 630; state control of, 628; for women, 127, 444, 445, 518, 522
Sugar and Molasses Act, 22
Sumner, Charles, 302, 322, 343–344, 356
Sun Yat-sen, 705
Supreme Court, 112; achieves dominance, 207; and A.A.A., 570, 624; and Bank of U.S., 248; changes in membership of, 591; Chief Justices of, 125, 126, 134, 138, 165, 207, 318, 523, 532, 533, 591; and child labor legislation, 422–424, 591; and civil rights, 812–813; and Communist trial, 816; and Congress, 121, 124, 126, 128, 208–210; and Danbury strike, 426–427, 591; decisions of, cited, 117, 126, 208–212, 422, 498–500, 588, 810–813; and direct tax, 127; and Dred Scott decision, 318–319; establishment of, 100; and Fair Labor Standards Act, 587–588, 591; and F.T.C., 530; and Fourteenth Amendment, 358, 364; and gold standard, 565; and income tax, 490, 521; and Indians, 252; interpretation of "elastic clause" by, 110, 112; and interstate commerce, 536, 574, 584–585, 588, 591; and judicial review, 210; and loose construction, 211–212; and Missouri Compromise, 318–319; and N.L.R.B., 584–586, 591; and N.R.A., 573–574, 584; and Negroes, 448, 449; and New Deal laws, 590–591; and oil leases, 617; and overseas possessions, 669–670; plans for reorganization of, 590–591; powers of, 108, 114, 124, 126, 138; and President,

120, 208; proposals to curb, 114, 544; and Pullman strike, 426; and rule of reason, 517, 529, 633; and separation of church and state, 810, 811; and sit-down strikes, 586; and slavery, 318–319; and Social Security Act, 623–624; and state laws, 471; and states' rights, 210; and steel strike, 804; and T.V.A., 580, 591; and Taft-Hartley Act, 803; and trusts, 516–517; and Wheeler-Rayburn Act, 583; and women, 443
Supreme Court Retirement Act, 591
Sussex, sinking of, 719
Sweden, 4, 35, 49, 843
Switzerland, 843
Syria, 760, 845

Taft, Robert A., 818, 819, 831–832
Taft, William H.: as Chief Justice, 523; and foreign affairs, 538, 668, 729; and internal affairs, 486, 521, 529, 604, 614, 616; and Philippines, 702; as President, 513, 517, 518, 520; as Presidential candidate, 518, 521–523; and T. Roosevelt, 513, 516, 521–523
Taft-Hartley Act, 425, 428, 802–807, 820
Tallmadge amendment, 271
Tammany, 147, 481, 552
Taney, Roger B., 250, 318
Tarawa, 775
Tarbell, Ida, 460, 511
Tariff: disputes about, 89; explanation of, 239–240; and farmers, 551, 553; income from, 179; as political issue, 217, 239, 242, 246–247; protective, 112, 143, 194, 196, 228, 234, 240, 312, 384; *see also* Tariff laws
Tariff laws: of 1763, 53; of 1789, 140; of 1816, 197, 241; of 1828 (Abominations) 242, 245; of 1832, 245; of 1833 (Compromise), 246, 264; of 1846 (Walker), 247, 310; of 1861 (Morrill), 350–351; of 1890 (McKinley), 488, 490, 505, 650; of 1894 (Wilson-Gorman), 490, 504–505, 653; of 1897 (Dingley), 491; of 1909 (Payne-Aldrich), 518, 520, 526; of 1913 (Underwood), 526; of 1922 (Fordney-McCumber), 542–543, 553, 554; of 1930 (Hawley-Smoot), 553–554; of 1934 (Reciprocal), 592
Taxes: and Articles of Confederation, 82, 86; colonial, 20, 22, 43–45, 51, 53, 60; corporation, 526; direct, 116, 127, 521; excise, 141–142, 726; on imports, 140, 346, 351; increases in, 806; inheritance, 512, 726; internal, 141–142, 346; for national welfare, 623, 624; on note issues, 347; power to levy, 96, 98–100, 109, 110, 112, 116, 117; processing, 568, 570; reduction of, 543, 544, 807; on shipping, 89; on whiskey, 142, 169; in World Wars I and II, 726, 780; *see also* Income tax, *and* Tariff, protective
Taylor, Zachary, 293, 294, 296, 299, 300, 303
Teapot Dome scandals, 616–617
Tecumseh, 186, 200, 252, 254
Teheran Conference, 781–782, 787; secret agreements at, 786
Telegraph, 309, 350, 389
Telephone, 389, 391
Television, 389, 391, 442, 443, 458
Teller Resolution, 655, 670
Temperance, 229, 277, 444, 445; *see also* Prohibition
Tennessee, 61, 217, 331
Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.), 128, 579–582, 591, 617, 618, 622
Tenure of Office Act, 359, 360
Texas: annexation of, 263, 266, 287, 288, 290, 292–293, 297, 645; boundary of, 302, 303; independence of, 289; and Mexican War, 293–294; as part of Louisiana Territory, 174; settlement in, 288, 289; U.S. gives up claims to, 201–202, 292
Theater: in colonies, 28; playwrights for, 464; in U.S., 442, 463
Thomas, Norman, 430, 476, 589, 805
Thoreau, Henry David, 284, 312
Tilden, Samuel, 482, 484
Tippecanoe, 186, 200, 205, 264
Tito, Marshal, 829
Tokyo, bombing of, 775
Toulon, 768, 772
Townsend pension plan, 590
Townshend Acts, 53, 54
Trade, 19, 135, 182, 307, 799; agreements on, with Great Britain, 199; balance of, 19–20; colonial, 16, 18, 46, 65, 67; expansion of, 3, 134, 310, 674, 717, 719; and expansion policy, 646, 651; foreign, 85–86, 152, 156, 183, 185, 199, 298, 310, 350, 398, 517, 545, 554, 565, 576, 592, 600, 653–654, 671, 677, 684, 748; in Mediterranean, 3–4; obstruction of, 182–187; power of Congress to control, 96, 98, 99, 100, 112, 212; reciprocal treaties and, 545, 592, 650, 684; regulation of, 20–23, 44, 51–52, 82, 89, 112, 212; restrictions on, 86, 717; after Revolution, 85, 86, 88
Trade routes, 3, 5, 16
Trade Union Unity League, 430–431
Transportation Acts, 535–536, 575–577
Transportation and communication, 167, 310, 313, 534, 576; in colonial times, 15, 16, 18, 22, 45, 46; control of, 534–536; development of, 218–223, 389; and economic revolution, 369–370; and farmers, 494; and growth of cities, 435, 436, 468; improvement and change in, 546, 547; railroads and, 308, 309; regulation of, 112, 536, 575–578; for school children, 808, 810, 811; and settlement of West, 151, 220, 350, 370, 371; strikes in, 803; transatlantic, 311; and War between the States, 334; water, 155, 218, 220, 576; *see also names of means of communication and transportation*

Treaties of Paris, 50–51, 72, 200
Treaty of Alliance, 67, 69, 153, 160
Treaty of Fort Greenville, 155–157, 200
Treaty of Ghent, 191, 199
Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 296
Treaty of Washington, 341, 737
Trent affair, 340–341
Trenton, battle of, 67
Trial by jury, 38, 74, 115, 319, 427
Triple Alliance, 715
Triple Entente, 715
Tripoli, war with, 170, 171
Trotsky, Leon, 680
Truman, Harry S.: and atomic energy, 394, 395, 826; and civil rights, 806, 811, 812; and communism, 815, 817; Congress of, 801; Fair Deal of, 805–807; foreign policy of, 824, 827–834, 836–837, 842; and Hoover Commission, 802; and Korean War, 838–840, 842; opposition to policies of, 804, 806, 812, 819, 824, 837, 842; Point IV program of, 830; policies of, 592, 607, 624, 801, 805, 813; at Potsdam, 786; as Presidential candidate, 804; and Roosevelt policies, 596; and San Francisco Conference, 786; scandals in administration of, 807; and steel strike, 804; succeeds Roosevelt, 595–596, 786; and Taft-Hartley Act, 803, 805; and third term, 807, 818; and U.S. possessions, 672; as Vice-Presidential candidate, 595; *see also* Fair Deal, Truman Doctrine
Truman Doctrine, 827, 831, 847
Truth-in-Securities Act, 564
Tunisia, 768, 770
Turkey, 786, 831; aid to, 827, 828, 833
Twain, Mark, 459, 461, 463
Tweed Ring, 481, 482, 483
Tyler, John, 263, 264, 266; and Mexico, 294; as President, 287, 288, 290, 292–293, 646; and Whigs, 266, 287

U.S.S.R. *See* Soviet Russia
Ukraine, 762
Uncle Tom's Cabin, 320
Underground Railroad, 275, 304, 319, 320
Unemployment. *See* Labor
Unemployment insurance, 398, 422, 623, 624
Union Labor party, 475
Union Leagues, of Negroes, 362–363
Unions. *See* Labor
United Automobile Workers, 586, 804
United Kingdom, 789
United Mine Workers, 429, 513, 585, 587, 804
United Nations: achievements of, 844–847; agencies of, 789–793; American people and, 847; Atomic Energy Commission of, 824; budget for, 793; Charter of, 783, 788, 789, 791–793, 847; and China, 834, 836; Commission on Human Rights of, 846; Conference on Int'l Organization of, 788, 789; Declaration of, 789; difficulties of, 844, 846, 847; Economic and Social Council of, 789, 792, 846; Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization of (UNESCO), 792; and English-Albanian dispute, 845; Food and Agricultural Organization of, 782, 792; functioning of, 793–794; future of, 847; General Assembly of, 788, 789, 791, 792, 830, 840, 844–846, 891; and Indonesia, 834, 845; and Int'l Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 782–783, 792; Int'l Civil Aviation Organization of, 783, 792; and international control of atomic energy, 824, 826; Int'l Court of Justice of, 789, 792–793, 845, 846; Int'l Labor Organization of, 740, 792; Int'l Monetary Fund of, 782–783, 791; and Italy's African colonies, 845; and Japanese surrender, 778; and Kashmir dispute, 834, 845; and Korea, 836–840, 843–845, 847; membership in, 789; and Palestine, 845; and peacetime cooperation, 782; and Point IV program, 830; purposes of, 788; Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of (UNRRA), 781; Secretariat of, 789, 793; Security Council of, 788, 789, 791, 792, 838, 840, 844; Trusteeship Council of, 789, 793, 845, 846; Universal Postal Union of, 792; World Health Organization of, 792; World Meteorological Organization of, 846; World Security Organization and, 786; in World War II, 768, 771; and Yugoslavia, 829
United States: aids Greece and Turkey, 827, 828, 833; after World War II, 800; becomes independent, 72; and Boxer indemnity, 705, 706; ceding of Western lands to, 84, 85; change of, from debtor to creditor nation, 398, 719–720; China policy of, 836, 837, 842; communism in, 814–817; containment policy of, 827–828, 847; crime and racketeering in, 452–453, 546; demobilization in, 800; dollar diplomacy in, 668, 672, 674, 683–684, 690; domestic problems of, 112, 117–118, 138, 478, 493, 511, 557, 619, 807–808, 814; economic conditions in, 135, 138, 347–351, 369; and economic imperialism, 668–669, 672, 674; financial difficulties of, 85–86, 138, 191, 346–347; foreign attitude toward, 86; influence of, on West, 151; influences on history of, 4–5, 137, 163; methods of earning a living in, 135, 392, 441; mingling of races in, 25, 451; mutual security pacts of, 831, 835–836; overseas possessions of, 85, 490, 511, 517, 646–648, 651, 656–658, 663, 664, 667, 669–672, 673, 699–704; peace aims of, 765–766; political and social revolution in, 351; preparation for defense by, in World War II, 763; prosperity in, 400, 543–546, 719–720, 801, 806;

racial problems in, 448–451, 812, 813; relations among England, Russia, and, 780, 781, 783, 785, 788, 823, 824, 827, 840, 844; scientific and cultural progress in, 312–313, 441–464; and settlement of disputes, 737; territorial expansion of, 83–85, 173–176, 186–187, 196, 200–202, 224, 266, 287–298, 372, 380, 494, 645–646; undeclared naval war of, with France, 158, 159; urbanization of, 435–438, 468; wars of, *see* Indians, Korean War, Mexican War, Revolution, American, Spanish-American War, Tripoli, War of 1812, War between the States, World War I, *and* World War II; waste in economic development of, 610–611; as welfare state, 814; and West Germany, 832; and Western Europe, 833, 834; as world power, 490, 560, 644, 651, 790, 799, 824; *see also* Congress, Government, federal, Indians, *names of other countries and treaties, and* United Nations
U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 411
U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 312
U.S. Maritime Commission, 576, 577
U.S. Steel Corp., 404–406, 410, 413, 586
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 845–846
Urban League, 450
U'Ren, William S., 512
Utah, 300–302, 309, 372, 380
Utopias, 277–278

Vallandigham, C. L., 333, 343
Valuation Act, 516
Van Buren, Martin, 235, 245, 248, 251–252, 257, 260, 264–266, 288; and annexation of Texas, 290, 294; and Free Soil party, 475; as Presidential candidate, 299–300
Vandenburg Resolution, 831
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 404, 406, 409
Venezuela: debt difficulties of, 675; U.S. intervention in, 674–675, 678
Vera Cruz, 295, 296, 679, 681
Versailles Treaty, 538, 733–734, 739, 743; violation of, 752, 758
Vichy France, 760, 780
Vienna, 772
Viet Nam, 834, 835
Villa, Pancho, 680
Virgin Islands, 663, 664, 683
Virginia: Assembly of, 90; in colonial days, 6, 12, 14–16, 25, 26, 41–42; and Confederacy, 331–333; and Constitutional Convention, 94; House of Burgesses of, 41, 45, 57; large-states plan of, 96, 98; Resolution of, 163, 244; *Statute of Religious Freedom of,* 36
Voice of America, 834

Wages: control of, 800, 807; increases in, 806; minimum, 587–588, 620, 806
Wagner Labor Relations Act. *See* Nat'l Labor Relations Act
Wagner-Steagall Housing Act, 622
Wainwright, Jonathan, 774
Wake Island, 657, 699, 774
Wald, Lillian, 436
Wallace, Henry, 571, 594, 595, 801, 805, 827
Walsh committee, 616
Walsh-Healey Act, 574
War of 1812, 177, 187–193, 207, 223; Amherst, Mass., and, 188; battles of, 188–190, 193; causes and declaration of, 187; results of, 196, 206; sectional character of, 187–190, 192
War Hawks, 186, 188
War for Independence. *See* Revolution, American
War Industries Board, 725
War Labor Board, 589
War between the States: amendments caused by, 126; causes of, 236, 239, 243, 318–320, 322, 328–329; conduct of, 333; division of states in, 331–332; and Emancipation Proclamation, 342–343; financing of, 346–347; and foreign intervention, 340–341, 357; influence of geographic conditions on, 333–334; military battles of, 337–339; naval battles of, 336–337; *see also* North, South, *and* Slavery
Washington, D.C., 166, 190, 193
Washington, George, 27, 32, 49, 221, 279, 737; as commander in chief, 61–63, 67, 70, 72, 81; at Constitutional Convention, 94, 95; Farewell Address of, 151, 157, 645; First Inaugural of, 106; as President, 89, 91, 105–106, 135, 137, 138, 143, 144, 147, 151–157, 165, 182, 207, 645
Washington Conference, 542, 706–708, 710, 750
Water power, 579, 610, 611; *see also* Conservation
Weaver, James B., 476, 501–502, 504
Webster, Daniel, 91, 231, 233, 248, 257, 263–264, 266, 302, 469; and Clay compromises, 302–303; death of, 304; debate of, with Hayne, 243–245, 249; and England, 287; and Hawaii, 646; and states' rights, 243–245, 263; and tariff, 197, 241, 242, 263
Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 287
Wells, Horace, 312
West, 88, 225, 371; communication and transportation and, 350; and conservation, 613, 614; economic conditions in, 307, 577; federal aid to, 170, 172; Indians and Spaniards in, 160; influence on U.S. of expansion of, 199, 223–225, 646; interference with settlement of, 151–152; migration toward, 61, 74–75, 154, 172, 218, 288; settlement of, 170, 217, 218, 220, 349 370–376, 379, 380, 493; struggle for control in, 217, 372–376; *see also* Frontier *and* Northwest
West European Federation, 833
West Germany, 829, 832–833, 847
West Indies, 4, 7, 12, 14, 16, 183, 199

West Virginia, formation of, 332–333
Western Europe, U.S. and, 833, 834
Western Hemisphere: closed to expansion, 196; defense of, 694–697; discovery of land in, 3–4; effect of economic changes on, 688; European powers in, 202, 204, 206, 645, 646, 648–650, 674, 675, 687–688; and Pan-American conference, 650; republics in, 687–688; solidarity of, 692–697; U.S. leadership in, 661–662, 674, 688, 690; and World War II, 695, 697; *see also* New World
Wheeler-Howard Act, 374
Wheeler-Rayburn Act, 583
Whigs, 144, 217, 236, 247, 248, 264, 322, 469; collapse of, 304, 316; and Jackson, 246, 251, 252, 264, 265
Whiskey Rebellion, 142
Whiskey Ring, 481–482
White House, 166, 167, 190, 259
Whitney, Eli, 227
Whittier, John Greenleaf, 282, 285
Wilbur, Ray Lyman, 617
Wiley, Harvey W., 515, 516
Williams, Roger, 34, 36
Willkie, Wendell L., 593, 594, 764, 766
Wilmot Proviso, 299, 303, 320
Wilson, James, 95, 98, 101
Wilson, Woodrow, 168, 469, 472, 486, 604, 739; and collective security, 739, 748; demands of, to Germany, 186, 718–719; election of, 522–523; and foreign affairs, 182, 531–532, 662, 690, 693, 729; Fourteen Points of, 729–731, 733; inaugural address of, 526; and labor legislation, 423, 531, 533; leadership of, 513, 536, 560; and League of Nations, 525, 536, 538–539, 733–734, 739, 740, 743, 744, 788; and Philippines, 702; program of, 414, 471, 474, 525–531, 571; protest of, to England, 717; and Roosevelt policies, 513, 525; and trusts, 517, 529–531; war message of, 721–722; wartime powers of, 115, 534, 539; weakening of influence of, 731, 733, 734; and World War I, 525, 532, 534, 595, 716–726; as writer, 462, 463, 525
Wilson Dam, 580
Winthrop, John, 6
Wireless, 389
Wisconsin, 223, 512
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 446
Women: and Declaration of Rights, 282; economic emancipation of, 443–444; in politics, 444, 446; and women's rights, 229, 282, 444–446
Wood, Leonard, 538, 670
Workmen's compensation, 398, 422, 620
Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.), 567, 569, 618
World Court, 740, 741, 744–745, 748, 755; U.S. and, 745, 755
World Economic Conference, 591, 592
World Peace Foundation, 738
World War I, 780; allies in, 715, 722; American operations in, 727–729, 730; American people and, 532, 534, 718, 720–721, 725, 726; armistice in, 537, 729; conduct of, 722–724, 725, 727–728, 730; and Far East, 706; financing of, 726; hindrances to peace after, 716, 731–733; outbreak of, 531–532, 715–716; plans for peace after, 729–734; and prosperity, 399, 719–720; results of, 471, 720, 734; and sale of munitions, 754; U.S. entry into, 532, 680, 721–722, 754; U.S. neutrality in, 716–719; U.S. preparation for, 719, 722–727; war debts of, 746–748; and world dependence, 399
World War II: in Africa, 760, 768, 771, 781; air front in, 774; Allied conferences during, 765, 768, 777, 781–783, 785–788, 823; Allied thrusts in, 773, 777; American people and, 762–766, 780; atomic bomb and, 778, 784; in Balkans, 760; Battle of the Bulge in, 772; beginning of, 711, 712, 759; black markets in, 780; blitzkrieg in, 759, 760, 762, 763, 772, 774; Bulgaria surrenders in, 771; casualties in, 778; causes of, 743, 753, 755; collaboration of U.S. and Great Britain in, 781; D-Day in, 771; effect of, on American life, 532, 534, 548; end of, 778; and France, 759, 771–772; and Germany, 770–772; Hungarian armistice in, 771; as imperialist war, 764, 765; importance of Pacific possessions in, 699, 700; industry in, 394, 575, 778, 780; and Italy, 759, 770, 781; Japan and, 774–778, 781–782, 784; Japanese surrender in, 778; Navy as influence in, 644; in Pacific, 774–777, 779, 781; peace treaties after, 787, 788, 826, 827, 832, 835; problems created by, 557, 566, 780, 783, 785–788, 799–800; rationing in, 778; in Russia, 760, 762, 770–771; second front in, 771, 782; territory held by Rome-Berlin Axis in, 769; U-boat war in, 773, 780; U.S. enters, 594, 762; V-E Day in, 772; V-J Day in, 778; and Western Europe, 771; Western Hemisphere and, 694, 695, 697; women in, 778, 784; and world dependence, 399
Wright, Frances, 282
Wright, Wilbur and Orville, 388
XYZ Affair, 158, 207

Yalta Conference, 785–786, 787, 789
Yorktown, surrender at, 72, 73
Young, Brigham, 300, 301
Young, Owen D., and reparations, 747
Young Men's Christian Ass'n, 283
Young Women's Christian Ass'n, 283
Yugoslavia, 760, 780, 785, 786, 828, 829, 838

Zenger, John Peter, 30
Zimmermann note, 721

KASHMIR UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
No. 20285
Date 24.11.56
SRINAGAR

ALLAMA IQBAL LIBRARY
20285